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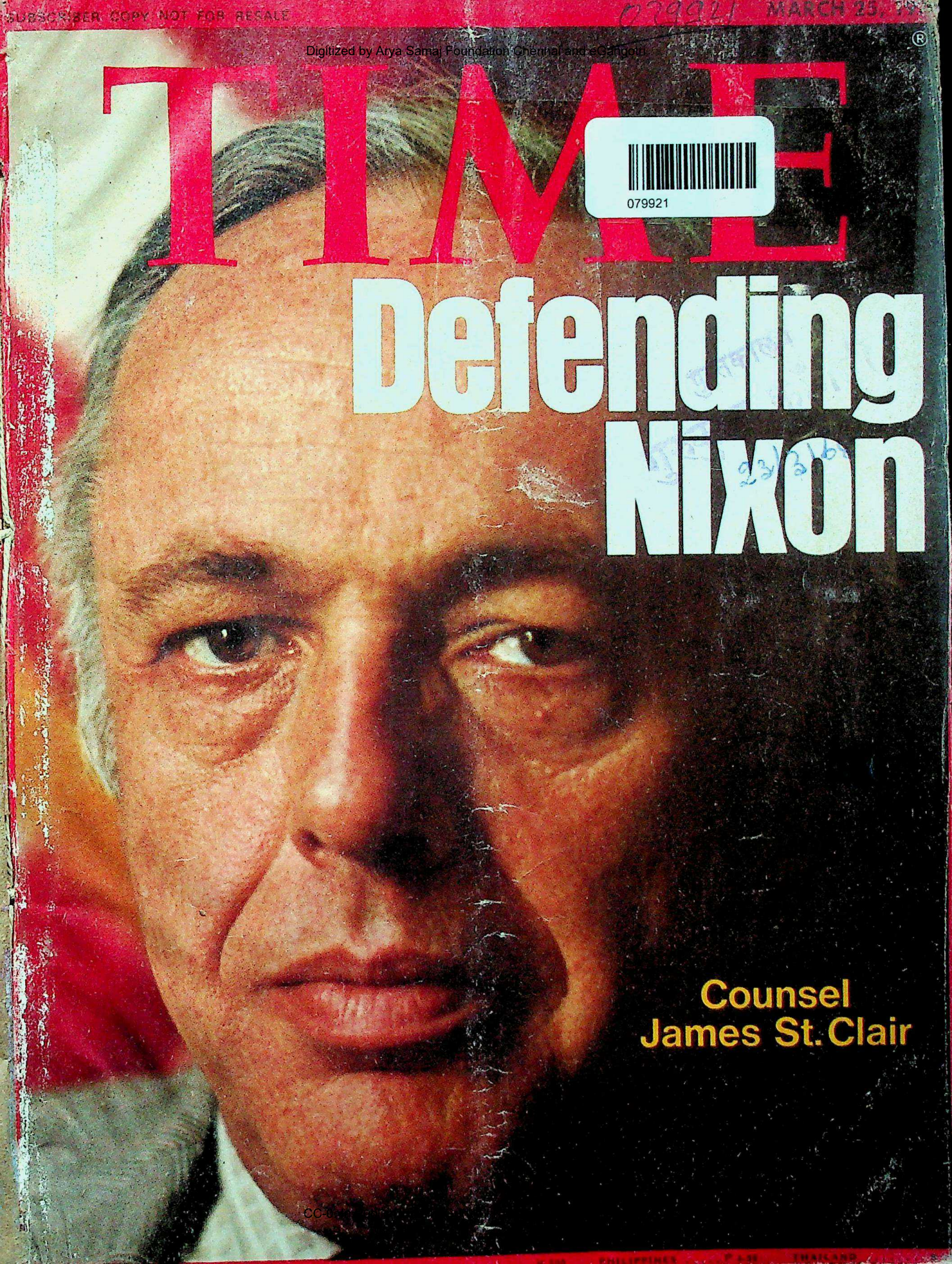
MARCH 25, 19

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TIME®

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Defending Nixon



Counsel James St. Clair

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Rounding the World

Sir / I have an open mind about psychic phenomena [March 4], but let us not stop exploring new ideas and thoughts, even some of the most outlandish ones. If we had stopped in days of old and said majestically, "We know it all," life wouldn't be so much fun. The world would still be flat, the seas beset by monsters, and the moon would still be cheese.

KAY RANFONE
Salem, N.H.

Sir / You quote Magician Charles Reynolds as saying, "When evaluating the research, we have found that the researcher's will to believe is all powerful." To be fair, you should also have cited the skeptic's will to disbelieve.

A physicist of note once told me that he found he had an overpowering urge to abandon a project of psychic research (concerned with reverse time) just when he felt that he was near a breakthrough. He had a panicky need to back away from the abyss before he was forced to confront its terrifying implications. He said: "I was scared witless that I was about to look into the face of God."

ELOISE YERGER
Paris

Sir / Man needs religion and ritual, and the recent cult of parapsychology has produced an impressive clergy.

The need to believe is as dominant a factor in this so-called enlightened age of ours as it has ever been. To quote Anton La Vey, who spearheaded the contemporary Satan boom, "Barnum said that a sucker is born every minute; with today's population explosion, there are two born every minute." Your article on the psychics would indicate that indeed a third is born every minute: a parapsychologist.

JOHN M. KINCAID
Minister of Information
Church of Satan
San Francisco

Sir / About talking to plants, my advice as author of five gardening books is this: talk, sing, croon to your plants—but also water, fertilize, cultivate, control insects and disease, provide proper light, temperature, humidity. If your plants talk back, then see a psychiatrist.

SAMM SINCLAIR BAKER
Mamaroneck, N.Y.

Sir / Thank you for clearing the air on the controversial subject "The Psychics." In my travels around the world performing as a mentalist, I have always closed my performances with the words, "To those who believe, no explanation is necessary; to those who do not believe, no explanation is possible."

Until science adopts the same rigorous testing procedures that are applied to any other investigation, the pursuit of any possible "psi" effect will meet with serious and legitimate objections. Miracle workers will continue to produce "paranormal" ghost pictures, bend nails and float objects in mid-air. Scientists will be confused until they realize that they are incapable of detecting chicanery without expert assistance.

DUNNINGER
Cliffside Park, N.J.

Sir / Your story on psychic phenomena used my name and mentioned my book in such a way as to insinuate that I consider the phenomena hoaxes.

Since I researched the psychic healers of the Philippines for several years and wrote objectively about their unexplained art, I can say with authority that the phenomenon is genuine most of the time—unexplained, but genuine.

Irrational skepticism is as firmly based in ignorance as irrational belief.

TOM VALENTINE
Chicago

Sir / The optimism expressed for exploring the mind and psyche typifies modern man's search for himself. People are lost in a world that manipulates them through technology, turmoil and fear.

Being the proud creature that he is, however, man is now looking inside himself for the power to control himself and others. Instead of turning for significance to the infinite-personal Christian God who made man in his own image, man is seeking his own glory—and we are just beginning to see the disastrous results around us.

BOB BRITTON
Rosemead, Calif.

Need for Clean Sweep

Sir / Thank God for the courageous voters of the Fifth Congressional District of Michigan [March 4]. The only good thing that can come out of Watergate is a thorough housecleaning in Washington.

(THE REV.) WENDELL L. HARDER
American Falls, Idaho

Sir / I am a Democrat and feel strongly that President Nixon has abused the trust the American people gave him, as well as bungled the mandate he claims to have received from them.

However, it would be detrimental to the future stability of our form of government if the "backlash" from Watergate ushered in a landslide of Democrats in Congress or in state and local government. To elect a party rather than the best-qualified person would be to compound our misery.

GENE FRANCESCHINI
Denver

Import a President?

Sir / Jonathan Bingham (D., N.Y.) and a vast number of the common people are calling for a constitutional amendment that would allow a certain Secretary of State, as well as any other naturalized aliens, to be eligible for the presidency [March 4]. Has the doubt of the American people and their representatives risen to the point that they are thinking of importing Presidents?

DAN BOGOSIAN
Waukegan, Ill.

Sir / There is much to be said for the repeal of Article II, Section 1 of the Constitution, which requires that the President be a "natural-born" citizen. And yet, if the German constitution in 1933 had contained a similar provision, Hitler, being Austrian-born, would not have been eligible to become Chancellor.

What a lovely thought.

ERIKA LITTLE
Chevy Chase, Md.

An Expensive Divorce

Sir / As a Frenchman, I am rather upset by your bitter attacks on present French diplomacy [March 4]. You present this move as not only selfish and ridiculous but anti-European. Your bright confidence in the fact that what is good for the U.S. is automatically good for everyone else shows either a wonderful colonial-like faith or sheer hypocrisy.

To take off, Europe needs a strong equilibrium of its own, even if this means a painful and expensive divorce for many Europeans and Americans. But don't you believe that on a long-term basis, the U.S. economy and policy would benefit from a strong Europe?

May this put an end to your present scornful attitude. Otherwise, we could add to your "not nasty, just French," "not hypocrite, just American."

FRANÇOIS DAVIN
Paris

Sir / I wish you Americans would stop playing at the game of the "goodies" and the "baddies," the "good Americans" and the "bad Frenchmen."

Your articles about unity in Europe exhale such paternalism that it is sickening. If there are people naive enough to swallow your "Listen to me—I only want your own good" show, I am not one of them.

As to your statement that "the French intransigence reflects a general frustration with France's diminishing role in the world at large and its frantic efforts to carve out a new sphere of influence," let me laugh. French influence shows even in your own language, so stuffed and riddled with French words and expressions that it is painful to read.

Pray tell me, where is America's contribution to civilization?

LIONEL ASENCI
Sydney, Australia

Solzhenitsyn (Contd.)

Sir / Your article on Solzhenitsyn [Feb. 25] failed to explain the significance of why the Soviets chose to deport him via the Federal Republic of Germany: by doing so it would be "returning the traitor to his ideological homeland."

To xenophobic Russia's unsophisticated people, this can only imply that if he were not in fact a "Nazi," why should he thus depart for Germany? The Germans were of course too flattered (and perhaps humanitarian or naive) to understand or question the advisability of accepting Solzhenitsyn's deportation.

HENRY A. GRIFFIN
Coburg, West Germany

Sir / Alexander Solzhenitsyn is free now. Should he know the real life on mainland China under Communist control, he would conclude that "the worst thing on earth is to be a Chinese."

COLONEL CHU CHEN-HAU (RET.)
Taiwan

Sir / Your cover story on Solzhenitsyn is an insult to a worthy man who obviously loves his native country and who will always be essentially Russian. To be used blatantly as

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a tool for Western propaganda against Russia must be bitter medicine for Solzhenitsyn. He might well come to wonder where the forces against him lie if the trend of emotive reporting that your magazine follows is continued.

SANDRA DUNCAN
Auckland, New Zealand

Sir / The Estonian lawyer to whom Solzhenitsyn attributes his conversion from Marxism to democratic principles was Arnold Susi (named in *The Gulag Archipelago*), a member of the last legitimate Estonian government on national soil. He could not make it to freedom abroad in 1944 when the Russians again invaded Estonia, and was subsequently arrested by the Soviets solely because he was a well-known national figure. He was sent to prisons and labor camps in Russia, where he met Alexander Solzhenitsyn.

JUHAN KANGUR
Bridgeton, N.J.

Sir / There is no doubt that Alexander Solzhenitsyn is "an authentic hero in an age sorely lacking them." However, it is a great pity that TIME and other Western publications stress not his principles of humanitarianism but his political dilemma with the U.S.S.R.

Is Solzhenitsyn great because of his determined and unselfish concern for humanity, or because he is a convenient tool for Western propaganda?

RALPH S. GREER JR.
Beirut

Sir / Your writing about Alexander Solzhenitsyn is absolutely ridiculous.

Stop it.

SIRKKU VÄISÄNEN
Turku, Finland

Moral Support for 34 Years

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Sir / It is not my habit to write to papers after reading reviews of my books. But after coming across the one by Martha Duffy on my novel *The Eye of the Storm* [Jan. 14], in which she refers to me as "living in Sydney with several dogs and a male housekeeper," I feel I must draw your attention to an incorrect, and I should have thought gratuitous, biographical detail. The distinguished and universally respected man who has given me his friendship and moral support over a period of 34 years has never been a housekeeper. *I* am that, and shall continue playing the role at least till I am paralyzed; it keeps me in touch with reality.

PATRICK WHITE
Sydney, Australia

House-Spouse

Sir / Concerning your article on "Men of the House" [Feb. 18]: "Housewife" and "househusband" are all right if you must be specific, but "house-spouse" has much to offer as an all-purpose replacement.

For example, last year my wife was the house-spouse, but this year I am the house-spouse. Both of us get the best of both worlds this way. I think being a house-spouse during alternate years is a great idea.

WOODROW DENHAM
Indianola, Wash.

Shared Religion

Sir / You report that Iran and Iraq share the same religion [Feb. 25]. I suggest that they share it in the same way that Catholics and Protestants share Christianity in Northern Ireland. A majority of Iraqis are Sunni Moslems (the mainstream Moslem sect).

In Iran the majority are Shiites, a divergent sect who believe that Ali was the last true successor to Mohammed. There has been much enmity between these two groups in the past.

E. GEORGE MATTHEWS
Kakamega, Kenya

Dangerous to Your Health

Sir / Where are they now, all the protectors of innocence, defenders of morals, the bulwarks of decency? Where are they now that we need them? I am not one to advocate adult censorship, but where are all the God-fearing folks who wanted to protect us from the "evils" of Linda Lovelace, Henry Miller, Hugh Hefner, Bob Guccione, *et al.*, now that something obviously dangerous is being offered to the moviegoing public?

Is it not obvious that viewing the movie called *The Exorcist* [Feb. 11] may be hazardous to your health? The Food and Drug Administration, the Surgeon General, Ralph Nader and who knows how many other people dedicate their lives to consumer protection. The protection they offer is for the body. Who tries to protect our minds?

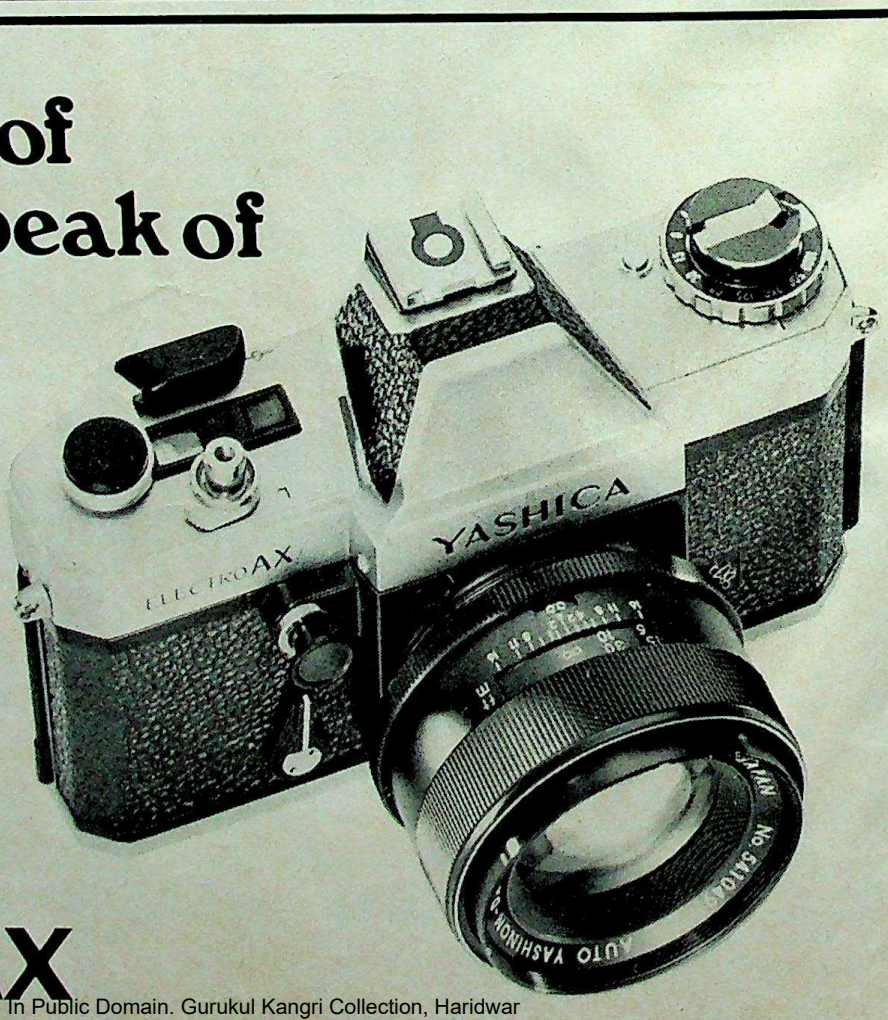
We the people of the United States, it would appear, are not only getting the Government we deserve, but the entertainment also.

VICTOR A. JACKSON
FPO New York City

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A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

The assigning and culling of the photographs for each issue of TIME—a task that sometimes requires the clairvoyance of a fortune-teller and the shrewdness of a sleuth—is carried out by ten picture researchers under the direction of Picture Editor John Durniak and Assistant Picture Editor Michele Stephenson. In the course of an average week, between 10,000 and 15,000 separate pictures, most of them tiny prints on contact sheets, will be inspected by the staff before a selection of the best of them are blown up to 8-in. by 10-in. size; from that group the final 75 or so black and white pictures are chosen to appear in the issue. (Color pictures are handled separately by Arnold Drapkin, Mary Themo and Nancy Smith.)

The process begins when the various sections of the magazine schedule their stories. Along with queries asking for reports from our correspondents in news bureaus round the world go wires requesting and suggesting pictures. "TIME's photographers," says Durniak, "are seeking in their subjects glances and gestures—visual facts—that add information—not decoration—to the text." For this week's cover story Pulitzer Prizewinning Photographer David Hume Kennerly shot 14 rolls of film of James St. Clair to produce the photos that appear in the magazine; one became the cover portrait.

TIME recently had the problem of assembling pictures of a Vice President who had yet to be picked. "We made a guess," says Durniak, "and assigned a photographer to cover Jerry Ford before he was chosen." By the time Ford was nominated, we had already sent a color photograph to the engraving plant for the Oct. 22 cover.

Occasionally, however, the news beats the photographer. When Picture Researcher Francine Hyland had to illustrate a recent Medicine story dealing with a factory closed by asbestosis—a disease that affects workers in asbestos factories—she found that there were no photos available and the company that owned the factory would not allow any to be taken. Hyland finally located a doctor in Manhattan who had done research on the disease and obtained from him a photo of factory machinery covered by the harmful asbestos dust. By contrast, Hyland notes, last week's Modern Living story on streaking produced an embarrassment of riches. "I didn't think we'd get many pictures," she says, "but I was wrong. In fact, after the story came out, streakers started calling me to see if they could get their pictures into this week's issue."

Ralph P. Davidson

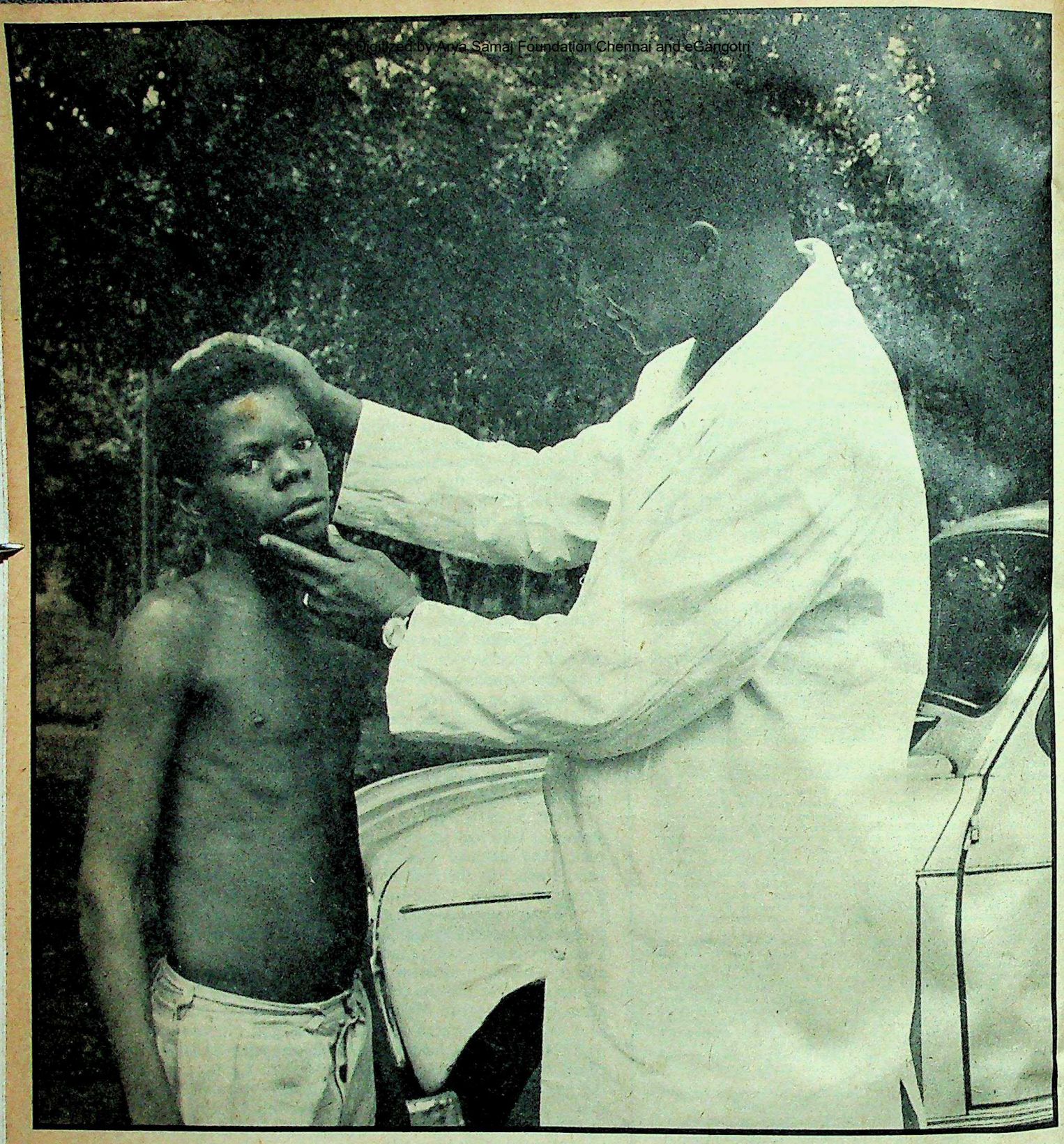
INDEX

Cover Story 15	Energy 26	People 32
	Letters 1	Press 30
Art 39	Market Week 36	Science 34
Books 48	Medicine 35	Sport 37
Cinema 38	Milestones 36	Theater 29
Economy & Business 42	Music 40	U.S. 14
		World 5

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Life Saver

In the tropical and subtropical countries where leprosy is prevalent, superstition and fear about it are as crippling as the disease itself. But this Nigerian boy was lucky. An experienced health worker observed the early symptoms of leprosy on him and arranged to have him treated by a government doctor who was sponsored by a UNICEF-supported project to combat and control leprosy in West Africa.

Support UNICEF

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DIPLOMACY

An Alliance in Need of Détente

Acrimony and pique have been building up behind the façade of the Atlantic Alliance for months. Last week they erupted, exposing American-European relations at their worst in years. What triggered the blowup was an informal talk that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger gave to about 225 wives of Congressmen at the State Department. Apparently unaware that journalists were present and thinking that his remarks would be off the record, Kissinger abandoned the carefully measured phrases of diplomacy of which he is a grand master.

"I would say that the biggest problem American foreign policy confronts," he grumbled, "is not how to regulate competition with its enemies—we have a generation of experience with this, and with ups and downs we are going to handle it—but how to bring our friends to a realization that there are greater common interests than simply self-assertiveness." He further observed that "the deepest problem in Europe today is that there have been rarely, fully legitimate governments in any European country since World War I."

Within a few hours, the news of Kissinger's blunt criticism of America's allies was all over Washington—and, worse, all over Europe. Foreign news agencies and embassies scurried to obtain accurate texts. By the time that the State Department issued a somewhat laundered transcript of the talk, the damage had been done. Europe was stunned. Said French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert, who later in the week accompanied President Georges Pompidou on a state visit to the Soviet Union: "Kissinger does not understand Europe." In Bonn, a ranking German official complained: "Now we have a cold war between America and Europe." A Belgian official advised Europe to "try to behave, publicly at least, as if we did not hear Kissinger's remarks."

Verbal Bombshell. It soon became clear that unusual action would be needed to patch up the allies' relations. On Thursday, Kissinger unexpectedly appeared at the State Department's regular noon press briefing where he apologized for his biting comments: "I regret them, and I feel they make no great contribution to the Atlantic dialogue."

Europe's leaders scarcely had time to consider Kissinger's apology when Richard Nixon dropped another verbal bombshell on the alliance. At his Friday press conference in Chicago, the President warned Europe that "the day of the one-way street is gone." Nixon told the EEC that it must decide to work with the U.S. "on the economic and political front," or else America "will go separately." Just in case Europeans missed the point, the President observed that Congress might vote to cut U.S. troop strength in Europe unless some understanding is reached. On Saturday, *Le Monde,* the Paris daily, denounced this as "blackmail."

A number of recent events have fueled Washington's wrath. Kissinger feels that the Common Market has been making important unilateral decisions without properly consulting the U.S. On the French proposal, he was furious.

Kissinger did little to conceal his anger, complaining to both reporters and Congress about the EEC's perfidy. Then Nixon wrote to West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, who is currently spokesman for the EEC countries. Employing blunter language than is normally used by allies, Nixon complained that the U.S. had a right to expect closer consultation with the EEC on relations with the Arabs. Kissinger surely had a hand in drafting the letter.

In his reply, Brandt insisted that the

WRIGHT—MIAMI NEWS

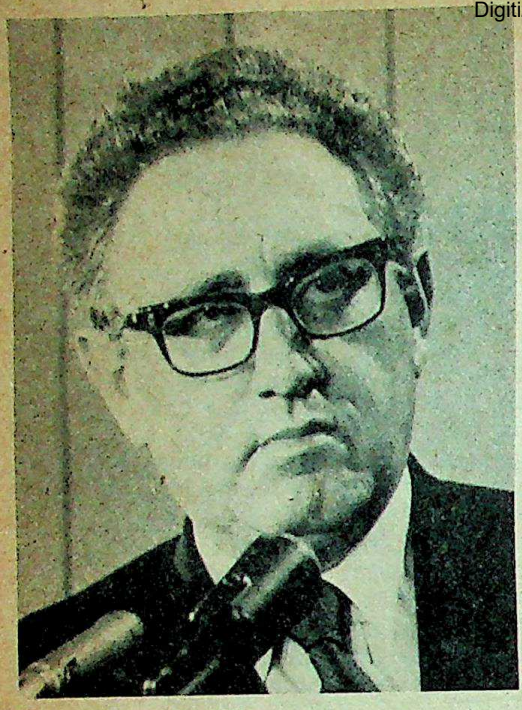


March 4, the EEC announced that later this year it would like to meet with 20 Arab nations to discuss economic, cultural and technical cooperation. Kissinger fears that such a meeting could undermine his own efforts to find a peaceful settlement in the Middle East and could work at cross-purposes to the coordinating group created by the recent Washington energy conference. Kissinger has known since last November that France was urging the EEC to call such a conference. But when he visited Bonn on March 3, he was led to believe by West German Foreign Minister Walter Scheel that the EEC was not yet ready to accept the French proposal. Thus Kissinger believed that he still had time to dissuade the Market's leaders from going ahead with the conference. When he was informed on March 4 that the EEC had formally agreed to EEC had kept Washington fully informed of progress on the French proposal. The West German leader ended his letter on a conciliatory note, by inviting Nixon, on behalf of the EEC, to visit Europe at the end of April. At his Friday press conference, Nixon rejected the EEC invitation, declaring that "until Europe is . . . willing to cooperate on the economic and political front, no meeting of heads of state will occur."

French Nemesis. In fact, Washington's unhappiness with Europe is caused by much more than the EEC conference proposal. Kissinger feels that Western Europe does not know what it wants and is plagued by weak leaders and minority governments. He is annoyed that Europe has dragged its feet on drafting the new Atlantic Charter that he proposed eleven months ago. France, which has openly warned other European coun-

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FISHER—GAMMA

HENRY KISSINGER
Rivals or allies?

tries that they can maintain their identity only if they keep some distance from the U.S., is a particular nemesis. Most rankling, perhaps, is the EEC's method of "consultation." Kissinger believes that the U.S. is seldom allowed to participate in EEC discussions early enough to affect their outcome.

The Europeans return Kissinger's criticisms in kind, accusing the U.S. of failing to consult with them. An example: Washington's decision to place American troops on alert during the Yom Kippur War. Kissinger's style of personal diplomacy, which many Europeans regard as imperious, grates on them. A leading British politician angrily asks: "Does Kissinger think he can treat us like South Vietnamese?" After the American difficulties in Southeast Asia and Watergate, few European leaders regard the U.S. as a model to be blindly followed—if they ever did. In many capitals the proposal for a new Atlantic Charter was viewed as an effort to strengthen U.S. influence in Europe. The French argue that America's primary goal is to reimpose its hegemony over Western Europe. Paris urges Europe to act and not, in the words of a French diplomat, "worry whether Washington will approve or not."

Genuine Partnership. Most European leaders, however, are not quite as wary as the French. Willy Brandt remains committed to the idea that Europe needs a genuine partnership with America, as does Britain's new Labor government. Moreover, Kissinger is still eager to bring new life to the Atlantic Alliance. As a high U.S. official has remarked, "America cannot afford to let Europe go neutralist." What remains uncertain is whether Washington's new shock tactics of confrontation are the best means of bringing the alliance back together, or whether a dose of détente may not work better.

BRITAIN

Something for Everyone

The imperial crown and velvet robes were missing. So was the ride from Buckingham Palace to Westminster in the horse-drawn state coach. Instead, Queen Elizabeth, wearing the same sapphire-blue coat she wore at Princess Anne's recent wedding, drove to the House of Lords to open the new Parliament last week in an ordinary black limousine. The absence of spectacle was something of an accident; there simply had not been enough time to prepare the customary pageantry for the Queen, who had interrupted an official visit to Australia to anoint the election winner. Nonetheless, the austere mood reflected the difficult times in which Britain finds itself.

It took the Queen ten minutes to read the brief speech that her new Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, had prepared for her. The most cheerful note came when Her Majesty intoned, "I have been able to end the state of emergency, which had existed since 13 November." Hardly more than a general outline of the new government's program, the speech nonetheless gave Britons their first clue as to how Wilson and his Labor Party plan to rule and retain power while holding only 301 of the House of Commons' 635 seats. Wilson's strategy is clear: he intends, at least initially, to emphasize safe, popular measures and give the 296 Tories, 14 Liberals and 21 assorted nationalist M.P.s no reason to unite to topple him.

Wilson has already frozen most rents until 1975 and ended the three-day work week. Through the Queen, he promised substantial increases in pensions and social-security payments, which would affect benefits for widows, the disabled and the unemployed. To halt the soaring cost of food (up 53% during the 44 months of Edward Heath's Tory government), Wilson proposed subsidizing basic foodstuffs (probably eggs, cheese, milk and bread) and limiting food profit margins. He also pledged unspecified "urgent measures" to deal with the country's housing crisis. While the number of new houses built has been declining, the average mortgage payments on a new house have risen in the past four years from $82 to $216.

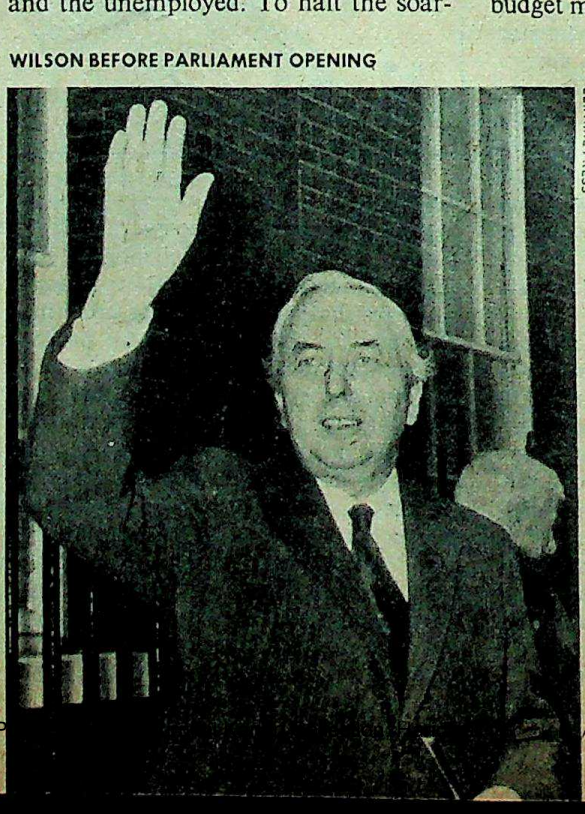
Vague Language. The Tories can hardly expect to defeat the Labor government by challenging such popular economic measures. Moreover, Wilson, by avoiding more controversial issues, refused to give Heath good targets. For instance, "nationalization" was never mentioned in the Queen's speech, though Labor's election manifesto had promised to nationalize many of Britain's major industries, including shipbuilding, trucking and construction. The only reference to an extension of public ownership was a cautiously worded promise to crack down on property speculators.

So adroitly did Wilson draft the speech that Heath was limited to criticizing the vagueness of the language. "It requires a consistent probing to ascertain what lies behind so much of its wording," he complained, adding that he could not judge it without "knowledge of the government's financial policies." Liberal Leader Jeremy Thorpe expressed delight that Labor had already "shed some of their unmentionables"—such as nationalization.

Eventually, of course, Wilson must confront some hard decisions. In the budget message later this month, he will have to indicate which programs will be slashed or which taxes raised to provide the funds for his generous welfare increases. He also faces potential union unrest. There is the danger that the hefty wage boost he granted to the coal miners (up to 30% in some cases) will embolden other workers when their contracts expire this year. This could land Wilson in the same dilemma that led to Heath's recent electoral defeat: a battle with the unions to restrain wage demands in order to hold back inflation.

Wilson will also have trouble when he seeks "fundamental renegotiation" of the terms under which Britain entered the Common Market. He hopes to obtain lower food prices for Britain and a reduction in London's contributions to the Market budget. Any renegotiation

WILSON BEFORE PARLIAMENT OPENING



CENTRAL PRESS

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must partially satisfy the strong anti-Market feelings of Labor's left wing and of Renegade Tory Enoch Powell (who claims that his endorsement of Wilson during the campaign won the election for Labor) and yet not go so far as to unite the pro-Market Tories and Liberals. Wilson has set a twelve-month deadline for himself for renegotiation. Then he plans to seek popular approval of the results, either by referendum or in a general election.

Snap Votes. The chances are good that Wilson will survive until that deadline, though he is in no position to drop his guard. Whenever a Tory whip suspects that he has enough M.P.s on the Commons floor to defeat the government, he could call a snap vote on some minor issue. Normally, that kind of defeat could force a government to resign. But Wilson has served notice that he would treat the results of a snap vote merely "with suitable respect, not exaggerated respect." Even if the Tories and Liberals combine this week to defeat Labor on the traditional vote approving the Queen's speech, Wilson is unlikely to resign. Instead, he will probably remain in office until losing a formal vote of confidence on what he considers a more substantive issue.

With Britain tired of elections and longing to be governed, it will probably be some time before either Labor or the opposition parties decide to take the responsibility of sending voters back to another agonizing choice.

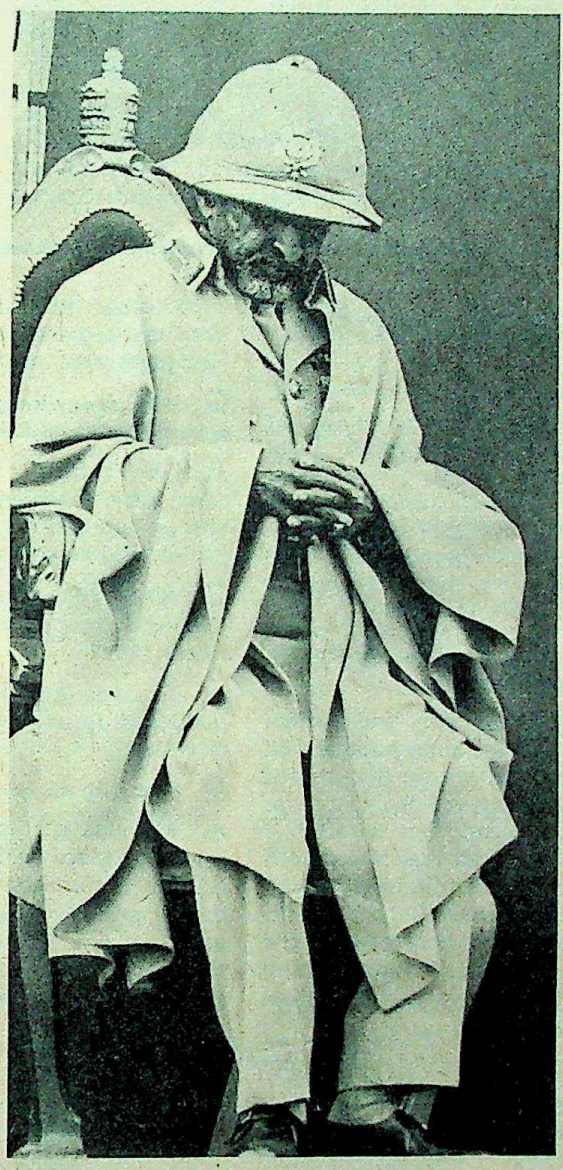
ETHIOPIA

Twilight of an Emperor

The upheaval in Ethiopia, which began with a strike by teachers and taxi drivers and culminated in a military mutiny, continued unchecked last week. Beleaguered Emperor Haile Selassie, 81, offered the protesters concession after concession, only to see them ask for even more reforms. By promising changes for his semifeudal country, Haile Selassie probably saved the monarchy as an institution, at the price of yielding much of his fabled, once absolute power.

In response to army demands for higher pay, the Emperor had earlier been forced to oust his old Cabinet and name a progressive-minded diplomat, Endalkachew Makonnen, 46, as Prime Minister. The military's success in getting what it wanted apparently served as a goad to other dissatisfied Ethiopians. In early March a general strike paralyzed Ethiopia's cities for four days and cut the country off from the outside world. The international airports in Addis Ababa and Asmara were shut down and the Red Sea ports were closed. Food and fuel shortages spread as truck drivers stopped working. So determined were the striking workers to win government acceptance of their demands that the negotiating committee refused to meet with the Emperor himself, insisting on dealing with Endalkachew.

Only after Endalkachew agreed to increase the 50¢ per day minimum wage to at least 75¢, make primary schooling free and give government employees the right to organize, did most workers return to their jobs. Teachers, however, remained out, demanding higher salaries. Toward week's end their protests were joined by several hundred black-robed priests of the Coptic Christian Church, who demonstrated outside Parliament. Claiming to speak for Ethiopia's 200,000 priests, they threatened to strike unless they received a boost in their current $1.50 monthly minimum allowance. Also angry were the capital's estimated 50,000 prostitutes. In leaflets, addressed to the police and signed "the guardians of your happiness and well-being," they warned that they would stop selling their wares unless price controls would be eased to allow them to charge a minimum $10 fee.



LAURENT—GAMMA

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE
"The monarchy will remain."

Except for the interruption of services caused by the strikes and the overtones of exhilaration and apprehension, there is little evidence in Addis Ababa that Ethiopia has undergone what amounts to a revolution. The military is in the barracks, and the hordes of hideously deformed beggars are back in the streets—a sure sign of normalcy. Both the protesters and the government have so far shown remarkable restraint and have avoided violence. Only when restless students from the capital's Haile Selassie University ventured outside the campus last week, to ignite an effigy of Endalkachew and demand "free speech" and "free press," were they attacked by baton-wielding police. Even then, few were injured or arrested. Ethiopian students studying in the Soviet Union also demonstrated. They occupied the Ethiopian embassy in Moscow for three hours and demanded that the Emperor abdicate.

Haile Selassie, however, has vowed that "the monarchy will remain." In a traditional gesture of good will, he drove to the Addis marketplace, rolled down the window of his limousine and handed out green Ethiopian dollar bills to the swarming beggars. The protesters were not impressed. "The time is past for puny Imperial charity," said one labor leader. Far more meaningful was the Emperor's decision to appoint a constitutional commission with a mandate to propose some reforms within six months. Last week he told a press conference that he "wishes to change the constitution [so that] the will of the people will now dictate our attitude. Even the rights of the sovereign will depend on the will of the people."

TIME Correspondent Lee Griggs, who was in Addis Ababa last week, reports that "veteran observers wonder whether Selassie's talk of reform is sincere. At other times he has spoken movingly of the need for change, but nothing ever came of it. One problem has been the ability of the Amhara tribe, to which the Emperor belongs, to thwart any alteration of the status quo. A land-owning feudal aristocracy that collects up to 90% of a tenant's harvest as rent, the Amharas have stalled land reform and can be expected to resist any attempt to undermine their power."

If the Emperor drags his feet on reform, the military—sparked by middle-echelon officers—will likely move again. While they seem ready to retain the monarchy as a symbol of national unity, the young officers can be expected to push for high taxes on the wealthy Amharas. Most likely they will aim to deprive the throne of its remaining power by insisting on a constitution that provides for competing political parties and a Cabinet responsive to a popularly elected Parliament.

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Firing for Position and Advantage

Perhaps because it lacked the goading presence of U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, the Middle East last week appeared to have regressed to the familiar old no war–no peace stalemate. Day after noisy day on the Golan Heights, Syrian and Israeli gunners fought artillery duels. In Jerusalem, Premier Golda Meir hurled a few verbal shells at both Syria and the Palestinians. In interviews with Time Inc. Editor in Chief Hedley Donovan *(see box below and on page 10)*, both Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Mrs. Meir displayed a measure of perhaps ritualistic truculence.

Most of the crossfire—polemical as well as real—was shot off by both sides in an effort to gain tactical advantages when Kissinger's diplomatic tour de force resumes late this month or early in April. Both Israel and Syria have agreed to attend disengagement talks in Washington; at Syrian insistence, each will meet separately with U.S. officials. Apart from a peremptory Syrian rejection of Israel's first disengagement proposals (which involved P.O.W. exchanges, limited Israeli withdrawal and a possible U.N. buffer zone between the two armies), nothing much has happened to spur the talks forward.

On the Golan Heights, "the Syrians fire sporadically," said one Israeli battalion commander. "We never know when they will begin, and we don't know when they will stop. There is no logic to it." In fact, the logic was to get the Israelis to negotiate seriously. The firing may also have been designed to reassure hawks back in Damascus that President Hafez Assad is truly determined to recover all Syrian land captured by Israel in two wars.

The gun battles had some advantages for Israel as well. Mrs. Meir was able to point to the threat of renewed fighting to convince Defense Minister Moshe Dayan to join the Cabinet (TIME, March 18). Dayan brought other holdouts with him, and a Cabinet crisis ended. By a vote of 62 to 46, with nine abstentions, the Knesset last week gave Mrs. Meir her mandate.

However veiled, telling pressures for continuing the Israeli-Syrian disengagement talks were there. Sadat is believed to be willing to take part in discussions if asked. Assad is undoubtedly aware

Egypt's Sadat: New Look

Ikingi Maryut is a small green retreat in the Western Desert outside Alexandria, where Egyptian President Anwar Sadat last April reached his fateful decision to go to war with Israel. There last week Sadat received Hedley Donovan and gave his first interview with a representative of a Western publication since the war. Wearing a gray turtleneck sweater, slacks and sports jacket, Sadat puffed his pipe and broke into confident laughter from time to time as he ranged widely over a number of topics. Among the questions and answers:

Q. *Did you foresee, before the war, [any] American diplomatic moves toward reaching a peace settlement?*

A. Starting from the summit meeting in Moscow—the first between Nixon and Brezhnev in 1972—and the communiqué that was issued after it, there was a very critical phrase that caused us great annoyance. It said that both parties agreed on military relaxation in the area. Military relaxation meant that the state of no war–no peace that had prevailed here, and that had caused us all our trouble and our dilemma, would continue. The next year, [at] the Washington summit, it was obvious that the two superpowers had gone a step further. It was quite clear from the communiqué that our problem had been put in the freezer again. So, believe me, when I took this decision [to go to war], whatever the reaction, we were not ready to continue because both superpowers wanted to freeze the whole thing.

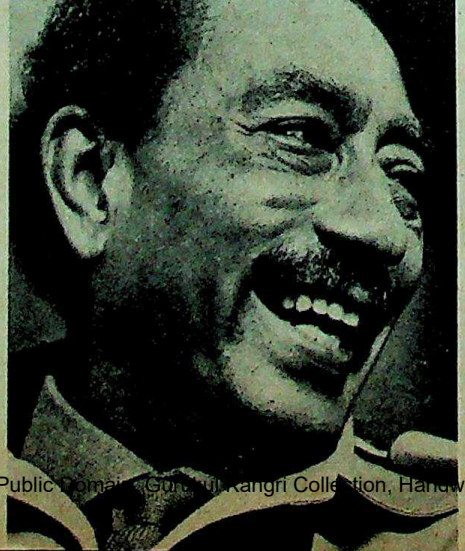
Whatever the reaction, we were not ready to continue this state of no war–no peace. We were no longer ready to bear this humiliation that we had suffered for six years.

Q. *What new elements since the war make you optimistic that peace is a possibility now?*

A. The most important factor is the American position. The American position had always been one of complete alignment with Israel. Before the Nixon Administration, [and] to be fair, during the Johnson Administration—it was horrible for us.

But since the October war, and from the changed attitude of the U.S.—specifically the attitude of the Nixon Administration and the tireless efforts of Dr. Kissinger—I am optimistic. This is the

ABBAS



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Another thing, I think, is that the sixth of October mu have changed some of the outlook in Israel. Up to this momen I am not sure of this.

Q. *Why does disengagement on the Syrian front seem so mu more difficult to achieve than Egyptian-Israeli disengagement?*

A. I don't think it is difficult. From my viewpoint, maybe b cause there has been a personal relationship and understandi between me and Dr. Kissinger, I think that Kissinger is doi his best and President [Hafez] Assad is doing his best.

Q. *When you agreed to exchange prisoners with Israel, y seemed to have made concessions beyond previously stated p sitions. Why?*

A. I had a three-hour talk in November with Kissinger. politics, I think, flexibility without losing the target is ve essential.

Q. *How long do you think the process of settlement might take?*

A. My idea is this: disengagement on the Syrian front mu first take place. After that, all of us will go to Geneva, a there will start the real process for peace. Disengagement only a military conception. It is a cease-fire. [But] peace— my mind is a matter of months only. It does not need mo than that. For instance, we shall not be going to Gene to discuss withdrawal. Withdrawal is a fact. Maybe, to practical, we can discuss security.

Q. *You mean that withdrawal to the 19 borders is a fact?*

A. It is a fact.

Q. *Does Israel know this?*

A. I should like them to know it. No quisition of others' land by force; this stated in [United Nations] Resolution and I think it has been proved as of sixth of October that this [Israeli] the [of security] has failed completely. Le discuss security problems in Geneva, let us discuss them openly. They must prepared to do their share because it is just security for them only. It is secu for us too.

Q. *Was reopening the Suez Canal pa the disengagement agreement?*

A. Not at all. The Suez Canal is E tian, on Egyptian land. Opening it is Egyptian affair. It was never a matter of

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that the Arab world's most prestigious leader is now breathing over his shoulder. Both the Palestinians and Jordan's King Hussein are also anxious to begin talks, once Syria's are completed. The Palestinians, however, received little hope of accommodation last week from Golda Meir. During the Knesset's debate on her government, Mrs. Meir warned: "Israel rejects the establishment of an additional separate Arab state west of the Jordan." Since Israel's National Religious Party, at least, insists on retaining portions of the West Bank, Mrs. Meir indicated that she plans a national referendum before she signs any peace agreement with Hussein.

There is also pressure on Israel to keep Kissinger's negotiating cycle going. Mrs. Meir admitted that "the Yom Kippur War must leave its mark on our concepts, our actions, our way of life in every sphere." Underscoring her point, the



ISRAELI ARTILLERY POSITIONS FACING SYRIAN GUNS ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS
A logic directed at negotiations and Damascus hawks.

ission or a matter of condition; I would never permit that. But] the canal will be reopened. I have given the appropriate orers. Since the Israelis left the western bank, everything has een going forward.

Q. *Can you visualize any useful international guarantee of orders?*

A. Yes, sure. Either by the two superpowers or all the big powrs. In any form, it is welcome. But the talk in Israel about the emilitarization of Sinai should stop. If they want a demilitaized Sinai, I shall be asking for a demilitarized Israel. How can demilitarize Sinai when, within six hours, I could be threatned by then? No, if there is a demilitarized zone, it must be on oth sides.

Q. *What about a strip of perhaps ten miles on each side?*

A. I quite agree. Twenty miles on each side? I quite agree. Vhy not?

Q. *Would you want a kind of U.N. emergency force interposed between the two sides in such a demilitarized zone?*

A. I would not object to it. In fact, it is necessary.

Q. *Do you visualize normal diplomatic relations with Israel at ome point?*

A. How could you visualize that, after 26 years of bitterness, belgerency, hatred and violence? It cannot be. For 26 years a tate of belligerency has prevailed between us. Let our aim be to nd this state of belligerency officially and openly. That will be big achievement. As a practical man, I say: Let us end the tate of belligerence and then there will be a new atmosphere. Ve cannot say what will happen after that.

Q. *What are your hopes for Egypt in such a new atmosphere?*

A. I think there are great possibilities. As you know, investent was very limited during the last seven years because of the ar. Our population is increasing by about a million a year. We ave to find food, everything, for them. Without industrializing he country and improving our agriculture, rebuilding the cities n the canal zone and the factories that were destroyed, we canot move. This is a huge program.

Before the war, I always said that we must make the battle he starting point for [economic] takeoff, for building a new coun- y on the technology of the generation of which we are a part, hrough the cooperation of the big powers, of Western Europe. I hink we will achieve that.

Q. *You see ahead, then, a mix of public and private sectors?*

A. That is inevitable for us, because of our growing population. Ve did not choose this social system because we wanted to be in a certain camp. No, it is like this: there is no other alternative for us. We have a small cultivable area of land and a big population that is increasing by maybe the biggest rate in the world.

Q. *How do you see Egypt's relations with the U.S.?*

A. President Nixon—whom you do not value as we value him here—has done much for them. We have suffered a lot from all your previous Administrations, starting with [Secretary of State John Foster] Dulles and ending with [William] Rogers. The real approach to the problem and the real new look that should have come from America in this area long ago came only from Nixon and Kissinger.

There has never been any problem between us except this alignment with Israel. If we can reach understanding on that, there will be nothing between us. Our relationship can thus improve step by step. It is galloping.

Q. *Did you have in mind reestablishing diplomatic relations with the U.S. before you met Kissinger?*

A. It was the result of meeting him. After my talk with Kissinger in November, I felt confident. So when he asked me about diplomatic relations, I told him in principle I agreed, but as you know this needed some time. We agreed on this, and then the time came.

Q. *How would you compare your regime with that of your predecessor, Gamal Abdel Nasser?*

A. I have always said that I am responsible in part for every decision made during Nasser's regime because I was his partner and he left me as Vice President. Believe me, if Nasser had lived to this moment, he would be doing what I am doing, maybe.

It is a continuation, but in this continuation there are two main points. First, we had an experiment and in the experiment there were negatives and positives. What I am now doing is trying to correct the negatives. Second, there must be a new look, because all around us in the world all relations, all balances are changing hour by hour, not day by day. So there must be a new look, and I am trying to adapt us to this new look, to the new balances, to the new strategies. Some are shouting that I am abolishing Nasserism. I don't pay heed to them at all.

Q. *Do you intend to designate an heir, as Nasser designated you?*

A. No. According to our constitution, if the President leaves or dies, the Speaker of Parliament takes over for 60 days.* The process will be quite normal. I will leave it for the people to choose.

*Under Egypt's present constitution, enacted after Sadat took office, Vice Presidents no longer succeed automatically upon the death of a President.

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government distributed a booklet, *The Fallen and the Missing in the Yom Kippur War*, containing the names of all 2,552 Israeli soldiers killed in action in October; the first 350,000 copies printed were quickly gone, and 150,000 more ordered. And in the Knesset, Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir set a price tag of $7.14 billion on the October war. He announced a new budget of $8.44 billion, nearly half of it for defense, and warned that Israel will have to borrow for years to come to cover war costs and maintain its security.

The new government will be under pressure to negotiate not only swiftly but also well. Although Foreign Minister Abba Eban was in Washington last week to discuss disengagement in general as well as U.S. aid, Israel's negotiator will probably be Defense Minister Moshe Dayan. That would please Washington. Says one ranking U.S. official: "Most Israeli leaders will talk to you about that hill or this crossroad. Dayan is the only one who can see the whole landscape of a possible disengagement." Dayan, however, is under severe criticism at home for the lack of preparedness that led to heavy Israeli losses early in the war. Unless he can make a spectacular recovery in the Washington talks he may be forced to resign. If he does, the entire government may fall with him, putting a fresh roadblock in the way of ultimate settlement.

Israel's Meir: Somber Hope

Premier Golda Meir had looked pale and fatigued as she sat in the Knesset waiting for parliamentary approval of her new government. But she appeared vigorous and rested last week when she and Time Inc.'s Editor in Chief talked in her Jerusalem office. Mrs. Meir joked about the problems of forming a government. But when the conversation turned to the Cabinet's first priority—disengagement with Syria—Israel's 75-year-old leader became markedly more somber. Her views:

Q. ***What is the present status of disengagement?***

A. [Syrian President Hafez] Assad was not too delighted with the proposals we gave to Mr. Kissinger. The feeling is mutual about Assad's proposals.

We are prepared for an agreement on disengagement with Syria. But we are not prepared to throw in any bonus for Assad's attack on us in October. We are not prepared to give him something beyond the 1967 border. We should be talking now only about the results of the October war. He has villages in the territory we captured, and he should be concerned about them. But he wants us to get off the Golan Heights entirely. There is no one who can honestly say to us, after seeing the situation on the Heights and listening to Assad, that we should come down. We have been down there before. For 19 years we were not on the Golan, and our towns and settlements in the valley were nevertheless shelled, despite the U.N., despite demilitarization. Anyone who wants to hurt Israel cannot resist the temptation when they are up there and we are down below.

DAVID RUBINGER



The crux of the matter, and I say this with sorrow, is not really the territory or boundary. It is a question of whether they have acquiesced to our presence or haven't. And we have a right to be skeptical. No other country in the world has this problem—neighbors who are dedicated to the idea that you must be destroyed.

Q. ***How much of the present situation is due to Israel's refusal to return the Golan Heights after the 1967 war?***

A. No honest person can guarantee us that if we had come down from the Golan Heights after 1967, the Syrians would not have kept attacking our settlements. Outsiders are allowed to speculate about this. But they have no responsibility for the security of Israel.

Q. ***What about negotiations with Egypt?***

A. I hope [President Anwar] Sadat deserves the credit he is getting. We have always hoped that an Arab leader would emerge who felt he owed something to his people, who would realize that he had the choice of trying to destroy us and paying with the suffering of his people, or letting us be and building up his own country. On this we build our hopes: that Sadat doesn't want war, at least in the near future.

Q. ***When will the second stage of negotiations begin?***

A. We are prepared to come to an agreement. But we want to see if Sadat really starts to operate the Suez Canal, if he really starts rebuilding the cities along the canal, if he really becomes involved with economic development. A man who does all that will not begin a war that would destroy it all.

Q. ***Are further negotiations with Sadat possible before an agreement with Syria?***

A. Yes, as far as we are concerned. But we know that it is difficult for Sadat to be all alone. We are not interested in making things more difficult for him. It is true that Israel has complexes and traumas, but the complexes are based on facts and realities that cannot be denied. I wouldn't be telling the truth if I said I thought there would not be more war. We certainly hope there won't. But it would be criminal to build on that. We have gone as far as we have with Egypt because they did not win the war. If they had won there would be no agreement.

Even in Europe and the U.S., where there is no war, armies and defenses are maintained. In Israel, where the threat of war is a present reality, defenses and vigilance must be all the stronger.

Q. ***What about negotiations with Jordan over the West Bank?***

A. We are willing to negotiate. But this is a question many people in Israel are very sensitive about. There are deep religious significances and important historical connections involved in this territory. I think that the majority of the people in Israel are ready to say that for peace, we are willing to make a compromise. But before we make a settlement on the West Bank, we must put the question to the people in a vote.

Q. ***What of the Soviet Union?***

A. I don't believe that the Soviet Union wants to destroy us. But in order to gain their foothold in the region and satisfy their own interests, [the Russians] are prepared to give the Arabs anything they want to destroy us. If you want to be cynical, you could say the Soviet Union needs Israel because that is the only way they can make King Faisal a Marxist.

Q. ***Would you sign a mutual defense pact with the U.S. or accept a joint U.S.-Soviet guarantee?***

A. Why ask for something that is difficult to give? Can you imagine an American President in the 1970s sending an American Army to protect us or anyone, no matter how sorry they might feel for us? If the day comes when we are dependent on others for our protection, we lose our independence.

A joint U.S.-Soviet guarantee? That's too good—Brezhnev's protecting us. I cannot begin to dream of such an idea.

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BRAZIL

A Decade of *Ditadura*

Just ten years ago it was called the United States of Brazil—a functioning democracy with a representative government patterned on the American model. There, however, comparison with the U.S. ended. Although Brazil was the giant of South America, with about half its 6,888,000-sq.-mi. land mass, it was perennially hamstrung by internal problems. Now much of that has changed. Today Brazil, with a population of 103 million, is the major political and economic influence in South America; moreover its exports are spreading so far beyond the continent's shores that it is being billed as "the new Japan." But no longer is it the United States of Brazil. Ten years after a military coup ousted the leftist government of President João Goulart, it remains in the iron grip of a junta; in 1967 the generals renamed the country the Federated Republic of Brazil.

When they took over, the generals declared their intention to rule only "temporarily"; they gave themselves three years. Last week Pat Nixon flew into the gleaming, Oscar Niemeyer–inspired capital Brasília to witness the inauguration of a new President, but the ceremony signaled no easing of the reins. In a brief swearing in, low-keyed President-select (meaning selected by the generals) Ernesto Geisel promised to uphold a constitution that his three immediate predecessors (all generals) had carefully tailored to meet their authoritarian requirements.

Carbon Copies. Geisel, 65, will be the first Protestant ever to rule what is the world's largest Roman Catholic nation. One of the original plotters of the coup, he served four years as head of Petrobras, the state-owned oil monopoly. The new chief of state is almost a carbon copy of the taciturn outgoing President, Emílio Garrastazú Médici, and few changes seem in prospect. In fact, given the self-effacing, collective character of the Brazilian oligarchy, who wears the presidential mantle at any particular time is of little importance.

What is important is the remarkable stability and success of Brazil's decade-old right-wing dictatorship. Its achievement has far-reaching implications, a fact that President Nixon accurately noted in an ebullient 1971 salute to the visiting Médick "As Brazil goes, so will the rest of the Latin American continent." That encomium caused brass buttons to pop on Brazilian uniforms. It also chilled the political leaders of Brazil's neighbors—notably Argentina —who fear the imperial ambitions of a new "colossus on the make."

The junta has run Brazil with efficiency and cold skill. It has imposed strict censorship on the press and the priests and Catholic lay workers who have been organizing among the poor. With the notable exception of Nobel Peace Prize Nominee Archbishop Helder Pessoa Câmara of Recife and Olinda,* opponents of the regime have been cowed or brutalized into silence. The generals have relentlessly tracked down leftists. In late 1969 they killed Guerrilla Leader Carlos Marighella, the one man who had the personal magnetism to lead an underground movement. According to apologists for the junta, torture is something that "used to happen." Unfortunately, there are plenty of victims who insist that it is still happening.

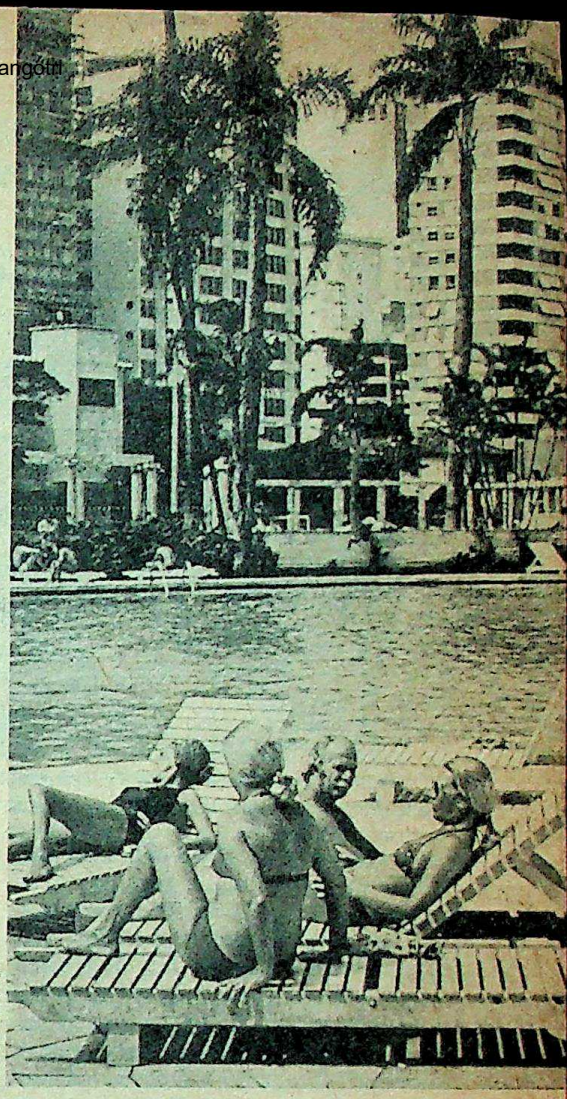
Love Brazil. The most significant achievement of the regime, however, has been economic, not political. While it has been ten years of *ditadura* (hard dictatorship) for the bulk of the population, it has been *ditabranda* (a mild variety) for business and the middle class. Although the military run the government, it and the economy are managed by an accomplished cadre of technocrats. When Goulart was deposed, intemperate development schemes had fired a wild inflation rate—more than 100% in 1964. Last year inflation was between 14% and 20%—high enough but still tolerable for Brazil, which has just seen six consecutive years of better than 10% real growth in the gross national product. Exports last year were $6.6 billion *v.* $1.4 billion in 1964.

That year Brazil produced only 100,000 autos *v.* 740,000 in 1973. With the prospering if still small middle class driving ever greater numbers of Brazilian-built Volkswagens and Fiats (many with BRAZIL, LOVE IT OR LEAVE IT bumper stickers), the nation's oil needs are becoming costly. The government is so confident of its healthy balance of payments position that it has made no move to ration gas, even though Brazil must import more than 70% of its petroleum requirements.

The regime has been enormously successful in attracting foreign capital. Americans, Japanese and Germans are investing most heavily, but even the Italians are involved in projects, ranging from steel production to manufacture of the G-91 fighter-bomber aircraft (extremely effective, among other things, in helping suppress guerrilla insurgencies). Two Japanese firms, Nippon Steel and Kawasaki Corp., plan to treble the size of the Brazilian steel industry. Other Japanese firms have invested heavily in everything from electronics to paper production.

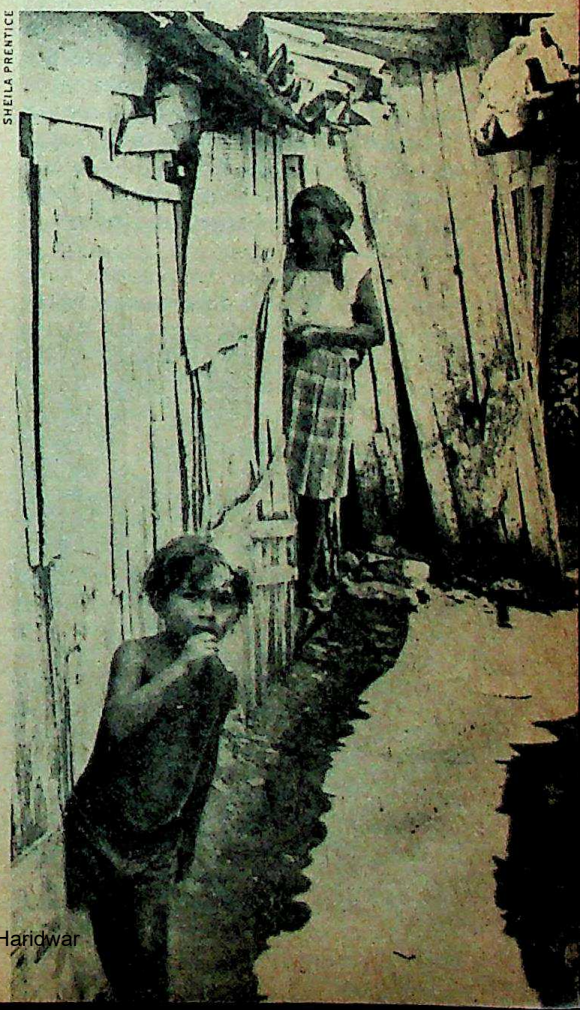
In statistical terms, the dimensions of the Brazilian "miracle" are undeniably imposing. Foreign exchange re-

*Although Dom Helder is perhaps Brazil's best-known figure abroad, his name cannot be men-



BARBEY—MAGNUM

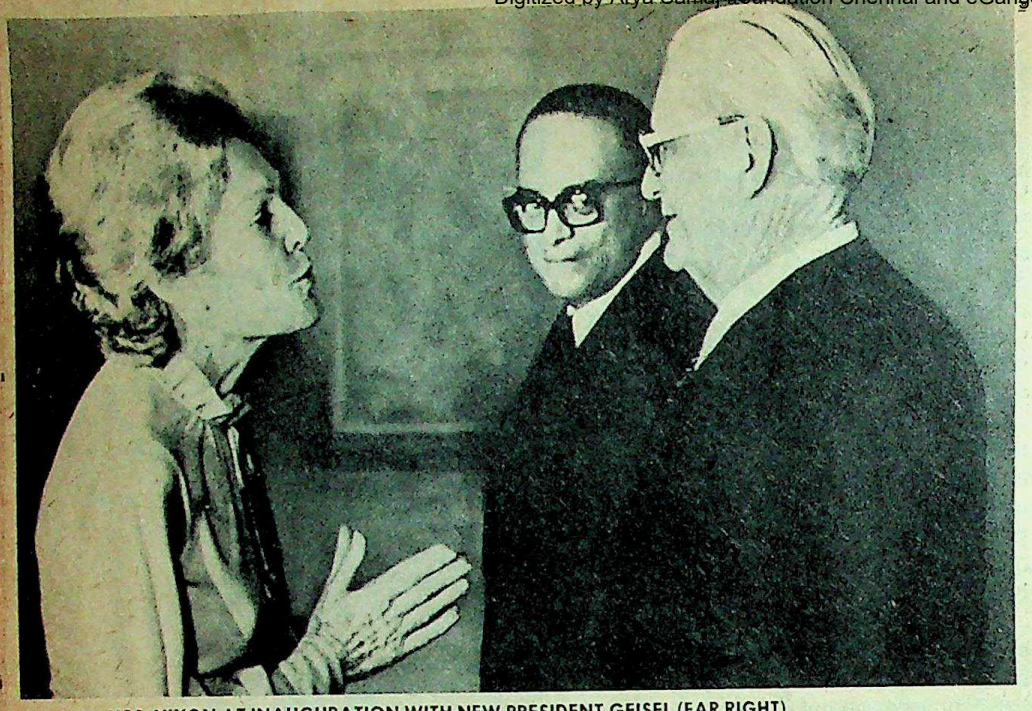
A PRIVATE CLUB IN DOWNTOWN SÃO PAULO



SHEILA PRENTICE

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MRS. NIXON AT INAUGURATION WITH NEW PRESIDENT GEISEL (FAR RIGHT)
Implications for more than the future of Brazil alone.

serves currently total $6.3 billion, almost $1 billion more than a year ago. The country is the world's fifth largest producer of iron ore, the third largest producer of manganese; it has huge (and largely untapped) reserves of tin, nickel and tungsten. Brazil has a beef population of nearly 93 million head—almost twice that of Argentina. Once a rich land waiting to be exploited, Brazil can now help develop other countries. Brazilian oil and gas pipelines are being laid in Colombia and Bolivia, and Brazilians are building a dam in Paraguay and a highway in Ecuador. Three months ago, a 25-year-old Brazilian rail project finally connected the Pacific and Atlantic coasts for the first time, bringing Chilean copper to the burgeoning industries of São Paulo.

Yet even some technocrats who have guided Brazil's development reluctantly concede that progress has largely benefited an elite few. Despite the forest of new skyscrapers rising in booming São Paulo and the highways cutting through the "green hell" of the Amazonian jungle, perhaps 70% of the nation's people still live outside the money economy in appalling poverty. Brazil stands only 13th among Latin American nations in per capita income ($520 a year), below even backwaters like Surinam. The average life expectancy is only about 50 years (against 67 in Castro's Cuba), and infant mortality is increasing. In rural areas of the arid Northeast, the average calorie intake of peasants has declined in recent years from 1,800 a day to 1,323—more than 1,200 below what United Nations' food experts consider the minimum for subsistence.

Part of the problem is that the technocrats have not yet brought the full force of their planning to bear on impoverished regions such as the Northerty seems built into the master plan. Each flat in the new blocks of expensive marble-halled apartments mushrooming in Rio and São Paulo has its minuscule cubicle for a maid who is likely to earn far less than the posted minimum wage of $65 a month. Nor is the incompetence of the old Brazil a thing of the past: a significant aspect of the Transamazonian Highway was a vast program to colonize a 60-kilometer band on either side of the right-of-way. Only after the road was cut and colonists were dispatched did anyone discover that the soil along the first stretch was unsuitable for intensive farming.

JAPAN

Hiroo Worship

Not since the 1954 arrival of honeymooning Marilyn Monroe and Joe DiMaggio had there been such delirium at Tokyo International Airport. A record crowd of more than 4,000 was on hand to greet the returning hero as he flew home from Manila. Press helicopters hovered outside his Tokyo hospital window, while newspapers devoted full-page spreads to him. Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka personally took writing brush in hand to inscribe ten poetic characters. The message: "The air of a heavenly hero will prove awesome through a thousand autumns."

The subject of these worshipful encomiums was Imperial Army Lieut. Hiroo Onoda, 52, Japan's last-known World War II straggler, who had finally been persuaded to surrender on the remote Philippine island of Lubang. For many Japanese, Onoda's ordeal seemed to strike a more responsive emotional chord than that of Sgt. Shoichi Yokoi, another wartime Rip van Winkle, who years ago (TIME, Feb. 7, 1972). Yokoi had remained in hiding because he was afraid, and did not know that the war was over.

But Onoda, a modern incarnation of a loyal samurai, knew precisely what the situation was. During his long years in hiding, he had listened on a stolen transistor radio to the Japanese language service of the BBC. He had even refused to respond to a $400,000 effort by Japan's Welfare Ministry to persuade him, via loudspeakers, search parties and air-dropped leaflets, that the war was truly over and that he should surrender and come home. The ministry had known for some time that he was alive because the Philippine police had reported occasional gun battles involving its constables on Lubang and a mysterious recluse dressed in a Japanese army uniform.

No Matter What. A graduate of an Imperial Army intelligence school, Onoda was posted to Lubang in late 1944. His orders were specific: "To continue carrying out your mission even after the Japanese Army surrenders, no matter what happens." After the island was liberated by American and Philippine forces, Onoda went underground with three enlisted men; one of his compatriots surrendered in 1950, and the other two were killed in shootouts with Philippine police, the first in 1954 and the second in 1972. Meanwhile, Onoda set up a series of hideouts across the 74-sq.-mi. island, stealing food to keep alive and keeping intact several caches of live ammunition. Over the years, Onoda and his men are suspected of having killed at least 30 Filipinos who came upon their path, and wounding 100 others.

Last month, a young Japanese adventurer named Norio Suzuki went to Lubang to hunt down Onoda. When the

LIEUT. ONODA AFTER SURRENDER



SANKEI SHIMBUN

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two men finally met in a remote jungle clearing, the lieutenant laid down his condition: "Only in case my commanding officer rescinds my order in person will I surrender." Last weekend Suzuki returned to Lubang accompanied by former army Major Yoshimi Taniguchi, 63, a Kyushu bookseller who had been Onoda's last military superior. Dressed in a shapeless cap and a tattered uniform and clutching his old regulation infantry rifle, Onoda stood at attention as Taniguchi read out an Imperial Army order dating from September 1945: "As of this moment, all officers and men under this command shall terminate all hostilities." Onoda bowed stiffly in acknowledgment that his war was over —and then proceeded to brief his commander about his 29 years of intelligence gathered on "enemy movements."

At a ceremony in Manila later, Onoda formally presented his rusty samurai sword to Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos in a gesture of surrender. Mindful perhaps of his country's valuable economic ties to Japan, Marcos returned the sword and pardoned Onoda for whatever crimes he may have committed during his years in hiding. "You're a great soldier," said the President.

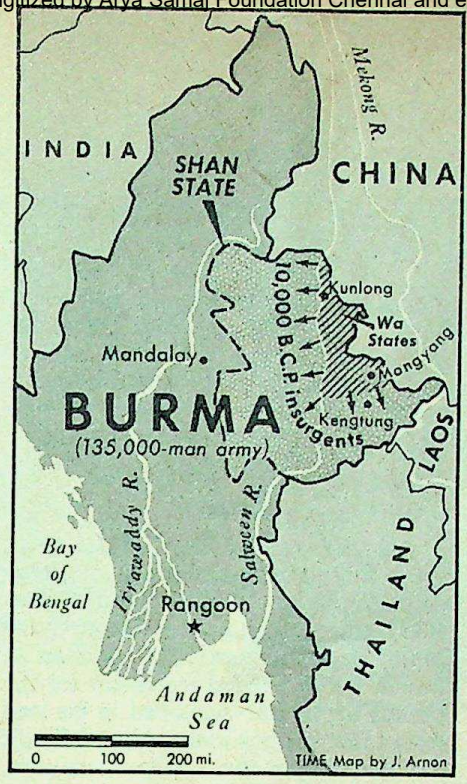
Returning home to the plaudits of his countrymen, Onoda accepted his new-found celebrity with philosophical calm. What had been his toughest experience? "To have lost my comrades-in-arms." And the most pleasant experience? "Nothing—nothing pleasant happened to me through all these 29 years." Still, he was not quite willing to admit that it had all been in vain. "My country today is rich and great," he said. "When my purpose in the war has been attained, in the fact that Japan today is rich and great, to have won or lost the war is entirely beside the point."

BURMA

Trouble in the Triangle

If ever there was a country in need of a program to identify the players, it is cloistered, xenophobic Burma. Particularly in the uncharted "Golden Triangle," where a slice of northeastern Burma meets Thailand and Laos, the situation is a demographer's and political analyst's nightmare. Remnants of a Kuomintang army that fled China at the time of the Communist takeover vie with independent warlords for control of the region's rich opium crop, while armed independence movements representing a bewildering host of ethnic and tribal groups periodically challenge the Rangoon government of General Ne Win.

Now another threat has arisen. Since last fall a murky little war that pits the Burmese army against a large-scale offensive by a resurgent Burma Communist Party has been raging in the northeast. It is the largest rebellion to



gained its independence from Britain in 1948.

The Burma Communist Party launched its first major offensive at the end of 1971 by laying siege to the administrative outpost of Kunlong in the Wa States in the northeasternmost corner of Burma. The intensity of the Communist attack came as a surprise to Rangoon, which had hitherto paid scant attention to the existence of the small and weak party. But between 1968 and 1971, a group of Burmese Communists who had been given ideological training in China set up a strong organization among the peasants of the Shan State. The resulting attack on Kunlong ended in a standoff after six weeks. The B.C.P. withdrew east across the Salween River to the primitive Wa States, where they regrouped their forces.

Last fall the B.C.P. suddenly struck again. An estimated 10,000 insurgents overran the government garrison at Mongyang and threatened the city of Kengtung, which commands the approach to the strategic Mekong River and to Thailand. In December government forces regained Mongyang. The insurgents apparently still control some 10,000 sq. mi. north of Kengtung, where they have tied up as many as 20 battalions of the 135,000-man Burmese army.

Western intelligence experts know very little about the B.C.P. and where it gets its support. Some observers in Rangoon fear that the offensive represents a Chinese military thrust into the area. At the very least, the AK-47 rifles, howitzers and machine guns used by the B.C.P. could have come only from China's Yunnan province just across the border. According to U.S. State Department estimates, the vast majority of rank and file soldiers are ethnic Burmese. But the company level are probably ethnic Chinese trained in China. Still, nobody can say for certain that they are regular Chinese soldiers. Along Burma's porous and largely unpoliced border with China, it is very difficult to know exactly who is who among the various ethnic groups and rebellious armies.

Puzzled Analysts. Nonetheless, there is some evidence that Peking is paying considerable attention to its Burmese border, although Western experts are not sure why. Since Burma and China resumed their fractured relations in mid-1971, there have been cordial high-level official visits, cultural exchanges and the reinstatement of a $56 million aid program by Peking. Burma also has a nonaggression pact with its giant northern neighbor, the only treaty that Rangoon has with any country in the world. Puzzled analysts speculate that China's long-range interest is in creating a buffer zone in Burma that would give the Chinese added security along its southern borders. The Chinese may be worried about countering growing Soviet influence in neighboring India and Bangladesh.

Whatever China's intentions and their own suspicions, officials in Rangoon have scrupulously avoided public accusations of Chinese involvement in the ongoing battle. Yet when government forces retook Mongyang, journalists were flown to the village and suggestively shown large maps of China and Yunnan province. That alone was daring enough for Rangoon, which is hesitant to do anything that might upset its delicate relations with Peking. Meanwhile, Ne Win's troubled forces face their greatest challenge without any foreign aid. Although there are no programs for military assistance and the military budget is being fast depleted, the government remains, at this point, not interested in outside help.

BURMESE INSURGENTS IN TRAINING



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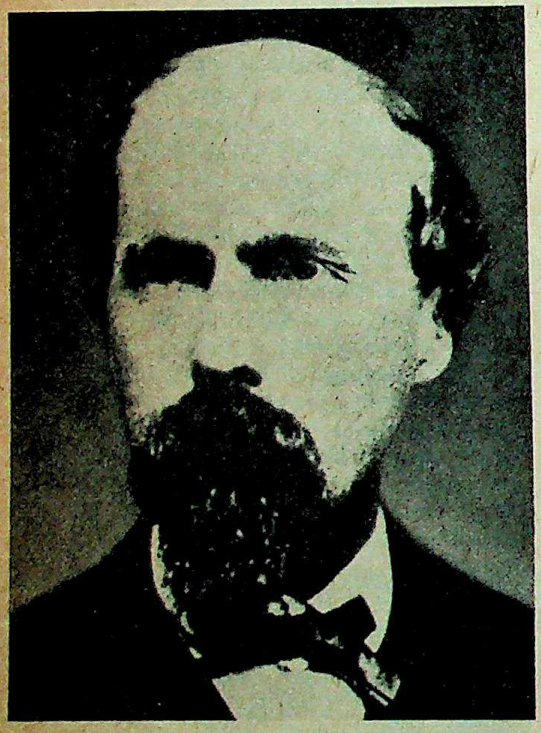
AMERICAN NOTES

Aggravations

The latest of the Roper Reports on the mood of the country confirms the obvious: Americans are currently feeling both put-upon and apprehensive. A majority (56%) are burdened by inflation and high prices to such an extent that they believe that even a $100 addition to their monthly paychecks would be spent to meet current needs. Forty-six percent are soured by the fuel and energy crisis. Forty percent are resentful of wrongdoing by elected officials.

Of the shortage-weary motorists, a majority (54%) said that more drastic steps by the Government were needed to deal with the crisis. Yet the poll was not a total downer. A resourceful 76% have found ways to save gasoline. The most popular methods include driving at lower speeds and running more errands on a single trip (54%). But few (9%) have joined car pools to save gas, and even fewer (4%) have turned to public transportation.

LINCOLN MUSEUM, WASHINGTON, D.C.



DR. SAMUEL A. MUDD
Tenacious descendants.

The starkest demonstration of the nation's confusion came, naturally, in Americans' attitudes toward politicians. Forty-one percent feel that Nixon should remain President, but 44% believe that the U.S. would fare better if he left. A staunch 42% called themselves themselves liberals. Despite that, out of a field of 13 leading national politicians (not including Nixon), Senator Edward Kennedy finished first (with 37%) as the man who Americans consider best represents their point of view.

Clearing Dr. Mudd

At 4 a.m. on April 15, 1865, just six hours after the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln, John Wilkes Booth and an accomplice rode up to the Maryland farmhouse of Dr. Samuel A. Mudd. Booth needed treatment for the broken leg he had sustained in his leap from Lincoln's box to the stage of Ford's Theater, and, as the familiar story goes, he gave Mudd a fictitious name and kept his face hidden behind a muffler and false beard. Still, Mudd was convicted as a conspirator in the assassination plot and sentenced to life imprisonment. Though he was pardoned in 1869 by President Andrew Johnson, the record of his conviction remained on the books at the time of his death in 1883. It still does.

His tenacious descendants have pleaded—and pleaded—with the Government to expunge his conviction from the record. Grandson Dr. Richard Mudd, 73, of Michigan, determinedly carries on the family obsession. In 1971 Mudd presented Michigan's Senator Philip Hart with a 50-page petition documenting his grandfather's innocence, and Hart has promised to present the petition to President Nixon for review. Only complete exoneration will satisfy Grandson Mudd and the dozens of other Mudd descendants. "I'm determined to get this reversed," vows he. "All of us are positive he had no connection with Lincoln's death."

Death Again

Since the U.S. Supreme Court in 1972 handed down its 5-to-4 ruling that the death penalty was cruel and unusual punishment ("In the same way that being struck by lightning is cruel and unusual," wrote Justice Potter Stewart), 22 states have redrafted execution laws. It was only a matter of time before the Federal Government got around to a similar resuscitation. Last week the Senate passed, 54 to 33, a measure restoring the death penalty for certain federal crimes. If the bill passes in the House, which seems certain, capital punishment could be imposed for treason, espionage or assassination of the President, Vice President, a Justice of the Supreme Court, any foreign chief of state. A death sentence could also be ordered for murder committed in the process of an airplane hijacking, a kidnaping or an escape from the custody of a law officer.

The only twist added to the familiar punishment *v.* deterrence arguments came in the scathing amendment proposed by death-penalty foe Senator Harold Hughes—that executions be broadcast on radio and television. "If Senators believe there is a deterrent effect inherent in the death penalty," Hughes reasoned mordantly, "then my amendment will provide a way to greatly increase this deterrence." Hughes' amendment was defeated by 81 to 10.

Though it now seems certain that the bill to kill may soon become law, to many Americans executions seem not only cruel but barbaric, and no doubt the Supreme Court will once again be asked to rule on the constitutionality of the practice. The court's answer could take years.

Dropping Out

Last October Richard Neumann, a Naperville, Ill., land developer, devised a promotional scheme for his new $15 million resort complex. He decided to hire a flagpole sitter to perch atop his resort's 45-ft. flagpole for a year. The perch was actually a 10-ft. by 10-ft. cabin complete with refrigerator, television, bed, stove, chemical toilet and telephone. The pay was not bad either: $1,000 a month, plus a $2,800 bonus if the sitter stayed up for the full year.

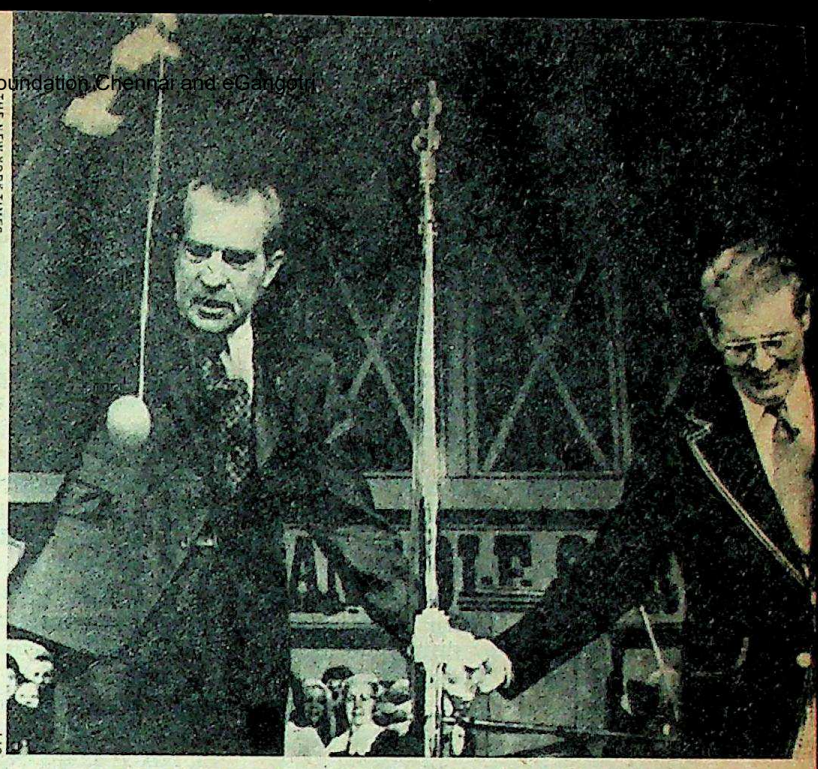
The job winner was Paul Jacobson, 23, a Chicago news photographer, who at first passed his time taking pictures from his perch, keeping a diary and watching TV. After three months and several news stories about his isolated existence, he found another diversion answering phone calls from a Chicago girl. The calls soon led to letters and finally to love. Two weeks ago Jacobson hoisted her atop the flagpole, and she moved in with him. Promoter Neumann ordered the girl down. The couple refused. Then he offered to have a wedding ceremony performed atop the flagpole, and even threw in a promise of a free honeymoon if the girl would come down after the ceremony. Jacobson would have none of it. After 15 days aloft, he gave up his perch and potential profits last week for the woman he loves. Neumann, already hunting for another sitter, was philosophical about Jacobson's departure: "Apparently he thinks a girl is more important than s

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DEMONSTRATORS GREETING NIXON IN CHICAGO



PRESIDENT TRYING OUT YO-YO WITH ROY ACUFF IN NASHVILLE

WATERGATE/COVER STORY

The President's Strategy for Survival

Richard Nixon is rapidly running out of options in his struggle to survive Watergate. Last week he exercised a fresh one. Pushing his Special Counsel James St. Clair out front in a political as well as a legal role, Nixon embarked on a drive to save himself by appealing directly to the public and assailing the tactics of the House Judiciary Committee, which is investigating his conduct in office. It was much too early to assess public reaction, but the impact on the House of Representatives was immediate. The tactic backfired, and impeachment sentiment rose.

As both the President and St. Clair, a shrewd and highly successful Boston trial lawyer, moved boldly into the public arena, the outlines of the three-pronged White House offensive were sharply etched. The strategy seeks to:

1) Goad the House Judiciary Committee into hastily subpoenaing presidential tapes and documents and basing its entire impeachment case on a contempt of Congress citation against Nixon for obstructing the impeachment inquiry if, as he has so far, he refuses to yield the evidence. Nixon apparently believes that such a charge would be too thin to enlist broad public support and that even if impeached by the House on that charge, he could muster the 34 votes necessary in a Senate trial to retain his office.

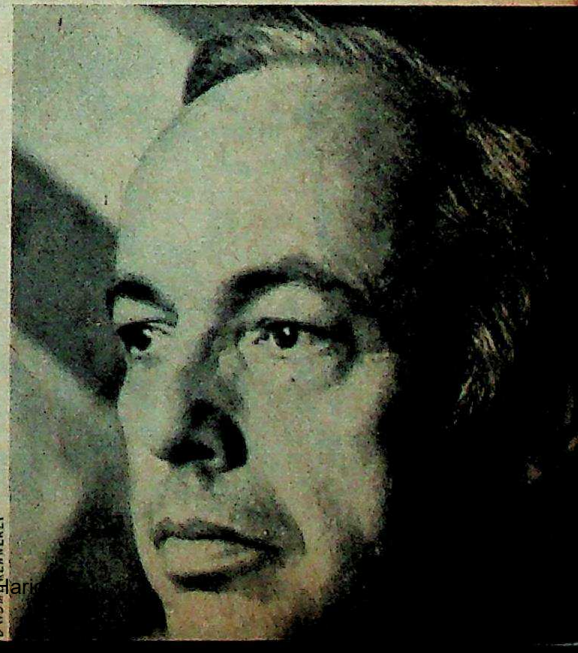
2) Delay any broader impeachment move by stalling in the delivery of requested evidence, continuing to raise legal technicalities, and resorting to time-consuming court action. Delay could erode public interest in the whole sordid scandal. Stalling could also push the November elections—thus making it more risky for any incumbent Congressman—and perhaps even cause the problem to be carried over into the next session of Congress.

3) Solidify the President's hard-core support and play on the more general public fear of forcibly removing any President from office. This is being done through a public relations campaign designed to highlight the President's achievements in office and the sanctity of the presidency itself. At the same time the effort seeks to obfuscate and obscure Nixon's own Watergate role and portray impeachment as a partisan movement spearheaded by political enemies. At a minimum, the aim is to build enough pressure on normally friendly Senators to prevent conviction on any House-approved impeachment charge.

Most of this strategy was probably devised by Nixon himself, but it has both come together and reached its peak since St. Clair became his chief legal strategist early in January. Not only is Nixon being scrutinized by the Judiciary Committee but, more important, he is on trial in the court of public opinion. At long last he has a lawyer who—unlike his previous counsel—is a seasoned courtroom attorney. Moreover, St. Clair's Washington experience *(see box page 16)* goes back to the classic Army-McCarthy hearings of 1954, when he was an assistant to Joseph N. Welch, the Army's counsel. A poised and suave performer, he has brought an aura of aggressive confidence to Nixon's defense campaign. "Jim has been a bonanza for us," observes Alexander Haig, Nixon's overworked chief of staff. Haig describes able acumen" in the highly charged and shifting political atmosphere of Watergate. "He intuitively understands the needs of the President."

Last week the President carried his public relations drive both North and South. In Nashville, he helped open the $15 million home of the Grand Ole Opry. As 4,400 country music fans applauded, Nixon said that their kind of music "radiates the love of this nation —patriotism." He flubbed an attempt at spinning a Yo-Yo given him by Country Music Star Roy Acuff and played *God Bless America* and *Happy Birthday* on the piano to honor his wife Pat, just

PRESIDENTIAL LAWYER ST. CLAIR



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back from South America, on her 62nd birthday. In a relaxed evening, there was no talk of his Watergate agony.

The President was garrulous and high-spirited the day before on a visit to Chicago, where he made his first public appearance outside Washington or the South since July, 1973. He easily handled soft questions from a largely friendly gathering of some 2,000 members and guests of the Executives' Club of Chicago. He implied that he will not comply with the Judiciary Committee's request for White House tapes and documents beyond those already turned over to Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski. With much exaggeration, Nixon complained that the committee wanted "all of the tapes of every presidential conversation—a fishing license or a complete right to go through all of the presidential files." He said that "it isn't the question that the President has something to hide." But to let anyone "just come in and paw through the documents," he contended, would destroy "the principle of confidentiality" between a President and his advisers.

Nixon was even more forceful in vowing once again that he would not resign. "Resignation is an easy cop-out," he declared, adopting his frequent rhetorical device of posing an artificially easy-or-tough choice. "But resignation of this President on charges of which he is not guilty simply because he happened to be low in the polls would forever change our form of government. It would lead to weak and unstable presidencies in the future, and I will not be a party to the destruction of the presidency of the United States."

Third Version. Only when he discussed a detail of his own Watergate role did Nixon's confidence seem to ebb. His voice grew tremulous as he described his increasingly crucial conversation with John Dean, his former counsel, on March 21, 1973. In a statement last Aug. 15, Nixon said Dean had told him that secret payments had been made to the original Watergate defendants only to meet their legal costs. On March 6 of this year, however, Nixon said flatly in a press conference that Dean had told him on March 21 that the cash was meant to buy the silence of the lowly burglars—which Nixon admitted was a criminal act. After a week of silence on the topic, Nixon made an attempt to bridge that direct conflict and it was a lame one. Dean, he said, had just "alleged" that the money was used to keep the men quiet. This third Nixon version of the conversation was meant to clear him of any charge that he had known of a crime and done nothing about it.

The main question of the impeachment inquiry, of course, is whether Nixon not only knew of such acts but participated in them as part of a conspiracy to conceal the origins of the June 17, 1972 wiretapping and burglary of Democratic national headquarters. An

The President's Lawyer: A Punishing Adversary

Not long after he finished Harvard Law School, James Draper St. Clair made his reputation as a superbly skilled trial lawyer in a 1954 dispute—over cranberries. His client, Cape Cod Food Products, Inc., sued the National Cranberry Association, now Ocean Spray Cranberries, Inc., charging attempted monopoly. Typically, St. Clair not only immersed himself in the legal issues but also diligently learned everything about cranberries, including how weather and flooding affect them. In court he meticulously demolished the association's case. St. Clair won treble damages of $525,000 for his client and rare praise in court from Judge Charles E. Wyzanski Jr., who described his performance as "a model not likely to be surpassed."

Over the years St. Clair, now 53, has handled hundreds of civil and criminal cases with similar success and aplomb as a partner in the prestigious Boston firm of Hale and Dorr. Thus when White House Chief of Staff Alexander M. Haig began looking late last year for a trial lawyer to represent the President, he found that "Jim was high on everybody's list."



JAMES ST. CLAIR VACATIONING WITH HIS WIFE BILLIE IN VENICE

On Dec. 31 St. Clair resigned the private practice that earned him about $300,000 a year in order to take the $42,500 federally paid job as Nixon's chief Watergate counsel. In action around the White House, St. Clair has struck Haig as "crisp and buttoned-down, but thoughtful and detailed." Adds Presidential Counsellor Bryce N. Harlow: "He's very lucid and clear-minded, very objective, self-assured and poised."

■

Known as "Jimmy" to his friends, St. Clair is sometimes also called "the Silver Fox" because of his gray hair, the sly cast to his eyes, and his cunning ways in court. Because he spends extraordinarily long hours researching his cases, he is rarely surprised by the other side. Arguing without notes, he peers over half-lens glasses and subjects witnesses to aggressive and exhaustive cross-examinations, but never raises his voice or shows anger. Says Boston Attorney Joseph S. Oteri: "He's unflappable and extremely tenacious." Lawyer-Author George V. Higgins *(The Friends of Eddie Coyle)*, who prosecuted two bank-fraud cases against defendants represented by St. Clair, recalls, "They were the most intense trials that I have ever experienced. He is a punishing adversary. His style is one of complete concentration and total verbal aggression."

A registered Republican, St. Clair has represented clients of widely varying political and philosophical points of view. Soon after the cranberry case, he became a primary assistant to his senior partner, Joseph N. Welch, in the famous Army-McCarthy hearings; Welch, as counsel for the Army, engaged in some historic televised clashes with Joseph R. McCarthy that helped sink the Wisconsin Senator's career. More recently, St. Clair won a pioneering case in 1967 upholding the constitutionality of a Massachusetts law that categorizes marijuana as a narcotic drug and thus outlaws its possession and sale. A year later he successfully defended Yale Chaplain William Sloane Coffin Jr. during his celebrated trial in Boston on charges of conspiracy to encourage draft evasion.

St. Clair represented the Boston school committee in its struggle against mandatory desegregation of the city's public schools, a case which is still on appeal. He was also chosen by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court to present the case against Boston Municipal Court Judge Jerome P. Troy, who was charged, among other things, with lying under oath and unethical conduct and was subsequently removed from the bench. St. Clair argued effectively that the appearance of misconduct in a public official is as bad as actual misconduct.

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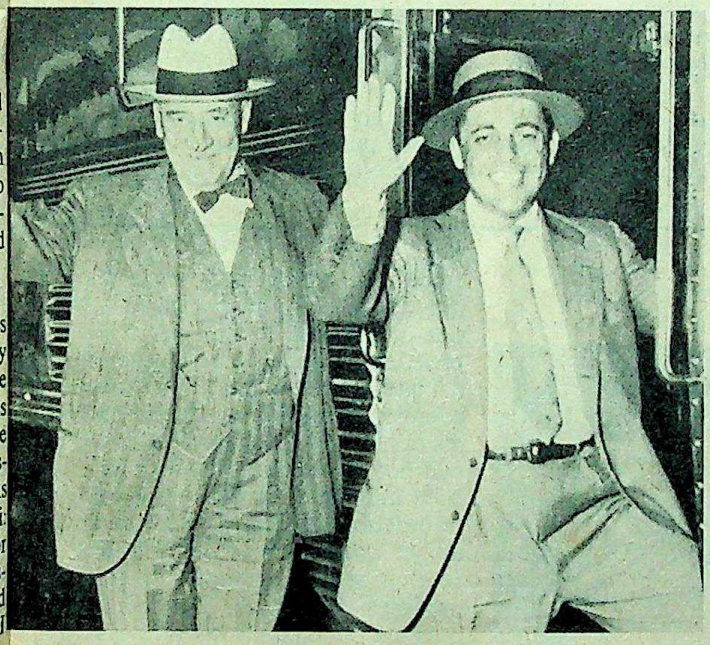
event that could illuminate that fateful matter—and possibly blunt the entire Nixon counterattack—was scheduled to take place this week in the Washington courtroom of Federal Judge John J. Sirica. He was to rule that a Watergate grand jury report and a briefcase full of evidence relating to Nixon's own role in that conspiracy will be given to the House Judiciary Committee, headed by New Jersey Democrat Peter Rodino.

Factual Findings. The grand jury package, given to Judge Sirica on March 1, when the jurors also indicted seven of Nixon's former official and political associates in the cover-up conspiracy, does not draw conclusions as to whether Nixon acted illegally. But a summary of the evidence in the briefcase lists a series of factual findings by the grand jury that do implicate Nixon in the wrongdoing of his aides. Any such transmission of the evidence to the House by Sirica is likely to be appealed. John J. Wilson, the attorney representing two of the indicted conspirators, H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, has vowed to appeal.

The delicate way in which the White House has been handling the grand jury report shows the deft touch of St. Clair. He surprised many Washington lawyers by raising no objection at all to the idea of Sirica's sending the report to the Rodino committee when the judge held an extraordinary hearing on the question on March 6. To oppose this move would make it appear that the President feared a revealing of the contents of the briefcase. But St. Clair well knew that Wilson, whose clients' interests in many respects dovetail with those of Nixon, would fight to squelch the grand jury's findings. Wilson promptly raised objections on the grounds that 1) the grand jury had no power to make such a report, and 2) the documents were likely to mention Haldeman and Ehrlichman, and any public disclosure could prejudice their chances for a fair trial.

While Wilson carries on the legal battle over the grand jury report, the President and his staff are expected to continue their public psychological warfare against Watergate. That attack last week was well orchestrated. First, Ken Clawson, the White House director of communications, leaked to reporters a Feb. 25 letter from John Doar, chief counsel for the Rodino committee, to St. Clair. It showed that Doar was seeking not only six additional Nixon tapes, as generally believed—even by members of the committee—but also tapes covering six periods of time, from February to April 1973. Presidential Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler said that this involved 42 tapes. The White House disclosure made the Doar request look excessive, though it by no means supported St. Clair's claim that the committee seemed to want "hundreds of thousands of documents and thousands of hours of recorded conversations."

The main aim of those White House



UPI

HEADING BACK TO BOSTON WITH JOSEPH WELCH IN 1954

—words that he could live to regret. At the hearing last May he declared: "It is not necessarily important that you do something wrong; it is very important that there be the appearance of nothing being done wrong."

St. Clair's willingness to take almost any case offends some people. Chaplain Coffin once said, "The trouble with St. Clair is that he is all case and no cause." Adds Author Higgins: "He is the 1970s version of the guy whom the sodbusters hired when the cattlemen tried to tear down their fences in the 1880s—a hired gun." But St. Clair believes that "every person is entitled to be represented by the lawyer of his choice."

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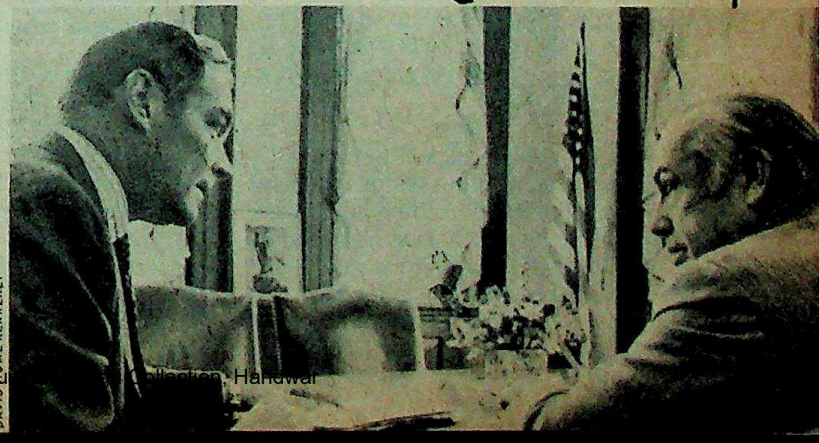
In St. Clair's judgment, there was an overriding reason for accepting the job of attorney for Nixon: "How many times is a lawyer asked to represent the President of the U.S. in a matter of this importance? I felt that I could make a contribution, and I believed it was an appropriate matter for a lawyer to be involved in." The unique case also gives St. Clair the opportunity to set legal precedents for defending a President and is certain to put the Boston lawyer in the history books. In addition, says a longtime friend, Robert Bachman, "He believes in this country, he believes in the free-enterprise system, and he believes in the President. That's why he is there."

His job has turned St. Clair into a long-distance commuter. During the week he lives in a $600-a-month furnished apartment in Washington's Fairfax Hotel. Almost every weekend he flies home to his wife Billie and their colonial house in the well-to-do suburb of Wellesley, Mass. (They have three children: Tom, 16, Scott, 20, and Peggy, 24, who is a third-year student at Boston College Law School.) What does Billie St. Clair think of her role as a weekday widow? Says she with a laugh: "It stinks." Their 30-year marriage has been largely tranquil. She explains wryly, "He and I have never had a fight. I learned very early that he is apt to be right, and he learned to consider what I said."

The twelve-hour-a-day demands of St. Clair's job leave little time for recreation. Before taking Nixon's case, St. Clair played bridge, swam in his backyard pool or at the family summer home on Cape Cod, and rarely missed a home game of the New England Patriots or Boston Bruins. His chief complaint now is that he has no time for playing golf. He depended on the sport to help keep down his portly midriff, which is only partly camouflaged by his suits; he buys them readymade for about $200 and has them altered.

When the call came from Haig offering the job of presidential lawyer, St. Clair had just checked his family into a resort at Tarpon Springs, Fla. He had to cut the golfing vacation short, and it may be his last holiday for many months. "I have no commitment and no contract," he says, "but as a practical matter, I'm employed for the duration."

TALKING WITH CHIEF OF STAFF HAIG IN WASHINGTON LAST WEEK



DAVID KENNERLY

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revelations, however, seemed to be to try to drive a wedge between the Rodino committee's members and its staff, including Doar and the Republican counsel Albert Jenner. In an effort to prevent news leaks—as urgently demanded by the White House—Doar and Jenner had been keeping only the committee leaders, Rodino and ranking Republican Edward Hutchinson, posted on all details of their dealings with St. Clair. Clawson charged that Doar had tried to "hoodwink" the committee by keeping from the other members the extent of his request.

Press Secretary Ziegler also assailed the Doar request. "The mere fact of an impeachment inquiry does not give Congress the right to back up a truck and haul off White House files," he told newsmen. Moreover, Ziegler said that for Nixon to comply with another Doar request—that the committee staff be given access to the White House files of such former Nixon aides as Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Dean and Charles Colson —would be "constitutionally irresponsible." Presidential Counsellor Bryce Harlow later protested to reporters that the Rodino committee members were acting like "children who are asking for another helping before they have eaten what's on their plate."

The surprise in the White House campaign was St. Clair's sudden emergence as a public figure and his accessibility to reporters. Until recently, he had been operating mainly in private. He had bargained skillfully and sternly with Special Prosecutor Jaworski over which White House tapes and documents the grand jury could be given. St. Clair had spoken out publicly on only a few occasions. On Feb. 4 he attacked the credibility of John Dean and criticized Jaworski for publicly defending Dean's veracity. As a result, Jaworski privately scolded St. Clair for "unprofessional conduct," and their cordial but correct relationship cooled.

Legal Views. In his major courtroom appearance in Nixon's behalf, St. Clair on Jan. 16 tried to shake the testimony of a panel of court-appointed acoustics and recording experts in a hearing before Sirica. The panel claimed that an 18½-minute erasure in one key Nixon tape in all likelihood had been deliberate rather than accidental. Though St. Clair, with his assured courtroom manner, was far more effective than such predecessors as the docile Fred Buzhardt and the ill-at-ease Leonard Garment, he made little headway against the experts. Sirica found St. Clair's questions repetitive and tedious and finally cut him off.

In last week's flurry of activity, St. Clair expressed highly controversial legal views in two television interviews and several talks with reporters. He said that because Nixon was the nation's "chief law enforcement officer," he had not committed any crime in failing to report the hush-money payments. This was an effort to account for the fact that Nixon, by his own explanation early this month, had not reported Dean's hush-money confession (made at the March 21, 1973 meeting) to any law-enforcement agency or court.

St. Clair also said that the charge in the indictment that a payment of hush money had been made on March 21 was doubtful. His reason: "sworn testimony" at the Senate Watergate hearings included no similar charge. He further contended that Dean could no longer be used as a credible prosecution witness because a tape showed that a conversation with Nixon that Dean thought took place on March 13, 1973, actually occurred on March 21.

More broadly, St. Clair argued that the Rodino committee must determine just what kinds of presidential acts it considers impeachable before it seeks more evidence. He also claimed that he was not actually engaged in defending Richard Nixon, but in representing "the office of the presidency."

None of those statements could withstand sharp legal scrutiny. Their shrewd purpose, however, seemed to be multiple-edged. They served to chal-

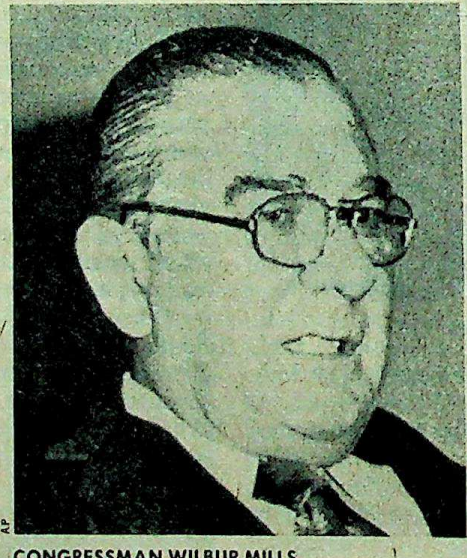
Nixon's Taxes: "A Shocker"

Another big bombshell is about to go off under the President. The Congressional Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, which Nixon asked to look into two questionable tax entries that he had made on his returns for 1969 and 1970, is expected to release its preliminary report late this week or next week. Says one senior Senator on the committee: "It will be a shocker."

Congressman Wilbur Mills, the influential and powerful chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, added: "If Watergate brought pressure on Nixon to resign, our report will bring about a great deal more pressure. I don't believe that he will be able to withstand it." A congressional staff member said that Nixon may well wind up owing more than $500,000 in taxes and penalties. For the years 1970 and 1971 he paid less than $2,000 on a combined income of $526,000.

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The tax committee will not draw any conclusions on whether Nixon may have been guilty of fraud in filing his returns. It will leave any such determination up to the Judiciary Committee and Internal Revenue Service, which is belatedly rechecking Nixon's returns. The report by the joint committee will merely indicate those deductions that it considers should not have been allowed and will cite other taxes that it judges the President owes. (Though the committee's findings are not binding, the President has promised to accept their ruling and pay accordingly.) It would be wrong to allege fraud, Mills explained, "because half the members of the committee are Senators, and they may have to serve as a jury on impeachment." In other words, Senators should not accuse Nixon if they also may have to stand in judgment of him later.



CONGRESSMAN WILBUR MILLS

The committee is expected to conclude that Nixon owes some $300,000 in back taxes for having taken a deduction of $482,000 for the gift of his vice-presidential papers—a transaction that he has conceded may not have been completed before a law banning such deductions went into effect. While Nixon will not be accused of fraud because a deed and other papers completing the transaction apparently were backdated to get them within the deadline, the committee may put blame on those who prepared the returns. That could apply pressure on Nixon's lawyers to explain the transactions more fully in order to avoid criminal charges themselves.

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Also certain to be cited as another Nixon tax error was his failure to report a $142,000 profit on the sale of his Manhattan apartment in 1969 and to pay a capital gains tax on it. Nixon had asked the committee to examine both this sale and the deduction for his papers. The probers have gone beyond these matters and apparently have discovered other Nixon tax errors. Insists Mills: "People can better understand failure to pay taxes than they can understand Watergate. Overdeduction, failure to state income—this will be a report to the American people. And they can draw their own conclusions." The conclusions may be particularly bitter because the report will be released just at the time when Americans are paying their own income taxes.

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lenge and fuzz up the indictment's strong implication that, at the least, Nixon had learned from Dean on March 21 of the illegal payoffs to defendants and had failed to cut them off. St. Clair's remarks sought to set the Rodino committee members off on a potentially divisive squabble over defining impeachable acts —a point on which St. Clair knows the Congressmen hold sharp differences. St. Clair was trying to strengthen Nixon's oft-repeated claim that the institution of his office, rather than his personal fate, was the overriding issue in the impeachment controversy.

The new White House offensive was backfiring in its attempt to trigger precipitate and self-defeating action by the Judiciary Committee to impeach the President solely on grounds of contempt of Congress. Committee members were angry—not at each other or at their staff —but at what they considered the obviousness of the Nixon–St. Clair tactics. While they respect St. Clair's legal savvy, they think that he has ventured into essentially political maneuverings. At that game, they assume, they are far more adept and experienced than he.

Cooling Hotheads. A few of the more volatile members of the committee almost jumped at St. Clair's bait. Such liberal Democrats as Father Robert Drinan of Massachusetts, California's Jerome Waldie and Michigan's John Conyers Jr. wanted immediately to issue subpoenas for every bit of evidence that Doar was seeking. But Chairman Rodino called a caucus of the committee's Democrats and urged the hotheads to cool off. There would be plenty of time to issue subpoenas, he argued, once the White House intention to cut off all further evidence was totally clear. Meanwhile, the committee staff was awaiting a chance to examine all of the material that St. Clair and Nixon had promised, including the 19 tapes and more than 700 documents given to the special prosecutor's office.

The White House attack seemed to unify the committee—against the President. "It is not the White House's job to tell the committee how to discharge its constitutional function," declared Maryland Republican Lawrence J. Hogan, until now one of Nixon's strong defenders on the committee. "The President's lawyer was off base when he stated the committee should first define an impeachable offense—there is no set definition. Each member will have to subjectively determine this in his own mind." Hogan contended that Nixon was getting "bum advice" and was in danger of losing those on the committee "who are trying to keep an open mind on impeachment." The release of the Doar letter to St. Clair, protested Texas Democrat Jack Brooks, was "an affront to the comity between the White House and the Congress." But he urged his colleagues on the committee not to let "the White House hucksterism detract from the decency and forbearance of the committee. It is clear that the White House is not going to cooperate."

Rebutting St. Clair's demand that the committee state its charges against Nixon before it seeks more evidence, Republican Edward Hutchinson argued: "There are no charges. We hope we will find none. We are simply making an inquiry." Added Hutchinson: "What we have asked for is very reasonable and very relevant." The committee request, he explained, was aimed primarily at clarifying the "suspicion about the President's action in the so-called Watergate cover-up."

Contempt Citation. The committee strategy is to continue to move warily, maneuvering to avoid any court battles. Not only are such battles time consuming, but the committee is convinced that no court has any jurisdiction over any part of the impeachment inquiry and process. Impeachment is sanctioned by the Constitution as solely a congressional activity. The committee leaders expect to give St. Clair perhaps two more weeks in which to respond conclusively to its request for evidence. If he fails to do so, the request will be renewed. If Nixon and St. Clair still refuse to comply, only then will the committee issue a subpoena for the material.

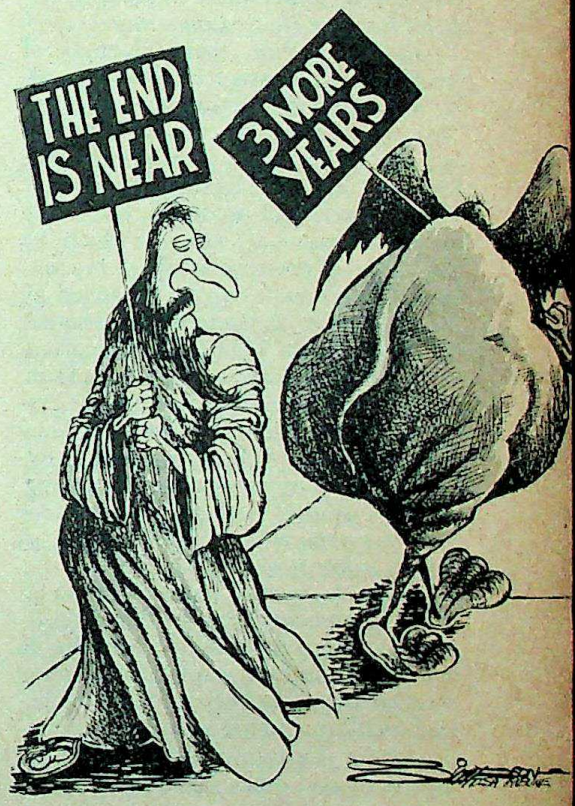
Meanwhile, the committee's investigation will continue. First, all of the evidence given to Jaworski by the White House will be examined. Then the committee intends to study the package of evidence from the Watergate grand jury. If St. Clair and Nixon decide to resist the subpoena, the committee will probably seek a contempt citation against the President. The citation would become one of several—or perhaps many —points in an impeachment charge. "I would make it the last article of impeachment, not the first," declares a Republican member of the Judiciary Committee.

Reports TIME's veteran congressional correspondent, Neil MacNeil: "St. Clair's strategy is offending the House's sense of itself—an extremely dangerous business for Nixon. He is losing Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans by the dozens right now." And this is even before any of the potential impeachment evidence has been analyzed by the Rodino committee.

Always Smile. Despite St. Clair's problems, many legal scholars give him high marks so far for making the best of what they see as a very difficult case. Under St. Clair, observes Harvard Law Professor Alan Dershowitz, "the quality of legal representation has gone way up." St. Clair is following a predictable pattern of impeachment defense, says Law Professor Arval Morris of the University of Washington. "The first thing is to narrow the concept of the impeachable offense—that rules out a whole lot of evidence." The University of Chicago's Philip Kurland views St. Clair's defense strategy as "to give only what he is forced to give and to delay as long as he can."

Richard Donahue, a leading trial lawyer in Massachusetts, offers a more invidious assessment. He considers St. Clair's tactics much the same kind of defense that one would put up for "a drunken driver. If you have a guilty client, you make 'em prove everything every inch of the way, attack everyone in the room—the judge, the court officers, the witnesses—but you always smile." Harvard's Dershowitz says that it is difficult to rate St. Clair's overall effectiveness without knowing the culpability of his client. "If Nixon is innocent, has nothing to hide, then St. Clair is doing a terrible job because he is making it appear as though Nixon has something to hide. If he is guilty, then St. Clair is doing a great job."

A strategy of delay, however, is a disservice to the nation, argues Law Professor John Flynn of the University of Utah. He objects to St. Clair's "defending this case on a petty criminal basis



—raising every technical objection possible. This is a form of legal brinkmanship. He may be winning the legal battle but losing the more important battle of public confidence in the President." The University of Chicago's Harry Kalven Jr. agrees: "Delay has consequences for the whole country. It seems seriously inappropriate." It is also, of course, the opposite of what Nixon is arguing for: "I want a prompt and just resolution of this matter."

Many of St. Clair's recent statements on more specific Watergate issues are severely criticized by legal experts and other persons who have detailed knowledge of the various investigations of the scandal. Generally stated, these assertions by St. Clair include:

A President can be impeached only for crimes of a very serious nature committed in his governmental capacity.

As a practical—but not legal—mat-

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ter, a serious criminal act by a President may have to be shown to enlist the two-thirds Senate vote for conviction and removal from office. Despite the views of Nixon and St. Clair, however, almost no reputable scholar contends that the "high crimes and misdemeanors" cited in the Constitution as bases for impeachment were meant to be taken in the modern sense of those words. Chicago's Kurland says that any "breach of trust of high office" falls within the meaning intended by the constitutional framers. This was shown by one of the framers of the impeachment provision, James Wilson, who said that what he had in mind was misbehavior, or what he called "malversation." James Madison added that impeachment was a protection against the "negligence or perfidy of the Chief Magistrate."

The President can claim Executive privilege in withholding requested evidence from the House Committee.

Disputing that, the University of Washington's Morris echoes the prevailing view among constitutional scholars: "In constitutional law, there really isn't any sort of Executive privilege that the President can raise against the House." The impeachment procedure was set up to cover a unique situation in which the separation of powers among the branches of Government can be broached by the Congress to determine whether an impeachable offense has occurred. Four U.S. Presidents—Andrew Jackson, James Polk, James Buchanan and Ulysses S. Grant—have declared that they would have no right to withhold anything from an impeachment proceeding.

The House Judiciary Committee must determine what an impeachable offense is before it seeks the evidence.

There is no legal requirement to do so. It is precisely because the Constitution is vague on what is impeachable that the committee wants to determine whether there has been wrongdoing before deciding whether what it finds is impeachable. Certainly, the multiple indictments and guilty pleas on criminal charges by 26 Nixon agents so far are reason enough to prompt a broad and deep inquiry into the President's conduct in office. To carry out that inquiry properly the committee needs all the evidence it can get about the President's conduct in the Watergate and related political-espionage and payoff scandals.

Because the President is the chief law-enforcement official in the nation, he did not have a legal obligation to report his knowledge of the hush-money payments—a crime—to anyone else. He must only see to it that the judicial process was initiated.

"The President is not engaged in the law-enforcement business," contends Chicago's Kurland. "It is a title that St. Clair has created for the situation." Adds Hofstra University Law Dean Monroe Freedman: "The contention is cute, but technically it's absurd." For a President merely to tell himself that a crime has been committed is not enough, many scholars point out. People in the White House are "no different from any other citizens" when they learn of a crime, says Attorney General William Saxbe, who has a greater right than the President to consider himself the top law-enforcement official. Far from initiating judicial action in the Watergate cover-up, moreover, Nixon sought to block full disclosure. He withheld tapes and other evidence from investigators, fought vainly in the courts to keep this material away from the grand jury, and fired Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox when he persisted in seeking it.

St. Clair is not representing the President. He is representing the institution of the presidency.

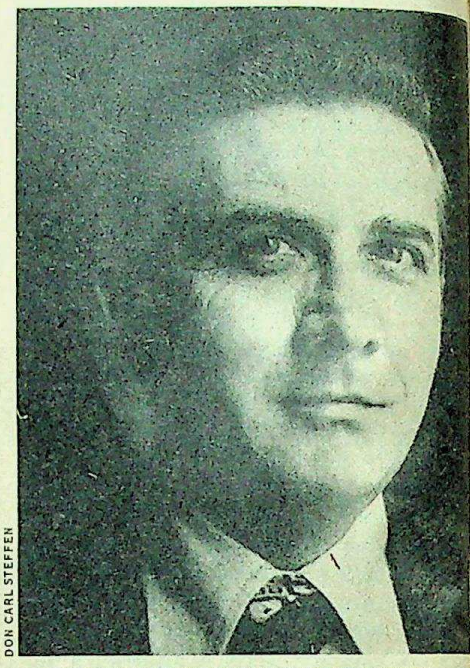
"This is at best superficial and at worst misleading," declares Norman Dorsen, law professor at New York University. "It is not the presidency that is being investigated and that is denying Congress information. It is Mr. Nixon who is under investigation, who is not cooperating. It is not some abstraction that is advising St. Clair on the case. It is Richard Nixon." No one is counsel for the office of the presidency, asserts Kurland. "There is no such job. This is just rhetoric."

St. Clair seemed to concede as much last week when he told TIME Correspondent Dean Fischer: "My client happens to be the President of the United States. In this sense, he's a unique client. There are certain decisions that only he can make. These decisions relate to the confidentiality of presidential communications and Executive privilege. I can't make those decisions for him. They're his and his alone."

Such a decision by Nixon was made when the President ruled that he would not give Jaworski any more White House evidence, including 27 tapes that the special prosecutor is still seeking. St. Clair has not heard those recordings. That puts him in a weak position in having rejected Jaworski's request on grounds that the contents of the recordings did not justify violating the President's right to protect their confidentiality. St. Clair has apparently not heard the 42 tapes sought by the Rodino staff either.

For an experienced trial lawyer, St. Clair has made some specific comments on aspects of the Watergate cover-up case that appear odd. Particularly baffling was his claim that John Dean would no longer be a witness in Special Prosecutor Jaworski's conspiracy case against Nixon's former aides. Both Nixon and St. Clair were heavily depending on the claim that Dean had been discredited because he testified before the Senate Watergate committee that he had talked to Nixon about the hush-money payments on March 13, while a tape of the conversation shows that it occurred on March 21. Dean, who had testified without access to the White House files, later told investigators that he had been wrong by one week. Nixon in Chicago seemed to be grasping at a straw in citing that one-week error as significant. Dean will be a major trial witness.

St. Clair also tried to undermine a key claim in the grand jury's conspiracy indictment: that $75,000 in hush money had been paid on March 21, 1973, to William Bittman, the attorney for E. Howard Hunt, a Watergate wire-



DON CARL STEFFEN

G.O.P. CONGRESSMAN LAWRENCE HOGAN

tapper. Hunt had been demanding money from the White House, threatening to disclose some of his seamy work as a member of Nixon's squad of secret plumber investigators. The payment was alleged by the grand jury to have been made just a few hours after Dean and Haldeman had met with Nixon on that day. St. Clair pointed out, however, that a large chart used in the Senate Watergate hearings had listed no such payment on March 21. That was hardly a conclusive refutation.

Hush Money. Testimony at the Senate hearings was imprecise as to the time of this payment. But St. Clair had to be aware that the grand jury had strong evidence of the date before citing it as a culminating act in the chain of criminal conspiracy. Last week the Washington *Post* reported that Frederick LaRue, a former official of Nixon's re-election committee who has pleaded guilty to conspiracy to obstruct justice, had recalled handling the payment after dinner on March 21. The date was verified by the travel records of one of LaRue's out-of-town friends, who attended the dinner. Investigators have the credit-card records of his hotel and travel expenses. That is minimal documentation the prosecutor has other evidence too.

The payment date challenges Nixon's repeated claim that, during the celebrated March 21 meeting with Dean and Haldeman in his office, he flatly rejected the idea of paying any hush money. The grand jury, which heard the tape of the meeting, cited Haldeman for perjury because of his testimony at the Senate hearings that Nixon had sai

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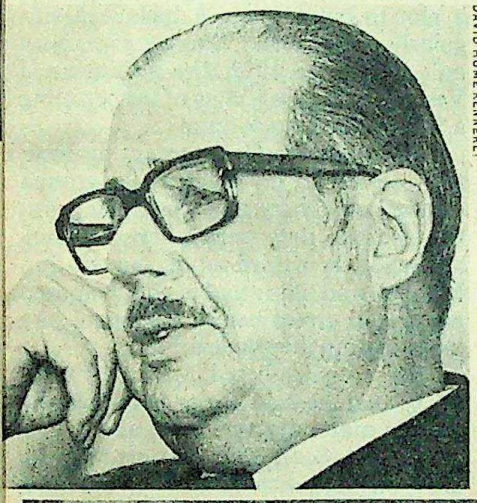
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such payments were wrong. This grand jury action suggested that Nixon must have been lying in his public claims that he told his aides the payments were wrong. If a payment was made after the talk, the President either did not discourage the payment of hush money, or he was misunderstood by his aides, or he was disobeyed.

Nixon conceded in a press conference two weeks ago that other persons who heard the tape might "reach different interpretations. But I know what I meant, and I know also what I did. I meant that the whole transaction was wrong, the transaction for the purpose of keeping this whole matter covered up." Nixon said that he told Dean, "It is wrong, that's for sure"—and that the remark was meant to apply to both the promise of Executive clemency and the payment of hush money to any defendant.

The President has refused to release the tape or a transcript of the conversation, but TIME has learned its gist.

SENATE MINORITY LEADER SCOTT



DAVID HUME KENNERLY



Four important words spoken by the President come through clearly: "It would be wrong." But these words are spoken only within the context of a discussion about promising clemency. The subject of paying money to keep the burglars quiet comes once before the clemency discussion and two times after it. On none of those three occasions does Nixon say or suggest that such payments would be wrong.

Among the tapes most eagerly sought by both Prosecutor Jaworski and the Rodino committee staff are those of conversations between Nixon and his top aides from about ten days before to ten days after this March 21 conversation. The investigators wonder whether there was any more talk of the illegal hush payments in this period. Nixon has refused to yield any of these tapes to either of the investigating bodies.

Two Supporters. An additional problem for the President is that any White House attempt to stonewall the Rodino committee by denying access to any further evidence runs the risk of alienating two of Nixon's most helpful supporters: Vice President Gerald Ford and Republican Senate Leader Hugh Scott. Ford seems to be opening a greater distance between himself and the President. He still backs the White House view that Rodino is off on a "fishing expedition" for evidence and ought to specify "a bill of particulars" against Nixon before seeking the supporting documents. But Ford irked Nixon's staff by declaring publicly that Rodino is fully entitled to see the grand jury's special report and evidence. He also said that he was "concerned" about Nixon's failure to report the illegal payment of silence money to Watergate defendants as soon as Dean told him about it. "I think I would have," Ford said.

Scott is getting nervous because he went out on a limb to assail Dean's credibility on the basis of tape transcripts and summaries shown to him by Nixon. The failure of the White House to make the same information public disturbs Scott. His associates worry that he may have been misled by the one-week discrepancy in Dean's testimony about hush money, perhaps having seen a transcript in which no such discussion appeared. As for giving the Rodino committee what it wants, Scott, too, is opposed to "fishing expeditions," but he does not believe that the committee is on one. Noting White House objections to anyone backing a truck up to the White House for files, Scott suggests: "How about a station wagon?"

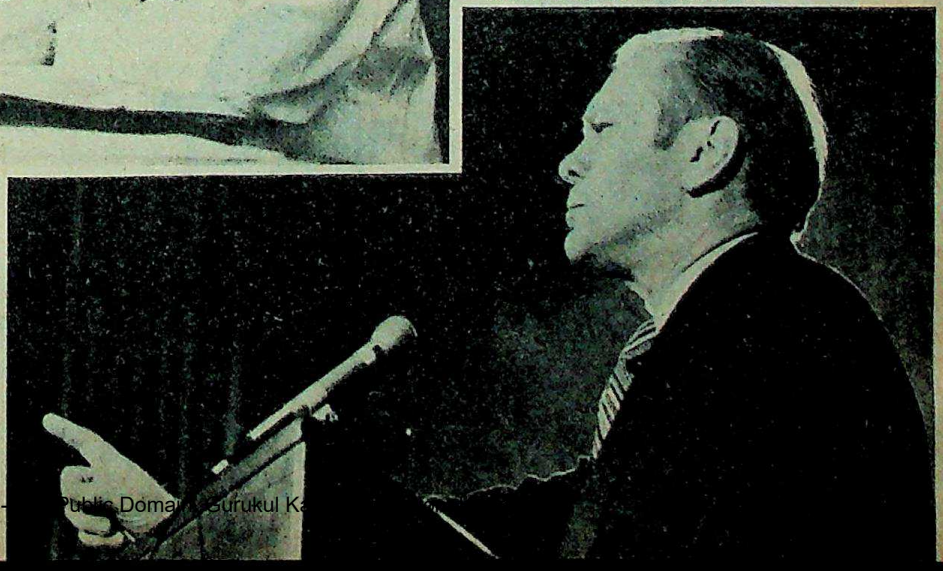
As the President's difficulties continue to accumulate, his public appearances look increasingly like an effort to go over the heads of the aroused impeachers in the House and directly to the public. His vows to "fight like hell" and "not walk away from this job" may win some wavering doubters to his side. But his position is steadily growing weaker.

If the President is innocent in the cover-up acts of his aides, he could easily gain adherents by turning over the 27 tapes that Jaworski wants and the 42 that the House Judiciary Committee is seeking. That would dispel many suspicions, and it would certainly not "destroy" the presidency. Since he has given up 19 tapes and 700 documents already, why would turning over more tapes break the back of this most · isible of U.S. institutions? If he is not innocent the current collision course with the Congress may be the only viable one for him.

Gentler Approach. Perhaps perceiving new dangers in a showdown with the impeachment committee, St. Clair seemed to soften his earlier stand. "We are not seeking a confrontation," he told TIME. "It would not be good for the President or the country. I think John Doar and I both believe that adjustments can be made to avoid it. I don't think the committee intends to have a fishing expedition." If this view seemed more conciliatory than those expressed by his unique client last week, perhaps the gentler approach is merely a shrewd tactic. Or maybe Lawyer James St. Clair deserves a more attentive audience within the confines of the Oval Office.

FEDERAL JUDGE JOHN J. SIRICA

VICE PRESIDENT GERALD FORD



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The Defense Attacks

He was to have been the Government's star witness, the person characterized by the prosecutors as "more or less the middleman in this whole affair." He had in fact been indicted with the others, but the Government wanted his help so badly that it had granted him immunity in exchange for his cooperation. But the more Harry Sears testified last week in a crowded Manhattan courtroom, the more he sounded like a witness for—instead of against—former U.S. Attorney General John Mitchell and former Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans.

Sears in his previous testimony had spun a strong web of circumstantial evidence to support the Government's charge that Mitchell and Stans illegally tried to ease the tangled problems of Financier Robert Vesco with the Securities and Exchange Commission. As his part of the deal, claimed the prosecutors, Vesco made a secret contribution of $200,000 to President Nixon's campaign in 1972. But then Sears, 54, lawyer, former G.O.P. leader in the New Jersey senate and political handyman for Vesco, turned to Play-Doh in the skillful hands of Peter E. Fleming Jr., Mitchell's top defense attorney.

Front Row Seat. Sears made the whole Vesco affair sound like the everyday fraternizing of friends in high places rather than a plot to trade political influence for a campaign contribution. When Sears said he had introduced Vesco to his friend Mitchell on March 12, 1971, the defense pointed out that the date was 13 months before the financier made his gift and six days before the SEC even began looking into Vesco's mutual-fund operations overseas.

A main point in the Government's case against Mitchell is the claim that on the very day—April 10, 1972—that Vesco made his contribution, doors that had been closed to the financier began opening. But Sears admitted that Mitchell had been trying for a month before the donation to get a date for Sears with SEC Chairman William J. Casey. Sears further contended that when he did meet with Casey he simply requested that Vesco be allowed to tell his side of the story. Asked Fleming: "Did you ever ask Mr. Mitchell to fix the Vesco case?" Sears: "Never." Sears later added: "I know of absolutely no attempts that were ever made to 'fix' the SEC matter."

The Government then produced Laurence B. Richardson Jr., former president of Vesco's International Controls Corp., the company that ran the suspect mutual-fund operations. Richardson, 52, broke with Vesco in 1973 over company policies and went to the Government with the story of his former boss's contribution to the Nixon campaign. He testified about attending a meeting with Vesco on March 8, 1972, in Stans' Washington office. According to Richardson, Vesco told Stans that he wanted to make a donation to the Nixon campaign but that he had a problem —the SEC investigation. Vesco claimed that the probe was really an SEC vendetta against him and his company.

Testified Richardson: "Mr. Stans said, well, how much you got in mind to give? And Vesco said, well, he wanted to be in the front row. And Mr. Stans then said, well, we expect X number of people to give a million dollars, and he gave another number that might give a half million or more. Then Mr. Vesco said, I think I would like to give a half-million." (He was to give $50,000 publicly plus the secret $200,000.)

During the meeting, said Richardson, Stans declared that he could not help Vesco with the SEC problem, but added: "Let's see if we can get you an appointment with Mr. Mitchell while you're here." But Richardson could not say if Vesco did meet with Mitchell. And Fleming scored by asking Richardson: "When you went with Robert Vesco on March 8th to Maurice Stans, had you and Robert Vesco agreed to fix ICC's case with the SEC?" Richardson: "No."

In fact, testified Richardson, "I said to Vesco that I was astonished when I heard him say he wanted to give a half-million dollars. And he said, well, it is a lot cheaper than legal fees. And I said, well, if you think those guys are going to do anything for you because you paid that contribution, why, forget it."

Old School Tie. That admission was yet another bonus for the defense —and a clear indication of the general strategy that Mitchell and Stans would use against the Government's charges of conspiracy and obstructing justice. It was becoming obvious that the former Cabinet officers would employ a variation of the old-school-tie defense: they had merely tried to see that friendly Harry Sears and his generous client Vesco got a fair shake from the SEC. They can also point out that if there had been a plot to help Vesco, it had been singularly unsuccessful. Shortly after Nixon's victory in 1972, the SEC accused Vesco and his associates of perpetrating a $224 million stock fraud.

But while the Government prosecutors seemed to be losing some ground on the conspiracy and obstructing justice charges, they were quietly building a case for their third set of counts—that Mitchell and Stans had each committed perjury six times before the grand jury investigating the whole affair.

Sears contradicted Mitchell's testimony that he had never received any written material from Sears about Vesco. In fact, Sears said that on May 18, 1971, he had sent a letter concerning Vesco to Mitchell. Mitchell also told the grand jury that he had never been asked by Sears to get the SEC to withdraw a subpoena against Vesco; Sears insisted that he had made such a request to Mitchell. In addition, Mitchell seemed to be hurt by the testimony of Daniel W. Hofgren, a G.O.P. fund-raiser who had helped put Vesco in touch with Stans. Hofgren said, contrary to Mitchell's claim, that he had indeed spoken to the former Attorney General about Vesco.

As for the perjury charges against Stans, Richardson testified in support of the Government's claim that Stans had lied in saying that he had not asked for the $200,000 in cash from Vesco. In addition, both Richardson and Sears contradicted Stans' testimony that he had not suggested payment before April 7, 1972 (the cutoff date for secret contributions of $100 or more). Hofgren and Richardson also repudiated Stans' assertion that he had not referred Vesco to Mitchell for help on the SEC problems. If proved, each count of perjury against John Mitchell and Maurice Stans could bring a fine of as much as $5,000 and a sentence as long as five years.

SEARS SIGNING AUTOGRAPH



RICHARDSON LEAVING COURTHOUSE



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Wallace: Gearing Up Again

When George Wallace appeared in Washington for the National Governors Conference a year ago, he stayed flat on his back most of the time, staring despondently at the ceiling, receiving few people. His political career seemed as shattered as his spine from the bullets of Arthur Bremer. This month Wallace once again attended the annual Governors Conference, but he was a rejuvenated man: he sat upright in his wheelchair, attentively following the proceedings and obviously basking in his celebrity status. His career has recovered along with his body and spirit.

Democratic National Committee Chairman Robert Strauss dropped by to pay his respects, and reporters flocked to Wallace's side. "Back in 1965, I'd have had to streak up and down the avenue to get this much attention," said Wallace. "I'd have had to streak through the House of Representatives."

Rid of the Kooks. Streaking, in a sense, is just what the Alabama Governor is doing. Despite mild disclaimers, he is running hard for a place on the Democratic national ticket in 1976. For the first time he is given a fair chance —if not for the No. 1 spot, then as the vice-presidential candidate. Though he cannot walk unaided and tires fast, Wallace has staged a remarkable comeback. He trails only Senator Edward Kennedy in Democratic Party presidential polls for 1976. Watergate, meanwhile, has alienated many conservatives from the Republican Party, and they may well turn to Wallace as an alternative.

Inevitably, perhaps, Wallace has been moving toward the middle of the road, seemingly giving up his militant segregationism and many of his longtime redneck associates. "We are glad to be rid of the kooks," says a close Wallace aide. "We were never comfortable with that crowd. We may have been segregationists at one time, but we weren't crazy. They didn't fit well at all with the Governor's new image." The ordeal of his paralysis seems to have mellowed Wallace, now 54. He does not even bear a grudge against his would-be assassin. "I hope he's a new man now," says Wallace. "I've forgiven him."

Today the Governor goes out of his way to court the rising black vote in Alabama. Last November, after stopping off to crown the black homecoming queen at the University of Alabama, Wallace received a standing ovation at the Southern Conference of Black Mayors in Tuskegee. Charles Evers, mayor of Fayette, Miss., has said that he might vote for Wallace for Vice President if he ran with Ted Kennedy.

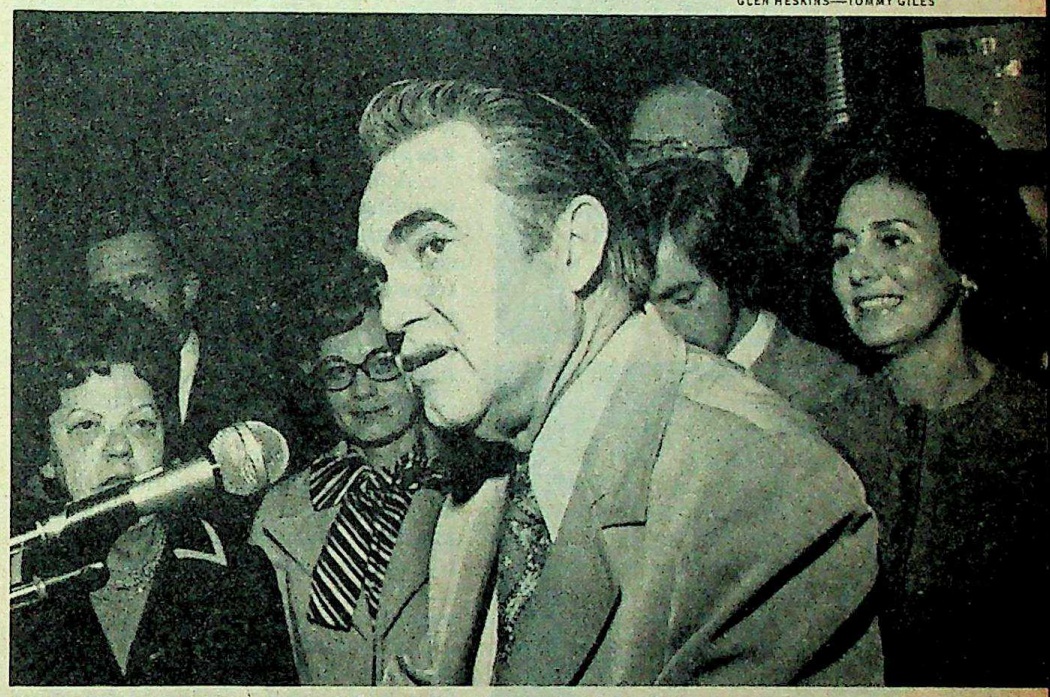
Wallace wants to make a permanent home in the Democratic Party, which he feels has moved closer to his thinking after the McGovern debacle. "We're back in the party for better or for worse, or as we say down here, 'ridin' or walkin',' " says Michael Griffin, 25, an energetic Wallace aide. "The Governor is like Minnie Pearl when she says, 'Ah'm jes glad to be here.' Party stalwarts who once denounced Wallace as a bigot are now treating him like a brother. Last July 4, Ted Kennedy appeared with the Governor at a celebration in Decatur, Ala.; in February, Senator Henry Jackson journeyed South, where he said he would be glad to have Wallace on the ticket with him in 1976. The Governor also met with his old foe, AFL-CIO President George Meany, who came away doubting that he would vote for Wallace but acknowledging that the Governor had definitely mellowed.

Wallace is determined not to make the same mistakes he did in 1972. During that campaign, he won 35% of the popular vote in the primaries—more than any other Democratic candidate —but received only 12% of the convention ballots because in many states he neglected to follow party procedures for selecting delegates. His agents are immersed in party maneuvering for 1976, hoping to take advantage of a basic change the Democratic Party has adopted for choosing delegates to the national convention. In the 1976 caucuses and state conventions, any candidate who receives 15% of the vote will be given a proportionate share of delegates; winner no longer will take all. Since Wallace has at least a sprinkling of support in most places, he believes that he will benefit from the rule change. Wallace is also preparing for the Democratic convention to be held in Kansas City in December. He wants to make sure that the Democratic charter to be produced there reflects his views to some extent and is not totally dominated by what he calls the "exotic left."

Wallace's health remains a question mark. Even some supporters wonder whether he could withstand the grueling pace of a presidential campaign. Though he takes no medication, he is in considerable discomfort. "It takes me an hour to do what it used to take me 15 minutes to do," he admits. At the Governor's mansion he exercises daily in a former spare bedroom that resembles a gymnasium. He lifts a 100-lb. weight over his head as many as 80 times a day, then spends as much as an hour standing between parallel bars. "With the help of a walker I can go 150 steps," he told TIME's Atlanta bureau chief James Bell. "The doctors tell me I'm in excellent shape now except for the paralysis of the legs." His wife Cornelia, 35, likes to goad him by saying that she will make his next speech for him if he is too tired.

Whether the new Wallace will have the appeal of the feisty bantam of old is another matter. In Alabama, at least, the transformation seems to have been accepted. Wallace launches his candidacy for a third term as Governor this week, and he is considered a shoo-in. Only one serious Democratic candidate has filed against him for the primary this spring; no Republican has yet declared. "Anyone would have to be a nut to run against Wallace this year," concedes former U.S. Postmaster General Winton M. Blount, who was considered to be the most likely G.O.P. candidate. Wallace has not only the white vote; he is also expected to win at least half the black ballots—an astounding turnabout for the man who in another era stood in the school doorway in Tuscaloosa to

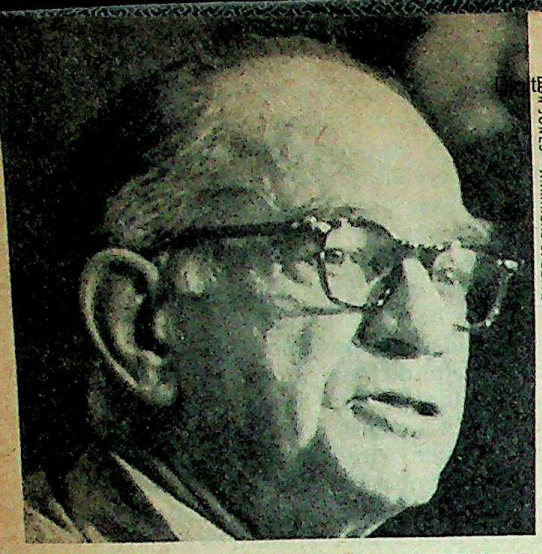
GLEN HESKINS—TOMMY GILES



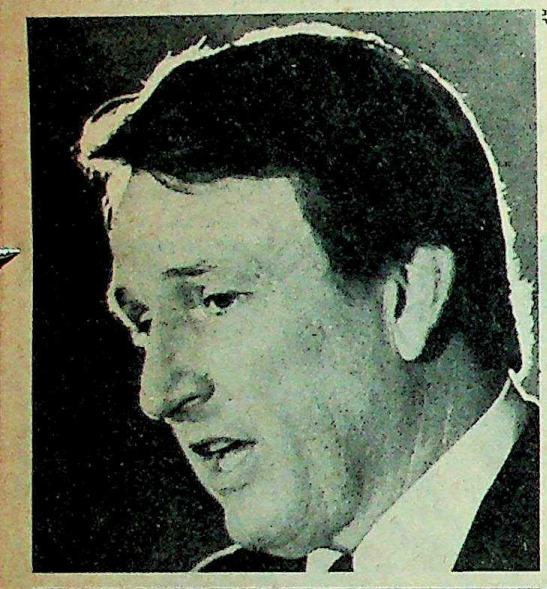
GEORGE WALLACE ANNOUNCING THAT HE WILL RUN FOR RE-ELECTION AS GOVERNOR
Giving up militant segregationism and old redneck cronies.

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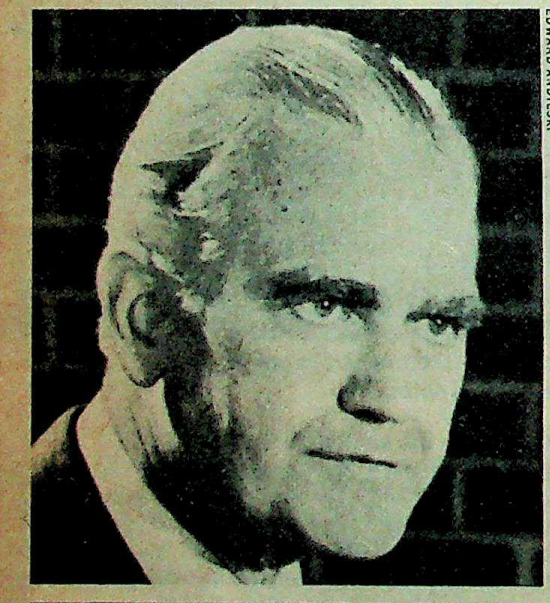
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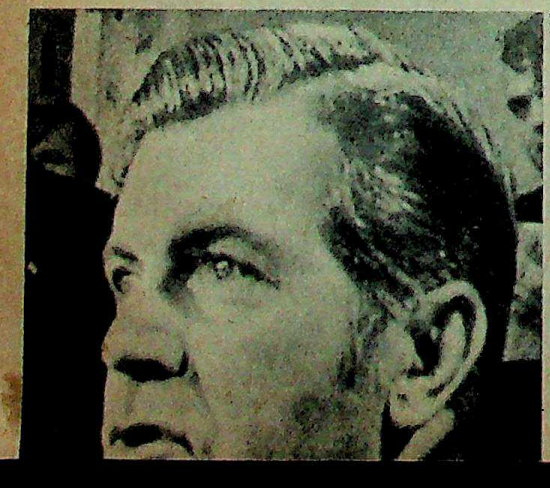
JOHN JONES—ARKANSAS GAZETTE



AP



EDWARD ANDIESKI



UPI

A Traveler's Perils

Arkansas Senator J. William Fulbright, the scholarly chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee who is seeking his sixth term, this year faces the political scrap of his career. His opponent: popular Governor Dale Bumpers. The governor announced last week that he would challenge Fulbright in the Democratic primary in May.

Bumpers, 48, scarcely represents a radical alternative to 68-year-old Fulbright. Both are moderate progressives in a Southern context. An adroit, crowd-pleasing campaigner, Bumpers exploded into Arkansas politics by running against Republican Governor Winthrop Rockefeller in 1970 and burying him in a landslide. In the statehouse, the former small-town lawyer proved to be an adept administrator. He reorganized the government, improved educational and medical facilities, and lured more industry into the state. But after two terms as the nation's lowest paid Governor ($10,000 a year), he became bored with the job and anxious to move up the political ladder.

An early poll gives Bumpers a commanding two-to-one lead. But then Bill Fulbright usually starts from behind because he is too much of an Arkansas traveler; he does not come home enough to suit the voters. Once he does, however, he knows how to please. Shedding his scholarship, he becomes downright folksy as he reminds his constituents how he has looked after them in Washington—and indeed he has. While fretting over international problems, he has always found time to promote such Arkansas products as soybeans and poultry. His constituents, moreover, take pride in his international reputation even if they do not share his views. Local buttons popped when Henry Kissinger visited Little Rock last month to confer with Fulbright on the Middle East oil talks.

Voters who admire both men are in a quandary. Says J. Bill Becker, president of the state AFL-CIO: "At least we won't be choosing between the lesser of two evils, but rather choosing the better of the best."

Westmoreland's Spring Push

In many parts of the U.S., General William Westmoreland's role as commander in the Viet Nam War would count against him in any try for public office. But in South Carolina, which abounds with hawks and military installations, that record is a definite plus—so much so that after he retired two years ago and returned to his home state, both parties courted him to run for Governor (TIME, Jan. 21). Westmoreland last week chose the G.O.P.

He is favored to win the Republican primary in June. "Politics are too important to be left to the politicians," he says in a year when untainted amateurs are in vogue. Westmoreland is also given a solid chance of becoming the state's first Republican Governor in this century when he faces either Congressman William Jennings Bryan Dorn or Lieutenant Governor Earle E. Morris Jr. in the general election.

Meskill Steps Down

There were few brighter up-and-coming stars in the G.O.P. galaxy than Connecticut Governor Thomas Meskill, 46, who accomplished in his first term of office just what he said he would. He has turned a $244 million budget deficit that he inherited from the Democrats into a substantial surplus, mainly by reducing spending, introducing tuition at state colleges, and increasing the sales tax. He also kept his campaign promise to set up one of the most active environmental agencies in the nation.

Yet last week he announced that he would not run for re-election. "I feel I've done my duty," he said. "I feel I don't have to do it again." He added that he had grown restless with a job that cut too deeply into the time he wanted to spend with his family. Meskill denied that his decision was influenced by Watergate, but aides admitted that he might have been induced to run against Democratic Senator Abraham Ribicoff if Watergate had not soured Republican chances. Instead, Meskill is likely to be offered a top Washington post or an appointment to the U.S. Court of Appeals.

ARMED FORCES

Acrimony over Amnesty

"Please tell me what I can do about my son," the middle-aged woman pleaded, her eyes glistening. Eyes front, obviously touched, Lieut. General Leo E. Benade kept walking toward the door of the congressional hearing room where he had just testified. The woman continued: "He has been a deserter for six years in Sweden, and I cannot get anyone to talk to me. I have written to everybody, and nobody has any answers. All they tell me is, 'Produce the body, and we'll negotiate.' He wants to come home. Can you help?" As the general reached the door, he abruptly gave her still another office to contact.

The emotional encounter occurred during three days of hearings last week on the charged issue of amnesty. Thirty-two witnesses, representing all shades of opinion, testified before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties and the Administration of Justice. But the fervid debate only served to show how positions have hardened on one of America's most agonizing issues: how to handle 207,000 men who evaded the draft during the Viet Nam War and 29,000 who deserted.

The Pentagon argued that to let

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draft dodgers or deserters come home without proper punishment would undermine military discipline. Said General Benade: "Service members would certainly be less hesitant to desert if they felt they could do so with reasonable confidence that once the conflict was over they would be granted immunity."

The general provided figures from an Army study purporting to show that only a small percentage of the deserters were motivated by idealistic objections to the Viet Nam War. Most shirked their duty, he claimed, for private, selfish reasons. He took issue with conditional amnesty as embodied, for example, in a bill proposed by Republican Senator Robert Taft that would grant amnesty to draft evaders who agree to serve two years in either the armed forces or a civilian service like VISTA. "Such a practice would equate military service with penal servitude," said Benade, "and this is contrary to the history and tradition of our country, which holds military service to be a citizen's duty and privilege."

Political Dynamite. Fred Darling of the Non-Commissioned Officers Association of the U.S. was tougher. "These men are criminals," he declared. "Their refusal to be drafted or go into or remain in combat caused others to be drafted and sent into combat as their replacements and possibly wounded, maimed or killed. The good God calls upon us to be merciful, but he did not mention amnesty."

Supporters of amnesty were no less ardent. Former Alaska Senator Ernest Gruening received a standing ovation from the largely proamnesty gallery when he demanded that the Government apologize to the men who refused to go to war. They should be granted immediate, unconditional amnesty, he said, with a "declaration of appreciation for their decency and humanitarianism. Their deserting was infinitely preferable to continuing as killers and maimers of a people against whom the U.S. had no grievance whatever." Spectators were visibly moved when Peg Mullen, whose son was killed in Viet Nam four years ago, asked: "What difference is there between a government which forces its dissidents to seek exile and a government which exiles its dissidents?"

One of the most eloquent witnesses, Robert F. Froehlke, broke with the Administration viewpoint he supported as Secretary of the Army from 1971 to 1973. Froehlke said he had opposed amnesty when the U.S. was still fighting. Now that the war is over, he passionately pleaded, amnesty is an "act that only a strong, confident and just nation can bestow. You cannot demand amnesty. You cannot threaten amnesty. Amnesty is given. The insecure, the mean, the confused cannot grant amnesty. Now is the time to begin mending the heartbreak and wounds left by the war."

By the end of the hearings, Subcommittee Chairman Robert W. Kastenmeier, a Wisconsin Democrat, admitted that the country was no closer to a solution of the problem. "Our hearings were held to determine if there was support for any of the available approaches," he said. "It will take some time to get a consensus. There will have to be some changes of heart." There are not likely to be any until this year's election is over and Congress can deal with such political dynamite without fearing punishment at the polls.



JIM MOONEY—N.Y. DAILY NEWS

INTERIOR OF A LONG ISLAND, N.Y., HOME AFTER RAID BY FEDERAL NARCOTICS AGENTS
"The Federal Government is going to have to be much more cautious."

CIVIL RIGHTS

Suing the Government

A band of ruthless armed men was on the loose in southern Illinois last April. In half a dozen raids, the men broke into private homes, shouting obscenities and roughing up the terrified occupants. Mrs. Pamela Kaye Gitto of East St. Louis has charged that the men pointed a gun at her sleeping six-year-old son and struck her husband while he was handcuffed to a chair. Herbert and Evelyn Giglotto of Collinsville were handcuffed face down on their bed. While Mrs. Giglotto begged for her husband's life, she claims that the intruders ransacked their bedroom.

The raiders were not roaming gangsters; they were federal narcotics agents on the hunt for illicit drugs. Since 1970, the narcs, as they are known, have been operating under the "no-knock" provisions of a law intended to allow them to burst into a dwelling without warning so that their quarry will not have time to dispose of any drugs. But in a number of incidents across the country, including those in Illinois, the agents have been accused of conducting unauthorized or overzealous assaults.

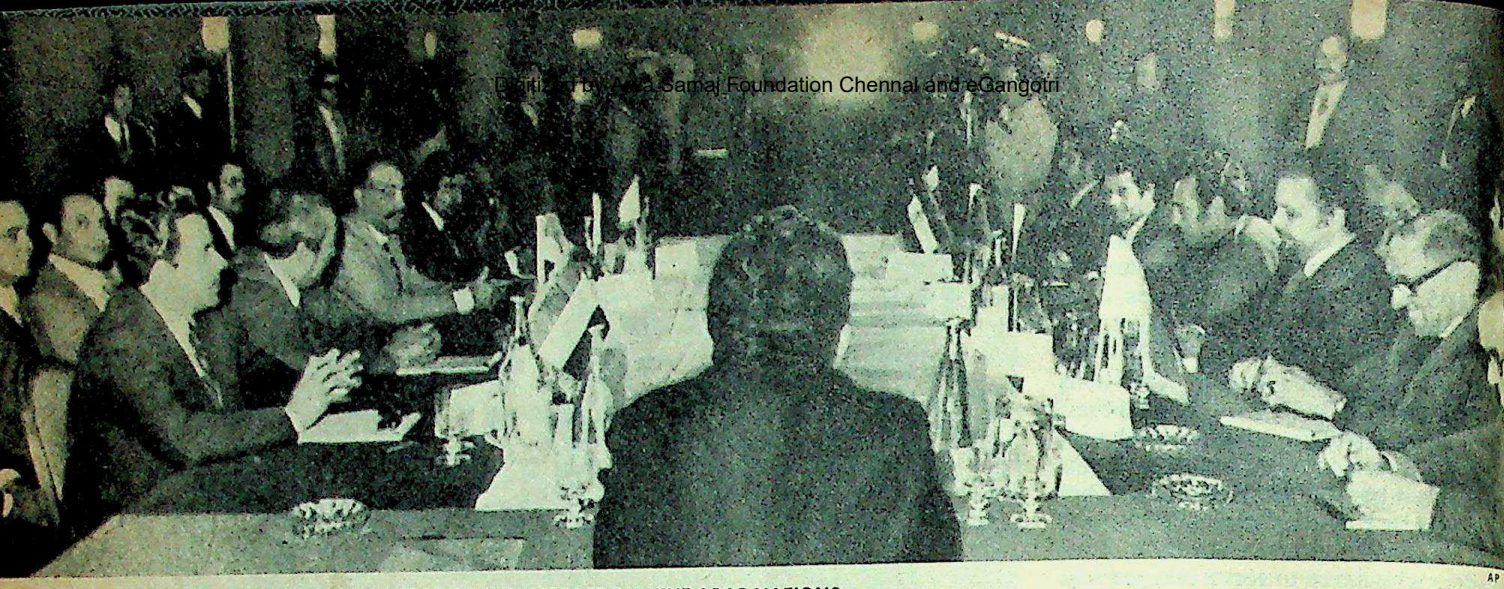
The raids in Illinois were so outrageous that the U.S. Government is now trying ten of its own agents on charges of criminally violating the civil rights of the victims. The Government claims that six Illinois raids were conducted without proper warrants. In two of the cases, the Government contends, the agents were so incompetent that they broke into the wrong house, including the one occupied by the Giglottos.

Since 1971, the victims of such raids have been able to collect damages by suing law enforcement agents for illegal searches conducted in bad faith or without probable cause. But that right has been cold comfort: most agents do not have enough assets to make such suits worthwhile. Yet individuals have been prevented from collecting damages from the Federal Government under the traditional doctrine of sovereign immunity that puts the Government above the law in these matters, making it impervious to suits, however justified. In some cases the Government has agreed to pay damages of its own volition.

Soon Americans will have a recourse. President Nixon was due to sign a bill this week that will at last make the Government liable to pay damage claims if its law enforcement agents, while carrying out their duties, commit such offenses as assault, battery, false imprisonment, false arrest, or raiding without a proper warrant. The provision is the stepchild of Sam Ervin, the Senate's doughty champion of constitutional rights. Ervin was aided by Paul Verkuil, a professor at the University of North Carolina, in gathering the evidence that convinced Congress to adopt the provision. Says Verkuil: "All of a sudden the Federal Government is going to have to be much more cautious. Now a person who has been abused by federal agents can collect."

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AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE IN TRIPOLI: OIL MINISTERS FROM NINE ARAB NATIONS

OIL

The Embargo's Hazy Finish

Five months almost to the day after the Arabs unsheathed their oil weapon they decided to put it back in the scabbard—at least for a while. As expected, oil ministers of nine Arab nations* conferring in Tripoli reached a basic agreement last week to lift the ban on oil sales to the U.S., though not the similar prohibitions on exports to The Netherlands, Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa. But they left the world waiting to hear just when and for how long they would permit oil to flow to the U.S. again; according to one report, they will decide two months after the embargo's end whether to keep the oil flowing or cut off shipments once more. They were equally silent on how soon they would cancel a 15% production cutback and pump as much oil as they did before the Arab-Israeli war broke out last October—a matter of even more importance for U.S. and world oil supply and prices than the embargo itself.

Façade of Unity. Many of these all-important details are likely to be cleared up this week during a meeting in Vienna of the Arabs and representatives of other oil-producing countries. But they remained shrouded in mystery last week because the Arabs were going through diplomatic contortions to maintain a façade of unity despite deep divisions. For weeks Egypt and Saudi Arabia have been trying to persuade the other Arab nations to lift the oil embargo in recognition of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's effort to arrange an Arab-Israeli settlement. But they had met strong opposition from Algeria, Syria and especially Libya, whose leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, is the Arab world's most vehement critic of the U.S. Those nations would not even attend a meeting two weeks ago in Cairo that was supposed to proclaim what most of the Arab governments already had privately decided: that the embargo should be lifted. Algerian President Houari Boumedienne insisted that the meeting be held in Tripoli as originally scheduled.

In order to preserve the show of unity, Gaddafi permitted the meeting to take place, but he proved a less than gracious host. According to Egyptian newspapers, he showed his displeasure by sending in a huffy note declaring that, "I will not have Libya tarnished by having an announcement on lifting the oil embargo against the U.S. issued in Tripoli." Reportedly, the ministers nevertheless reached a compromise proposed by Algeria: the embargo will be lifted soon, but that decision will be reviewed in two months. If, in the Arab view, the U.S. has not kept up sufficient pressure on Israel to reach a settlement with Syria on troop pullbacks on the Golan Heights, the embargo could be resumed. Still, in view of Gaddafi's position, the ministers thought it the better part of valor not to announce that decision or indeed anything at all except their plan to reconvene in Vienna at a meeting of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

While still awaiting official clarification of the Arab position, President Nixon warned the Arabs that the U.S. expects the embargo to be lifted with no strings attached. Should the Arabs attach any conditions to the embargo's end, he told a gathering of businessmen in Chicago, "it would have a counter-effect on our efforts to go forward on the peace front." Even so, the U.S. could draw cheer from the week's developments. On American television, Saudi Arabian Oil Minister Ahmed Zaki Yamani said flatly that the embargo would be lifted and that that move would be coupled with an increase in production, though he did not specify how large. If the Arabs return to the oil-production levels attained last September, U.S. petroleum imports within three months could rise by one million bbl. a day or more—enough to nearly close the nation's current oil gap. Moreover, once renewed supplies of Arab crude are guaranteed, the Federal Energy Office is ready to permit a draw-down in inventories of gasoline and other fuels to give the flagging economy a quick pick-up. FEO officials also are expected to drop the long-standing voluntary ban on Sunday gasoline sales.

Higher Prices. In the short term, the resumption of Arab oil shipments could push U.S. petroleum prices even higher, because oil companies would be importing larger volumes of high-priced Middle Eastern crude and expensive refined products from Europe. Indeed there have been reports that O.P.E.C. officials are considering another rise in crude prices, which have been hovering at about $11 per bbl. Nonetheless, some analysts expect the upward trend to be reversed and look for an actual drop in world crude oil prices over the course of the next year. Prices will surely not return to pre-embargo levels. Indeed, because world oil consumption has been curtailed by 10% or more, in part by conservation measures, and non-Arab oil countries such as Iran and Indonesia have stepped up their output, a return by the Arabs to prewar levels of production could eventually create a temporary glut of oil that would push prices down. The first sign of such a possible trend occurred a few weeks ago when Kuwait tried to auction off 85 million bbl. of crude at $11.54 per bbl. At that price, the Kuwaitis could find no buy-

*Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Kuwait, Libya, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria and the United Arab

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POLICY

After the Veto

Although the nation's gasoline shortage seems likely to be eased by the lifting of the Arab oil embargo, the Administration is still actively seeking stand-by authority for mandatory nationwide gasoline rationing. Reason: there is still a need to restrain energy consumption until the flow of Arab oil is fully restored—if indeed it *is* fully restored. Last week President Nixon asked Congress to enact a bill that would revive many provisions of the Emergency Energy Act that he vetoed the week before because it would have forced a rollback of oil prices. In keeping with Nixon's view that the nation now faces an energy "problem" rather than a "crisis," the new bill is entitled the Special Energy Act.

Besides granting explicit authority for rationing, the new bill would give the President broad powers to control the way Americans use energy. Instead of merely requesting that businesses reduce outdoor advertising and ornamental lighting, for example, the President could order them to do so. Presumably, he would also get the power to set national highway speed limits and to limit supplies of fuel to commercial airlines. If the nation's energy supplies continue to be pinched, the President would invoke such measures long before resorting to rationing—and not only for philosophical reasons. A careful study of the contingency rationing system announced in mid-January, which supposedly could have gone into effect in March, has turned up a number of serious flaws. The Federal Energy Office now estimates that a revised system could be ready for use no sooner than early June.

At week's end, the Administration and Senate Interior Committee Chairman Henry M. Jackson had worked out a compromise between Nixon's proposals and a revised version of the old Emergency Energy Act, which Jackson will introduce this week. But the legislation still faces an uncertain future. The end of the Arab embargo could persuade many members of Congress that there is no need to hand over such wide-ranging authority to a President whom they deeply mistrust.

PROTEST

That Strange Strike

One of the most surprising effects of the energy crisis was a 17-day-long strike that ended last week in the coal fields of West Virginia. At its height, it cost 25,000 miners their $50-a-day jobs. The United Mine Workers' welfare and retirement fund forfeited $190,000 a day in royalties. The nation lost a daily output of 250,000 tons of metallurgical coal, thus endangering the steel industry. The cause of all this loss and trouble: the gasoline shortage.

It all began on Feb. 21 when a miner finished his shift at Consolidation Coal Co.'s Maitland 1G mine in McDowell County, got into his car—and ran out of gas before he left the company parking lot, where he then had to spend the night. Fellow miners blamed a gasoline conservation order that Governor Arch A. Moore Jr. had issued the day before, forbidding gasoline sales to any driver whose car had more than a quarter of a tank of gas. In protest, some miners quit working, and the strike quickly spread through nine counties. "We have men driving 50, 60, even 70 miles one way to work," argued Clyde Gibson, a union official in Welch, W. Va. "A quarter-tank of gas might get a man to the mine, but how is he supposed to get home?"

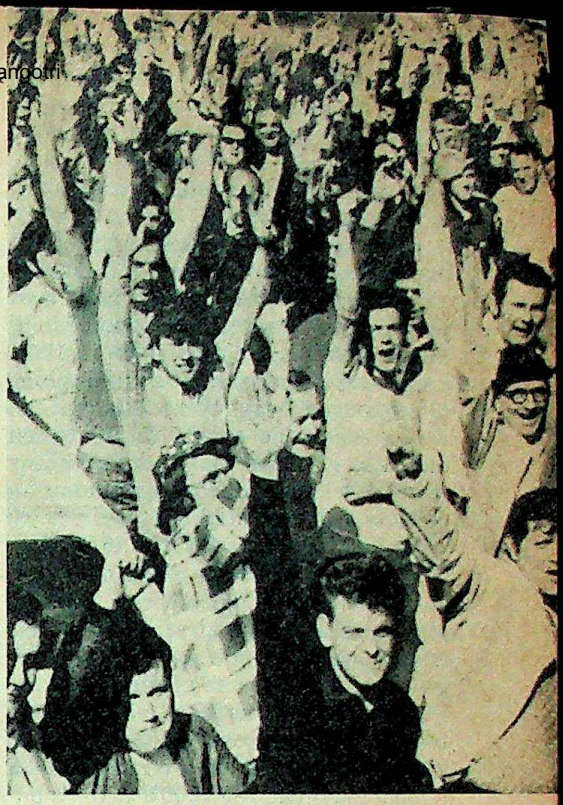
250 Miles. For weeks the strike defied all sorts of attempts at settlement. Moore tried to placate the miners by supplying more gasoline to the strike-bound counties. Then he exempted from the quarter-tank rule anyone who drove more than 250 miles to work in a week. The strikers protested that he was trying to split the union by exempting some miners and not others.

U.M.W. President Arnold Miller asked the state Supreme Court of Appeals to overturn the quarter-tank rule. When it refused to hear the case, he got both houses of the West Virginia legislature to petition Moore to rescind the order. But the government did not budge. Nor could a federal district court, acting on a suit brought by the mine operators, end the strike. It refused to order the miners back to work because gasoline shortages were not an issue subject to arbitration under the U.M.W. contract. The ruling, however, was overturned on appeal last week.

By then the effects of the strike had grown much worse. Executives of Inland Steel in Chicago and U.S. Steel in Pittsburgh announced 20% to 35% cutbacks in production of coke and iron because of the lack of coking coal. Other steel companies warned that they would soon have to take similar action. In McDowell County, a sniper wounded two picketing miners and a passer-by. Governor Moore finally suspended the quarter-tank order for a month, explaining that his state had just been given its full minimum allotment of gasoline for March. Only then did the strikers return to work.

Why had they stayed out so long? Industry and some state officials charge that the U.M.W. was using the strike as part of its bargaining strategy in preliminary negotiations for a new contract. According to their theory, the union counted on frightening the steel industry, which has shown a willingness to pay a high price for labor peace, into pressuring coal companies to accept the miners' terms.

U.M.W. officials insist that the issue really was gasoline. The miners not only are completely dependent on cars to get to work; they also see their autos as an escape from their isolated hollows and as a link to luxury and freedom. Deprived of the use of their cars, they feel deprived of social mobility as well.



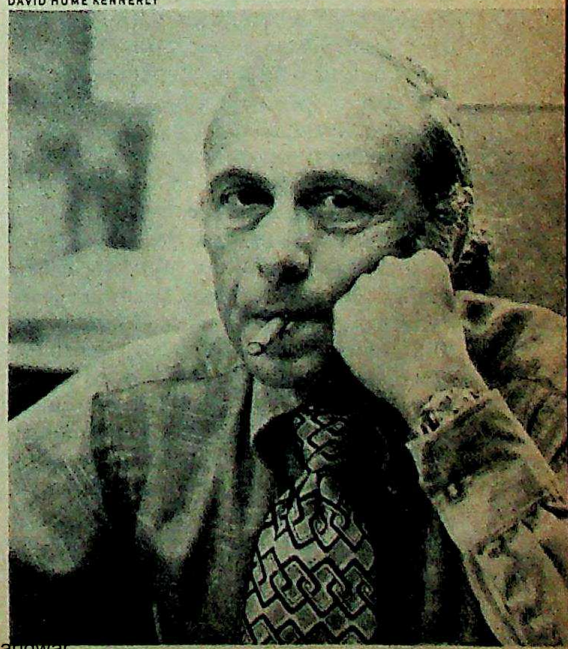
MINERS VOTING AT DRAWDY FALLS, W. VA.
A quarter-tank controversy.

PERSONALITY

One Man Anti-Oil Lobby

A gallon of gasoline today costs 29% more than it did a year ago, and a gallon of heating oil 64% more. Despite the imminent lifting of the Arab embargo, the prices are certain to stay high; gasoline prices might even go a bit higher. The Federal Energy Office's officials be-

DAVID HUME KENNERLY



CONSUMERIST LEE WHITE
Real outrage

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lieve that the increases will alleviate the energy shortage in two ways. They give U.S. oil companies a greater incentive to explore for more oil and gas at home; and they encourage American consumers to conserve energy.

Though these policies might sound reasonable, they infuriate Lee White, 50, a balding, wiry Washington, D.C., lawyer who was chairman of the Federal Power Commission from 1966 to 1969. "As prices go up, the little guy is going to get gouged," says White. "Is that the way to solve the energy crisis—to tell the little guy that he can't drive any more? I believe the Government has an obligation to protect him."

A little guy himself (5 ft. 7 in.), White has turned himself into a one-man anti-oil lobby to press such views on Congress and administrative agencies. He now spends less time at his private law practice than as head of the Consumer Federation of America's "energy-policy task force," representing the interests of 22 consumer-oriented groups. His total budget may reach $85,000 a year—a pittance beside the American Petroleum Institute's $16.7 million for 1974. "If it's a David *v.* Goliath situation," he says, "spell David with a small *d*."

Real Outrage. White's main weapon—something less than a slingshot—is what he calls "the public's healthy attitude of skepticism" about the energy crisis. "The consumer is showing real outrage over the fact that oil companies' profits can skyrocket, while the Administration allows the price of 'old oil' to rise $1 per bbl. [to $5.25]," he says. "Since there is no retroactive expense in pumping from wells already producing, the increase is just a Christmas present from the Administration to the oil companies."

White is lobbying hard for a bill, introduced by Senators Warren Magnuson and Adlai Stevenson III, to establish a national oil company to compete with private producers. This proposed federal corporation would explore and drill for oil and gas on public lands. The price of its output would be strictly related to the cost of production, and so is supposed to serve as a yardstick by which to measure the profit margins of private companies. "The bill," White says, "has a chance, a bare chance, to pass."

Most observers give the bill even less chance, but give White high marks as a gadfly. No sooner does he finish testifying before a congressional committee than he rushes across the nation to exhort concerned citizen groups to let the Government know their interests in energy matters. So far, his tangible successes have been minor; most recently, for example, he helped to force the Federal Energy Office to publish its contingency plans for nationwide gas rationing. And last week Energy Chief William Simon created an Office of Consumer Affairs within FEO—but at a public meeting coupled that announcement with another rejection of White's insis-

JAPAN

Surviving the Storm

The oil crisis originally appeared to many Japanese as an "economic Guadalcanal"—the point at which heady advance turned into steady retreat. Predictions abounded that the world's second richest economy, which depends on the Middle East for 84% of its oil, would fall into a 1974 recession or even depression. Nothing of the sort has happened. Despite an initial panic and rising inflation, oil imports dropped only slightly, and now that Japan is on the Arabs' list of "friends," the government unofficially predicts that 1974 imports will actually rise 4% or so over 1973. The doomsday atmosphere has changed to a new mood of optimism.

As if to signal that mood, the government has now begun to ease restrictions on energy use. It decreed an increase in oil supplies doled out to industry. To be sure, buildings still cannot be heated to over 68° F., gasoline stations must shut down on Sundays and holidays, and neon lights are banned after business hours. But those measures, says Toshinobu Wada, an official at the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, remain merely "to foster a psychology of energy conservation."

Now the oil crunch is seen as a problem of prices, not availability. Indeed, oil prices, already up to $9.50 per bbl., may rise a further 64% to cover increases in the price of Middle Eastern crude. Even so, Japanese forecasters are predicting that the country's economy will grow 4% or 5% in fiscal 1974, which ends in March 1975. Over the next decade, reports the respected Japan Economic Research Center, the growth rate should average 9.2%—extraordinarily high by Western standards.

The key to all the plans lies in meeting the high bill for oil—up from $7 billion in 1973 to an estimated $15 billion this year. To do that, Japan will push exports hard while stepping up its battle against inflation at home. Says Takamasa Matsuda, director of research at the Fuji Bank: "The higher oil costs affect every nation, not Japan alone. The increased import costs can be partially absorbed by higher export prices, and the rest of it will be absorbed by more efficient energy use within the country."

The strategy may well work. Japanese industries are already streamlining their assembly lines and their product lines. Meanwhile, government policies to control inflation are holding the rise in wholesale prices, which jumped 35% last year, to a more modest 14.6%—though that effort is threatened by labor demands for a 30% wage boost. Savings deposits are up and expense-account spending is down—both sure signs of a "back to work" mood.

But the renewed emphasis on exports may be bad news for the U.S. and Western European nations. They had breathed a huge sigh of relief early last year when Japan began exporting capital as well as goods and turned its attention to solving such pressing domestic problems as pollution and housing. Through most of last year Japan imported more goods than it exported, trimming its reserves of foreign currencies from a bloated $19 billion to a more moderate $12 billion in the process.

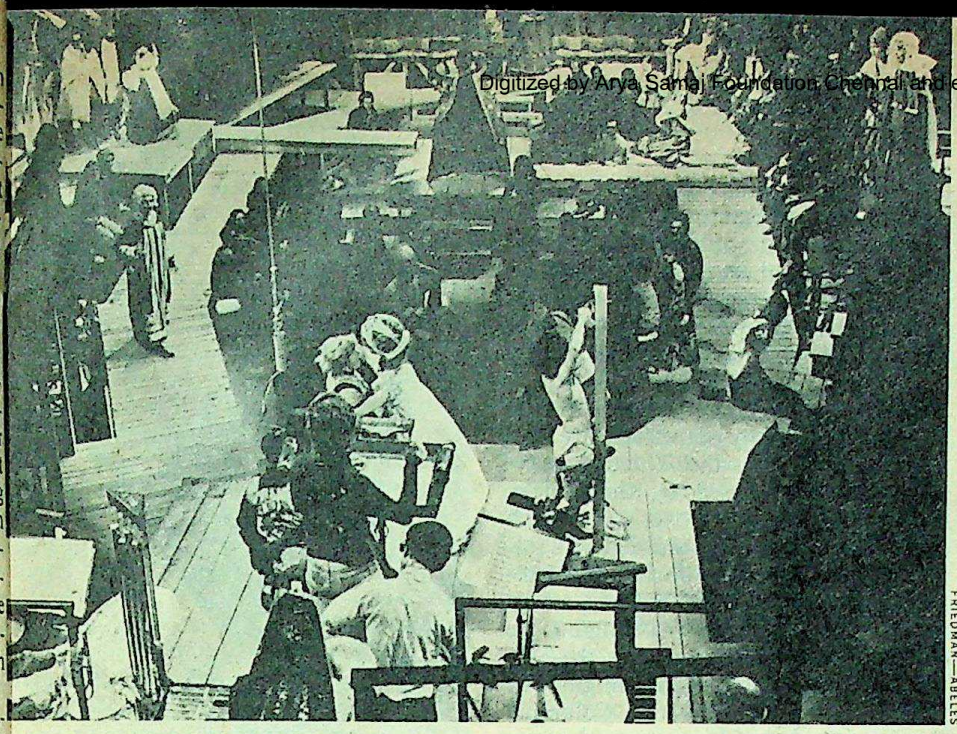
Whether the return to exports will once again disrupt other nations' trade balances with Japan remains to be seen. Since the Japanese are fully aware of how much ill will past export drives built up in the industrialized world, they may direct most of their attention to trade with Southeast Asia and China. On the other hand, Japan has to meet the higher prices for oil, and that might mean reverting to its aggressive selling policies everywhere, at the expense of the U.S. and European economies.



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EXPORT-IMPORT CARGOES AWAITING SHIPMENT AT TOKYO AIRPORT
Bad news for the U.S. and Europe?

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FRIEDMAN—ABELES

ENVIRONMENTAL STAGE SETTING WITH AUDIENCE & PLAYERS IN *CANDIDE*

THE THEATER

Fun-House Voltaire

CANDIDE
A Musical

The audience sitting down for this *Candide* is liable to be a bit stunned by its surroundings. The entire inside of the respectable Broadway Theater has been gutted and rebuilt along the lines of an amusement park fun house—ten different playing areas scattered throughout, with running ramps, movable drawbridges, balconies. In the midst of the chaos, spectators are arrayed in bleachers or on stools in the pit. Such environmental gimmickry can be hazardous. Here, it seems the best of all possible worlds for *Candide*.

This bright circus of a production began this winter at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, and it is even better on Broadway. Lillian Hellman's book for the 1956 Broadway production, which had a troubled history, was scrapped in favor of a faster and frothier new version by Hugh Wheeler, with Stephen Sondheim contributing a few new lyrics to the originals by Poet Richard Wilbur. What remains the same, of course, is Leonard Bernstein's restless, delightful score, one of the best ever written for the musical stage. It has a sort of light intellectual jump to it, like the skittering of ideas through an exceptionally agile and civilized mind.

Voltaire's tale of innocence and catastrophe prances through the theater as if it were the wide, exuberantly evil world itself. Mark Baker's puppylike Candide and his beloved Cunégonde (Maureen Brennan) begin in the radiant sweetness of their Westphalia, instructed of course in Dr. Pangloss's invincible doctrine that this is the best of all possible worlds. What follows in Voltaire's gleeful vision is a string of unmitigated but somehow good-natured disasters—banishment, war, scourging, mass slaughter, piracy, the Spanish Inquisition, slavery, concubinage—until at last the wanderers come to El Dorado. Leading pink sheep laden with glimmering ingots, Candide and Cunégonde arrive with their innocence reasonably intact, although such setbacks as her rape by a regiment of Bulgarian soldiers have left Cunégonde with a somewhat supple interpretation of purity.

Presiding over the action is Lewis Stadlen, who plays the geriatric Voltaire, the buoyant Pangloss and assorted villains. The set, which might have been a collaboration between Rube Goldberg and the sculptor Jean Tinguely, turns in its own virtuoso performance. It throws down bridges between continents, cascades green streamers down to simulate jungle, and rocks like a storm-battered ship. Despite such assaults, the audience is treated with a kind of 18th century courtesy and just the right note of complicity. If there could be a lovelier *Candide* than this, it is difficult to imagine. ■ Lance Morrow

A Muted Bloom

ULYSSES IN NIGHTTOWN
Dramatized by MARJORIE BARKENTIN
from James Joyce's *Ulysses*

The night of June 16, 1904, Leopold Bloom and Stephen Dedalus went on their epic crawl through Dublin's Nighttown whorehouse district—the cuckold Bloom in his extravagant hallucinations of sexual heroism and abasement, the church-dazed intellectual Stephen, in a nihilistic trance of guilt

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Although James Joyce wrote the Nighttown section of *Ulysses* in the form of drama, his triple-bottomed language does not translate easily to the stage. It may need the stability of the written page to hold it.

When Marjorie Barkentin's dramatization of *Nighttown* first opened in New York in 1958, there were critical reservations, for all Zero Mostel's brilliance in the role of Bloom. Now Mostel is back in *Nighttown*, which opened last week on Broadway. There are still plenty of reservations.

Fordham Freshman. Mostel shambles and capers and preens through Bloom's transformations—a Circe's hog, transvestite, martyr, hero of the people—with an air of dignified amazement. However, this is a muted Mostel, and somehow he is not enough. Whether the problem lies in trying to capture Joyce onstage or in Burgess Meredith's direction, there are long moments of curious lifelessness, a kind of listless anarchy, the stage business often as flyaway as the Joycean allusions.

At least *Nighttown* has more frank eroticism than before. Molly, played by Fionnuala Flanagan, lies nude in bed as she delivers the famous "Yes" soliloquy with which *Ulysses* ends. The slatterns, more lissome than Dublin whores ever were, swagger bare-chested about the stage.

Too many important things are lost in this stage translation, which is often as murky as its dark, glowering set. Somehow the crucial father-son theme connecting Bloom and Stephen never emerges very clearly. Maybe Vatican II is to blame for drawing the poison out of the old Catholic guilts, but Tom Lee Jones' Stephen, in his wild Irish despair, seems no more interesting than a sullen Fordham freshman on a St. Patrick's Day drunk. ■ L.M.

MOSTEL IN *NIGHTTOWN*



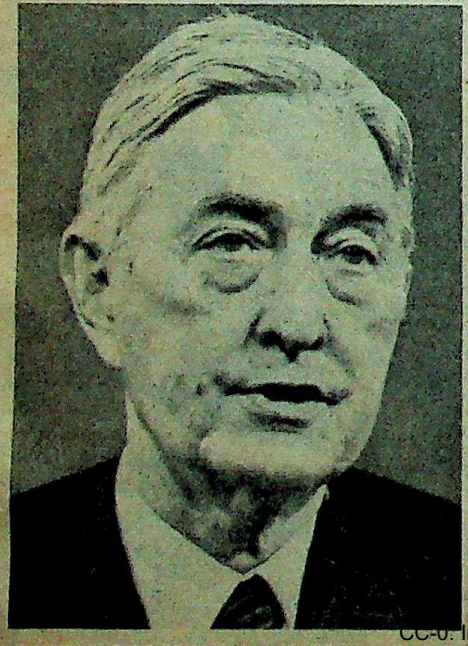
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No Truce in Saigon

More than a year after the signing of the Paris peace accords, American journalists and officials in Saigon have yet to cement a lasting truce among themselves. The current antagonists: New York *Times* Correspondent David Shipler, 31, one of the most enterprising of the 30 U.S. correspondents remaining in Saigon, and Ambassador Graham A. Martin, 61, a career diplomat who helped negotiate the agreement with Hanoi. As in similar Saigon disputes dating back a dozen years, this one centers on charges that press coverage has given comfort, if not aid to the enemy.

It started with a 3,500-word story by Shipler published Feb. 25. Shipler had spent six weeks studying the scope of U.S. assistance to the Thieu government. He interviewed privately employed American technicians who service South Viet Nam's military hardware—equipment and maintenance paid for by the U.S. He also sought an explanation of U.S. policy from American officials. The ambassador, who has sharply reduced press access to the embassy since he arrived in August, refused to see him.

Splenetic Reply. Shipler's research led him to describe "a vast program of military aid that continues to set the course of the war." His central thesis: "Whether the U.S. is breaking the letter of the [Paris] agreements could probably be argued either way. But certainly the aid directly supports South Vietnamese violations and so breaks the spirit of the accords." Shipler found that U.S. technical assistance to South Vietnamese military units sometimes takes the form of tactical advice, an activity forbidden by the Paris agreement. He reported other violations: "Although the Paris agreements explicitly rule out advisers to the police force, the South Vietnamese national police continue to receive regular advice from Americans." The article suggested that extensive and sometimes illegal aid to Saigon must continue as long as U.S. policy is linked to the anti-Communist rule of President Thieu.



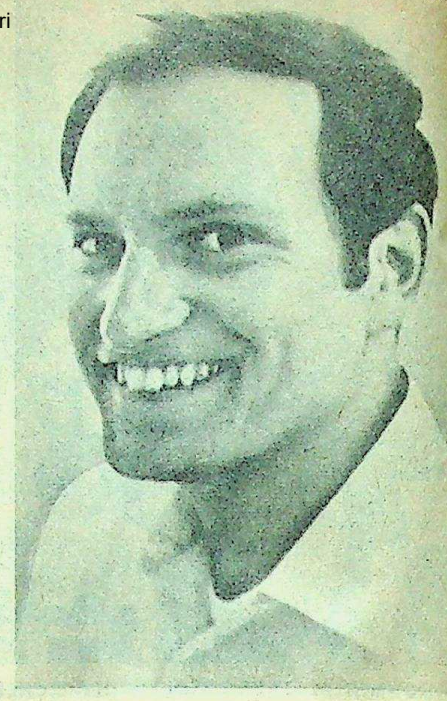
AMBASSADOR GRAHAM A. MARTIN
Defending an investment.

The story created little stir in Washington, where many of the facts are well known. Ironically, the Thieu government seemed pleased by the article, broadcasting excerpts over state radio and TV as evidence of the regime's solid U.S. backing. But Martin was splenetic and framed a 4,600-word rebuttal, which he cabled to Washington. He concluded: "Embassy believes the Shipler story and this response might well be made available to the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism as a case study of propaganda under the guise of 'investigative reporting.' "

No Advice. Martin does catch Shipler in some factual errors. (One of Shipler's mistakes, the statement that 2,200 U.S. employees of private defense contractors have left Viet Nam since last July, actually weakens the ambassador's argument; Martin says that only 740 have departed.) But the inaccuracies Martin finds do not undercut Shipler's major points. These Martin attacks with invective and some assertions of his own. The "course of the war" is not set by U.S. aid; rather it is set by "the continuous and continuing Communist buildup." In fact, materiel from both Hanoi and the U.S. contribute to the tempo of military action. Martin never directly claims that there have been no South Vietnamese violations of the cease-fire; he attacks Shipler for not presenting "a shred of evidence" of such violations. "The U.S.," he insists, "has no military advisers in South Viet Nam; no advice is given the Vietnamese in contravention of the Paris agreements." He charges that Shipler's claim of U.S. advice to South Vietnamese police is "utterly false and known to be so by the writer"—whom he has never met.

The rebuttal makes much of Hanoi's hope that the U.S. will reduce aid to Saigon. Martin casts Shipler in the role of Hanoi's tool, witting or unwitting. He refused to see Shipler, he says, because he would not cooperate in a "campaign to grossly deceive the American Congress and the American people."

This clanging rhetoric drowns out certain facts. As has been universally reported, both the Communists and the Thieu forces have regularly violated the cease-fire. Nor is there any question that American equipment and know-how are still of help to Saigon's military machine. TIME Saigon Bureau Chief Gavin Scott concludes that "on balance, Martin's elaborate rebuttal does little to demolish the Shipler story's central theme." Scott points out, though, that Shipler



CORRESPONDENT DAVID SHIPLER
Disclaiming advocacy.

might have chosen one key word more carefully. It is difficult to prove that U.S. assistance "directly" supports violations as Shipler argued. But there can be no doubt about "indirect" support.

Why did Martin react so angrily? For one thing, he is openly suspicious of the *Times*. "The editorial page of the New York *Times*," he said earlier, "as is its inalienable right, has long been generally regarded as having a deep emotional involvement in the success of North Viet Nam's attempt to take over South Viet Nam by force of arms." Martin is also fiercely and understandably committed to preserving a non-Communist South Viet Nam. "I do think it is very important," he told Scott last week, "that in the future, America be able to look back and say that whatever were the mistakes of our involvement, in the end we did a few things right, and that it came out all right."

Shipler contends that his story was not written to dash these hopes: "I'm not an advocate of anything. It's a cliché, but the reporter's function is to observe and report. The story took shape only after a lot of legwork." Shipler also has his boss's support. When *Time* Managing Editor A.M. Rosenthal arrived in Saigon for a visit last week, he declined Martin's offer of an interview.

NR's New Angel

Several years ago, a young friend and fellow liberal approached Gilbert Harrison, longtime editor-owner of the *New Republic*. "Gil," he said, "if you're ever thinking about the future of the magazine, I'm interested." Last week, after guiding *NR* through one-third of its intellectually rich and financially lean six decades, Harrison returned the friend's interest by placing *NR's* future in his hands. The new owner and editorial chairman: Harvard Social

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entist Martin Peretz, 34, advocate of left-ish causes and angel of liberal Democratic candidates (Eugene McCarthy, George McGovern).

The independently wealthy Peretz, whose wife Anne has Singer Co. holdings, becomes *NR's* third owner since its founding in 1914. Since that time, *NR* has built an enviable reputation among U.S. intellectuals for its scholarly dissent and literate insights. Though its readership is solid (circ. 100,000) as well as influential, *NR* faces mounting postal and publishing costs. Recently the weekly has run at a small profit, which is unusual for opinion journals. But red ink is always a threat, and Harrison, 58, figured that it was time for a younger angel with a muscular bankroll.

Harrison is to stay on as editor for at least three years, but Peretz does not plan to be an absentee owner. He thinks that *NR* must toughen its liberalism with more aggressive, sharply argued opinions on issues now being exploited by conservatives—the Nixon Administration's defense and arms-limitation policies, Henry Kissinger's détente maneuvers with Peking and Moscow. Says Peretz: "There is a conservative offensive in this country, and we don't know how to respond to it."

Peretz's views and relative youth should mesh well with *NR's* energetic staff. Executive Editor Walter Pincus, 41, has recently probed the Watergate tapes mystery with telling perception. *NR's* veterans—Film Critic Stanley Kauffmann, White House Reporter John Osborne and the salty *TRB* Contributor Richard Strout of the *Christian Science Monitor*—help sustain the magazine's flair for bright commentary. For the purchase price of $380,000 (plus a somewhat larger amount in pending taxes), Peretz has also acquired a special responsibility: to maintain the unusual character that the *New Republic* has acquired in American journalism since earlier writers like Walter Lippmann, Bruce Bliven and Edmund Wilson began burnishing its pages.

Reliving Hitler's Rise

The faces peer out from across four decades: a baleful Hitler brooding over his destiny, a grinning Goebbels with his new bride, slinky *Fräulein* in satin smirking over drinks in a Munich nightclub. There are samples of humor: anti-Jewish jokes along with bitter comments on the regime ("In Germany teeth are being pulled through the nose because no one can open his mouth any more"). Excerpts from William L. Shirer's *Berlin Diary* give an American's impression of the scene. The period photographs and cartoons of Nazism aborning, the vivid paintings of rouged whores and marcelled flappers doing the Charleston evoke the era's political menace and cabaret decadence.

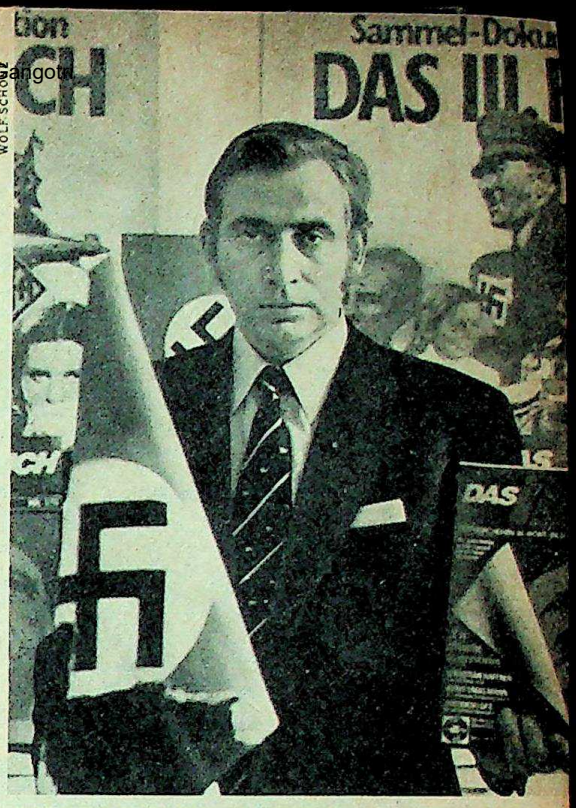
These are the ingredients of a unique new German bimonthly, *Das Dritte Reich* (The Third Reich). Its technique is that of a scrapbook covering contemporary events. Its stated purpose: to give Germans, particularly younger people, a vivid account of their nation's bleakest years.

Reich's debut this month is a political as well as a publishing event in West Germany. As the first home-grown editorial effort to re-create the mood and experiences that led to Hitler's power-grab, *Reich* has unsettled Germans of all political persuasions. Its editor, Christian Zentner, says that over the next two years the magazine will attempt to explain how "the nation of poets and philosophers" could become "a nation of murderers and criminals." But many Germans apparently still care less about that question than about keeping the skeleton of the Nazi era closeted.

In fact, *Reich* in its first 48-page issue unsparingly documents the truth that Nazism, while seeded in the depths of Germany's post-World War I economic depression, bloomed in the resurgence of nationalistic pride created by Hitler and his henchmen. Symbols of that pride dominate photographs illustrating actual news dispatches of the day or adorning a 1932-33 chronicle of Germany's cultural and sporting life: Boxer Max Schmeling fighting America's Jack Sharkey for the world's heavyweight title; Marlene Dietrich posing in a scene from one of her early film triumphs.

Serious Issue. The new magazine's detractors fear that such nostalgia could ignite latent neo-fascism today. The liberal weekly *Die Zeit* attacked it as a slickly packaged *Making of Der Führer.* Conservative readers are already complaining that *Reich* maligns and distorts Nazism's objectives. The magazine's advance promotional blitz was particularly upsetting. It featured decorative political posters of the '30s, tiny swastika flags, and throwaway recordings of Nazi party speeches. That tactic, charged a West Berlin court prosecutor, tended to glorify the era, suggesting that Hitler's Reich was fun. After a Berlin court agreed, police raided newsstands throughout the country and confiscated the gewgaws. West German television stations barred *Reich* commercials when they appeared to stress the frivolous side of Nazism's adolescence. *Reich's* Hamburg publisher, John Jahr Co., then agreed to include "negative" scenes in the TV spots depicting Nazism's *Götterdämmerung.*

The uproar has continued, though *Reich's* maiden issue carries no advertising, and on balance is serious rather than sensational. The restricted promotional campaign hampered *Reich's* debut. Even so, the magazine's appealing pop-documentary style helped produce respectable first-week sales of nearly 100,000 copies at a newsstand price of $1.10. *Reich's* creator, Lawyer-Publisher Alexander Jahr, 33, aims for an eventual circulation of 500,000, but his special hope is to make *Reich* a teaching aid in West German schools. "It's an open secret that this subject gets



REICH PUBLISHER ALEXANDER JAHR
Swastikas and taboos.

treated very superficially in the schools, or not at all," says Jahr, a scion of West Germany's second largest publishing empire, which owns the picture magazine *Stern.* "People have kept silent and tabooed this subject long enough."

Bite of the Iguana

No gathering of celebrities or pretenders to that status is complete without the presence of a writer from *Women's Wear Daily,* the gossipy trade journal of evanescent chic. So when 300 jet setters assembled in Mexico for the opening of a $30 million resort, a by-lined story by Adelita Esterhazy last week dutifully recorded choice bits of fatuousness for *WWD* readers. But the piece ended on a dark editor's note: before leaving Mexico, "Adelita Esterhazy was walking the beach alone when she was attacked by an iguana. Dr. Eduardo Negrobien was unable to save her. This was her last article."

Tragedy hits *WWD*? Hardly. A *WWD* reader with a memory for the morbid will doubtless recall that a Paris story last November was written by Marie-Antoinette Esterhazy. She too met an untimely end: "Marie-Antoinette caught cold and died last night," *WWD* announced.

The inspiration behind these *noms de plume* is *WWD* Publisher John Fairchild. Most Esterhazy items are written by Fairchild himself (he is usually "Louise"), though Adelita's effort was the work of Karen Winner. The habit of killing off Esterhazys springs from Fairchild's mordant interpretation of the term "once-in-a-lifetime assignment." Says Editor Michael Coady: "It's a fun thing we have around here." Hungarian monarchists on the staff are said to be particularly amused.

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SAM SIEGEL

GRAHAM REHEARSES FOR GALA

"Who knows what possible frescoes are inside the skull?" Thus Octogenarian **Martha Graham** cryptically advertised her new work, *Holy Jungle,* based on William Goyen's novel, *House of Breath.* Next month she is presenting on Broadway what she describes as her most ambitious season ever, a three-week repertory that will include six major Graham revivals plus six performances of *Clytemnestra* and a reworking of last season's *Mendicants of the Evening.* Graham will star in the gala opening—as a commentator, not a dancer.

Looking back over nearly 60 years of combat in the dance world, including her own company's civil war last year that caused the departure of Dancers Mary Hinkson and Bertram Ross, Martha paraphrased French Tragedienne Sarah Bernhardt: "I failed yesterday, even so I'll still go on today."

■

His craggy face and lumbering gait, combined with the endearing bluffness of a country parson, make him a cartoonist's dream. But when **The Most Rev. Arthur Michael Ramsey,** 69, surges majestically up the aisle of his own Canterbury Cathedral, a member of the congregation says, "you feel all the power and authority of Christendom." Last week Ramsey announced that, come his 70th birthday in November, he will step down as 100th Archbishop of Canterbury. A determined ecumenist, Ramsey became in 1966 the first Cantuar to officially meet a Pope in 600 years. In avuncular fashion, he even made the swinging scene, telling his fellow clergy to stop being scandalized by topless fashions. He himself shocked his brethren in the middle of an argument about church vestments by disclosing, "In some churches I wear no more than a black scarf." When last year one of his plans, to merge the 46 million-member Anglican community with 20 million Methodists, was defeated again, Ramsey came near to tears, then raised his hands above his head and quoted *Godspell:* "Long live God."

■

John Lennon has separated from Wife Yoko Ono Lennon, and is living it up in Los Angeles. Early this year, cops were called to John's Hollywood apartment when a neighbor reported female screams coming from it. The fuzz departed, however, when told that Lennon and date were simply enjoying a Mr. and Mrs. Last week Lennon chalked up another demerit. He was bounced from Los Angeles' most fashionable nightclub, the Troubadour, for ribald heckling of the **Smothers Brothers.** On the way out with his secretary, May Pang, Lennon threw a right at Freelance Photographer Brenda Mary Perkins, who filed a complaint with the police. Lennon is uncharacteristically mum on the subject. Taking his lawyer's advice, he said: "No comment."

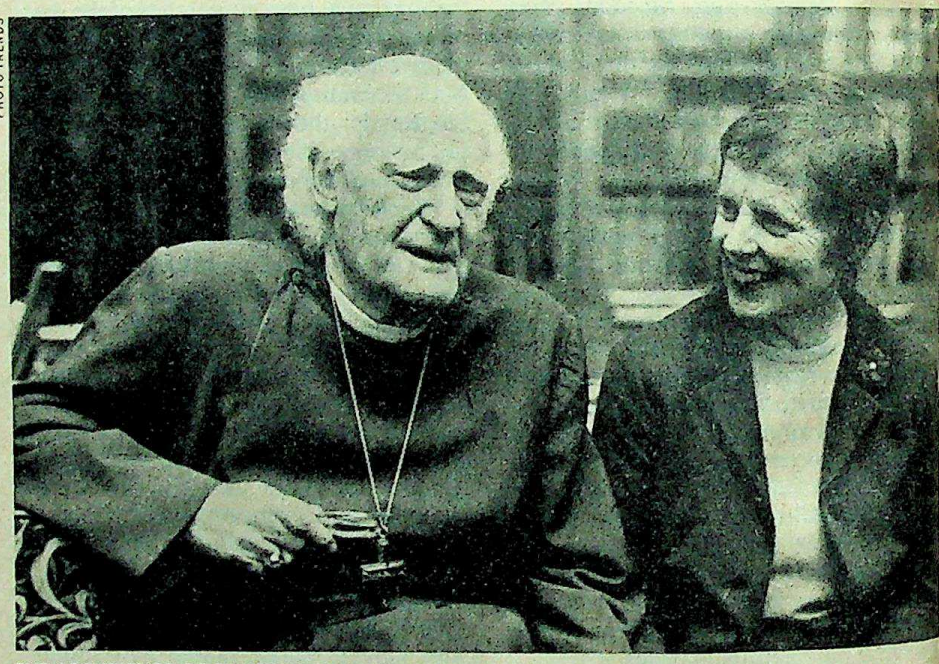
■

Even retrospectively, implications can evoke a *frisson.* At least as Egyptian President **Anwar Sadat** told it, when Chase Manhattan Bank Board Chairman **David Rockefeller** stopped off briefly in Cairo last September, Sadat asked, "Why don't you open a branch here?" Rockefeller thought it would be hard to have an Egyptian branch without also opening one in Israel—a situation bound to anger the Arabs. Sadat, his mind on the plans to start war against Israel on Oct. 6, said, "I think we can manage this, Dave. It's only a matter of timing." "And what do you mean by that?" asked Rockefeller. But Sadat managed to hold his tongue, and recently he told Rockefeller what could have happened: "If I had slipped, Dave, there would have been no alternative except to detain you here until Oct. 6 —under any pretext."

■

Claude Picasso, 26, is an aspiring photographer. **Paloma Picasso,** 24, is a designer and an incipient actress, whose first movie, *Contes Immoraux,* will be shown at the Cannes Film Festival in May. They must work for a living. But as the illegitimate children of Multimillionaire **Pablo Picasso,** they may eventually become rich. Although the paint-

PHOTO TRENDS



THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY & MRS. RAMSEY AT HOME

RICHARD NERIN—CAMERA 5



LENNON KISSES PANG AT THE TROUBADOUR

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er officially recognized them as his children in 1961, Claude and Paloma fell into disfavor after their mother, **Françoise Gilot,** wrote a book in 1964 describing her eleven-year liaison with Picasso. When Claude filed suit in 1970 to be recognized as a legal heir, Picasso successfully fought the case. And when he died last year, he left no will, so his estate went to his widow and son Paulo by his first wife. Last week, however, a French court ruled that Claude and Paloma have inheritance rights—based on a 1972 precedent that established such rights for illegitimate children. And while an appeal is expected, ultimately Claude and Paloma should each get an eighth of what is estimated to be a $50 million to $100 million estate. Said Claude of the ruling: "The judgment was late enough in coming. I am delighted that we won."

Tales of gangland flickered onto the screen at Los Angeles' Century Plaza hotel. There was **James Cagney** pumping bullets into a victim even as he gnawed a drumstick, bawling out **Bette Davis** from his bed, sizing up Bogie for a suit of lead, and socking **Joan Blondell** right in the kisser. In the audience, Veteran Actress **Mae Clarke,** who took it in the face in *Public Enemy,* was heard to say: "I didn't want to sit too close to Jimmy in case grapefruit was served." As for the rest of the 1,500 friends and fans—including **George C. Scott, Doris Day, Frank Sinatra, Shirley MacLaine, Rosalind Russell** and **Mick Jagger**—attending the five-hour celebration staged by the American Film Institute to honor Cagney, 74, with its Life Achievement Award, they could not see enough of him. Finally, Cagney, who has been retired for 13 years, took the stage himself with a spry soft-shoe shuffle to the tune of *Yankee Doodle Dandy.* He said simply: "Acting was just a job that I did the best I could."

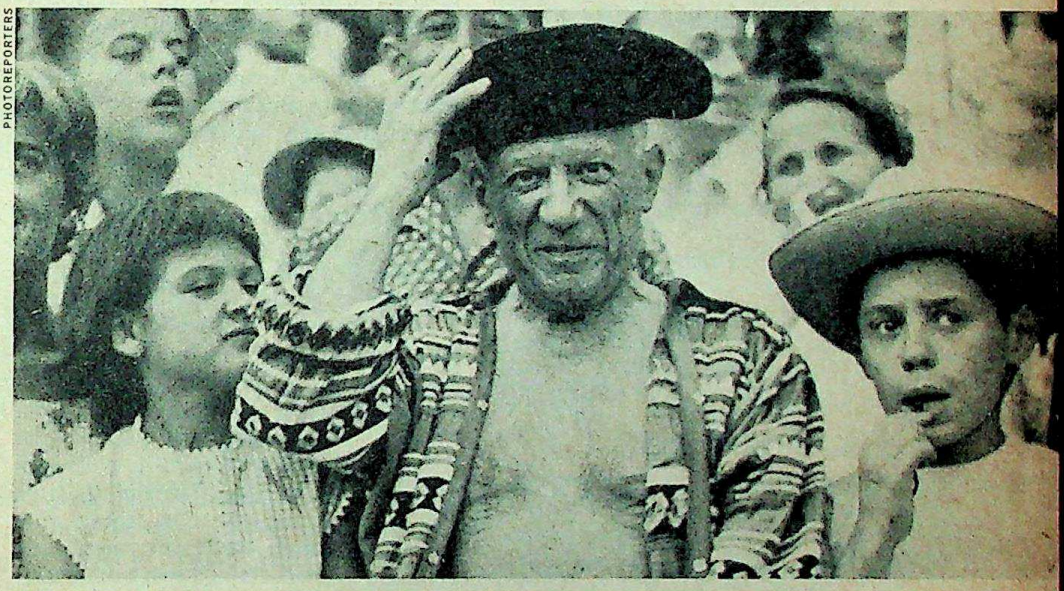
In emerald peau de soie and a rhinestone choker, **Mrs. Norman Mailer** No. 5 was singing the blues. In a Stockbridge, Mass., *boîte* not far from the Mailer homestead, former Nightclub Singer Carol Stevens, 41, ran through a dozen old standards drawn mainly from Helen Morgan's repertory. Torch style, Carol aimed a few of the numbers directly at an impassive Norman in a stageside seat: *The Man I Love* and *My Heart Belongs to Daddy.* She also sang *Gee Baby, Ain't I Good to You* after acknowledging to Male Chauvinist Mailer that it was really a man's song. "I made up a verse to sing specially for Norman," she added, "but I can't do it here." The movies are also beckoning Carol. Mailer is planning a film around her that will "treat music differently."

CLEMENS KALISCHER



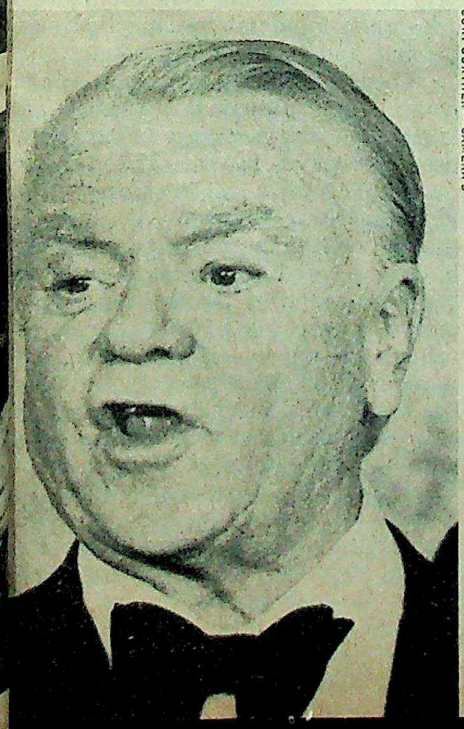
CAROL MAILER SINGS TO NORMAN

PHOTOREPORTERS

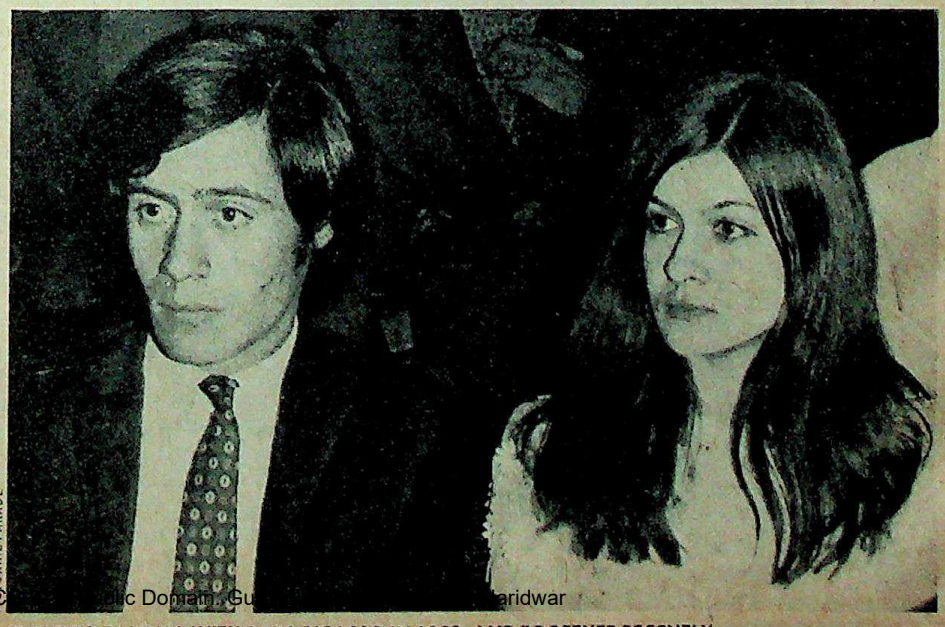


JAMES CAGNEY TAKES A BOW

CURT GUNTHER—CAMERA 5



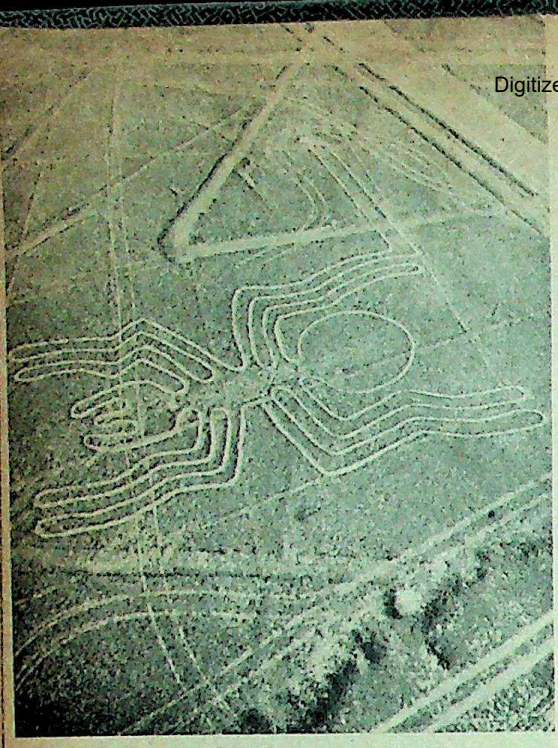
PICTORIAL PARADE



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CLAUDE & PALOMA WITH PAPA PICASSO IN 1958, AND TOGETHER RECENTLY

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HUGE SPIDER ON THE NAZCA PLAIN



CHARLES EISENDRATH

MARIA REICHE AT WORK IN DESERT



CORNELL CAPA—MAGNUM

Mystery on the Mesa

The long strips crisscrossing the desert veer from a straight line by only a few yards every mile. The accompanying triangles, rectangles and trapezoids are laid out with equal precision. In their midst are drawings of huge spiders, a giant nine-fingered monkey, birds, fish and reptiles, some of them so large they are recognizable only from the air. For decades these ancient patterns, spreading across 30 miles of Peru's desolate Nazca plain, have confounded archaeologists. Why were they so painstakingly etched out of the bleak mesa? Could they have been signals to the gods, or—as the current movie *Chariots of the Gods?* suggests—to extraterrestrial visitors?

The drawings are at least 1,000 years old, the work of a sophisticated pre-Inca people who survived with the help of elaborate irrigation systems. To create their desert art, these early Peruvians removed strips of the topmost layer of stone, piece by piece, exposing the lighter-colored dirt underneath. They apparently made their precise markings without modern tools or surveying gear or even a high platform from which to view their progress. But how?

After nearly half a lifetime of sleeping in an adobe hut, subsisting on goat cheese and fruit and working under a blistering sun, Maria Reiche, a tall, lean 70-year-old German scientist, is satisfied that she can answer many of the questions raised by the Nazcan figures.

"It's basically simple," says Reiche, who was trained in mathematics at Hamburg University. First, she explains, the artists apparently worked out their designs in advance on small 6-ft. by 6-ft. plots still visible near many of the larger figures. On these dirt sketch pads, she says, they could break down each drawing into its component parts. Straight lines could be drawn by stretching a rope between two stakes. Curves represented more of a challenge. The ancient draftsmen apparently dealt with it by breaking each curve into smaller, linked arcs. Recognizing that the arcs represented sections of the circumferences of different-sized circles, they could have anchored one end of a string to a rock or stake at the center of the appropriate circle and with the other end traced out the necessary arc. Once the designers established the proper relationships between lines, arcs, center points and radii for a figure, says Reiche, they could plot them on a large scale for the full-sized drawing—even without an overview of the whole area. Proof of her theory, she says, lies in the fact that many drawings are pockmarked with stones and holes at points that are indeed centers for appropriate arcs.

A greater puzzle perhaps is what prompted such prodigious effort. In his bestseller *Chariots of the Gods?* (on which the movie is based), Science Fiction Writer Erich von Däniken says that the lines—which do, in fact, resemble airport runways—may have been landing strips for otherworldly visitors. A huge, cliffside trident, overlooking the nearby Bay of Pisco, may even have pointed the way to them, he says. But most scholars, including Reiche, flatly reject that farfetched idea; for one thing, no extraterrestrial artifacts have ever been found at the site. Scientific observers lean to a more down-to-earth explanation first proposed by the late archaeologist Paul Kosok of Long Island University, who found the drawings in 1939 while looking for ancient irrigation systems.

Astronomy Book. Kosok noticed that some of the lines are aimed directly at points on the horizon where the sun rises on the longest and shortest days of the year. Other strips point toward the spot where the Pleiades (a constellation considered important by many ancient peoples) rose during the era when the drawings were made. Calling the desert plateau possibly "the largest astronomy book in the world," Kosok speculated that it was used by Nazcan astronomer-priests to mark the passage of the seasons—important to people who cherished every drop of rainfall—and perhaps even to predict eclipses. In his recent book, *Beyond Stonehenge,* Astronomer Gerald Hawkins disagrees. He says that he could find no more than an apparently random matchup between the lines and the sun, moon or stars.

There is scholarly agreement on one point: unless protective measures are taken soon, the markings (which have been preserved by the dry climate) may not survive much longer. The Pan American Highway cuts directly through some of the drawings, and many of them have already been churned up beyond recognition by car wheels. Several years ago, while a Peruvian armored column was maneuvering in the area, it wiped out the head of a huge lizard. Only the fiery Maria Reiche's determination acts as a buffer between the drawings and their elimination by civilized man. Often she will intentionally misdirect tourists away from the site, or warn them, only half in jest, that if they appear at night they might find her dancing in the nude across the desert. She has also waged a singlehanded campaign to get the Peruvian government to fence off the huge area. So far it has refused to foot the bill.

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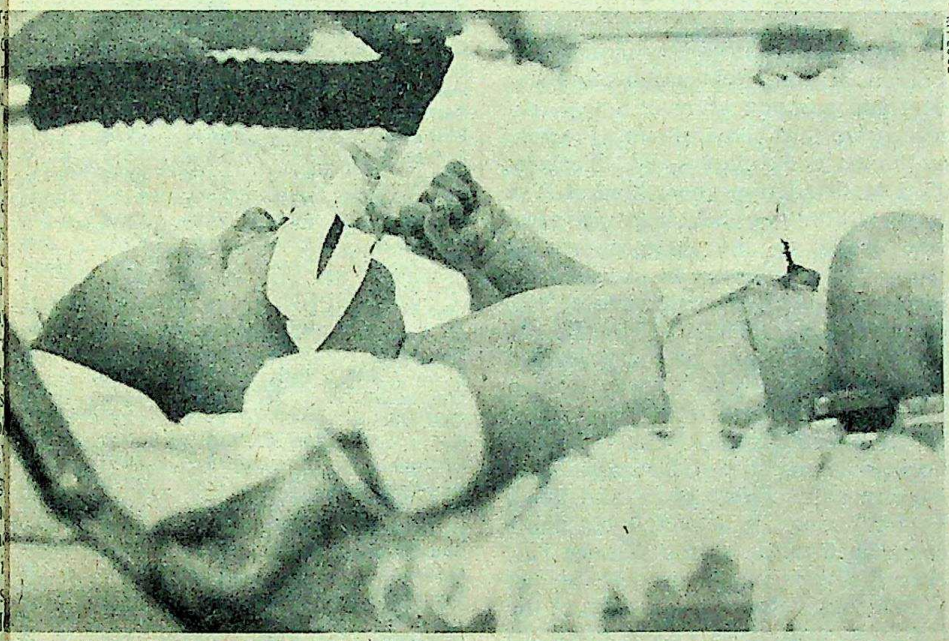
The Hardest Choice

In Baltimore three years ago, the parents of a newborn Mongoloid baby refused to allow an operation to correct a fatal defect in the infant's digestive tract. Despite pressure from doctors and hospital personnel, they refused to change their minds, and the child slowly starved to death.

In Portland, Me., last month, when parents made a similar decision about their severely deformed infant, hospital officials asked a court to decide. A judge, holding that the baby had a right to live, issued an order that allowed doctors to operate on the child. Despite the surgery, the infant died 15 days after birth.

These cases illustrate a vexing dilemma now confronting modern medicine: Should lives of retarded infants or those with multiple birth defects be prolonged—at great cost in manpower, money and anguish—especially if the life that is preserved will almost certainly be one of pain or merely vegetable-like existence?

DEFORMED BABY IN ISOLETTE IN SPECIAL-CARE NURSERY IN NEW HAVEN HOSPITAL



KIT LUCE

Doctors have long withheld lifesaving medical support from grossly malformed infants, allowing them to die at birth and often only telling the parents that their babies were stillborn. But public discussion of this unpleasant alternative is a relatively new phenomenon. Doctors and hospital officials across the U.S. are now openly acknowledging that there are cases in which all concerned agree that the best—and perhaps even the most humane—treatment for a severely deformed infant is none at all.

The main factor behind this change is not indifference to life but rather a new concern for what has come to be called the quality of life. Many doctors, clergymen and parents no longer believe that it is enough to enable a badly deformed child to survive. They hold that an infant is entitled to a reasonable chance of achieving what Professor Joseph Fletcher, who teaches medical ethics at the University of Virginia Medical School, calls humanhood, a state that includes "self-awareness, a sense of futurity, an ability to relate to others."

Few, if any, doctors are willing to establish guidelines for determining which babies should receive lifesaving surgery or treatment and which should not. But many recognize that there are cases, particularly those involving multiple anomalies, when a hands-off attitude is probably for the best. Says Dr. Joan Hodgman, professor of pediatrics at the University of Southern California School of Medicine: "If we have a baby that I know is malformed beyond hope, I make no attempt to preserve life."

Time of Need. Other doctors, too, are speaking out on the subject. Drs. Raymond Duff and A.G.M. Campbell reported in the *New England Journal of Medicine* on a study of 299 deaths among 2,171 children treated in the special-care nursery at Yale–New Haven Hospital over a 2½-year period. They found that 43 of the infants died after parents and doctors decided jointly to discontinue treatment. The other 256, who received the best treatment modern medicine could provide, fared no better; few lived longer than the infants who received no special care. Furthermore, their short existence in many cases bore little relation to human life. One infant, who could not breathe on his own, was kept alive for five months as a virtual extension of a mechanical respirator.

Duff and Campbell believe that in such cases doctors must at least consider whether or not their efforts are in the infant's best interests. "Pretending there is no decision to be made is an arbitrary and potentially devastating decision by default," they write. "It may constitute a victimizing abandonment of patients and their families in times of greatest need."

Not all doctors agree. Some feel that they are bound by the Hippocratic oath to do all they can to preserve life. Others, aware that an incurable condition today may be a manageable one tomorrow, fear making the wrong decision. "No matter how expert we are, we can't predict outcome," says Dr. Judah Folkman, surgeon in chief at Children's Hospital Medical Center in Boston.

Painful Decision. The courts have provided little guidance in the issue. Judges have overruled parents and ordered such lifesaving measures as blood transfusions or surgery in cases involving older children with life-threatening illnesses. But they have yet to rule definitively on the question of withholding treatment from the grossly malformed newborn; no legal action has yet been brought against a parent for refusing to authorize such treatment.

As a result, the painful decision to treat or not to treat a deformed infant rests squarely on the shoulders of the parents and their physicians. To help parents make their decision, doctors in major hospitals now meet with parents of a deformed baby as soon as possible after delivery, explain the nature of the child's problems, and outline the steps that must be taken if life is to be preserved. They also try to provide an honest evaluation of the kind of life their efforts may succeed in preserving. Despite the shock and disappointment of having a deformed child, most parents automatically opt for life and urge doctors to do whatever they can to maintain it. This may change with the more open debate on whether allowing a baby to die is preferable to dooming it to an inhumanly handicapped existence.

Treatment by Tenderizer

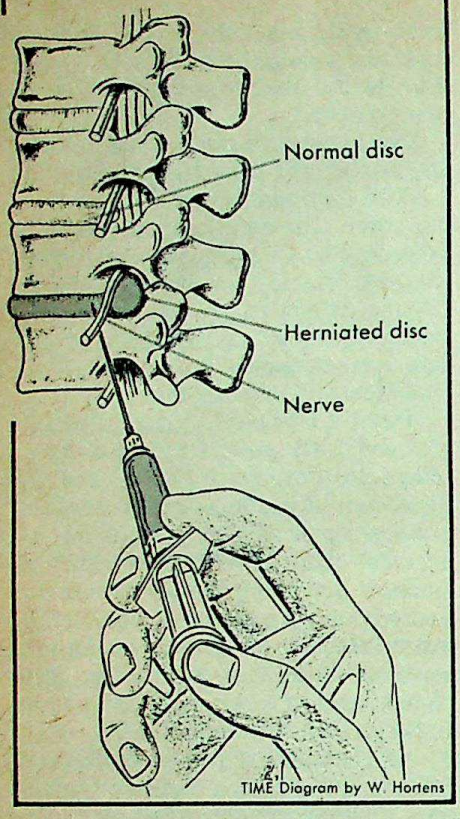
Papain, an enzyme derived from the papaya plant, is a familiar item to most housewives. Sold in grocery stores as a meat tenderizer, it can make even the toughest cuts easy to chew. Now papain is moving from the kitchen into the operating room. At hospitals in Boston and Chicago, doctors are using the extract (known medically as chymopapain) to tenderize slipped spinal discs, a treatment that relieves pain and spares many patients surgery.

Spinal discs, cushionlike pads that separate the vertebrae, are composed of tough, cartilaginous fibers and filled with water and a protein called "ground substance." When surrounding tissues tear, the disc bulges, or slips, out of its normal position, causing pain in the back and, when it pushes against the sciatic nerve, in the legs.

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Treating Slipped Discs



successfully by the prescription of bed rest or aspirin or other painkillers. If the pain persists, doctors frequently perform a laminectomy, a delicate surgical procedure in which the disc is removed from between two vertebrae, which are then fused together. But in many cases, chymopapain may now provide an alternative to surgery. The enzyme injected into the disc breaks down the ground substance, enabling it and the water to escape and be absorbed by the body. That causes the disc to shrink back into place, thus easing the pressure on the surrounding nerves.

Encouraging Effects. Doctors have found that the treatment works best on young patients with badly herniated discs and severe sciatica that has not responded to traditional treatment. They warn that chymopapain produces severe allergic reactions in about 1% of the patients and therefore must be administered under general anaesthetic at a hospital, where doctors can deal promptly with any adverse reaction.

The still experimental enzyme treatment has not yet been approved by the Food and Drug Administration for widespread application. Thus use of the substance is restricted to certain medical centers that are still investigating its efficacy and safety. But those who have used chymopapain for slipped discs have uniformly reported good results. For example, at Massachusetts General Hospital, which recently opened a clinic to treat back problems, Drs. James Huddleston and Robert Boyd have injected chymopapain into 250 slipped-disc sufferers over the past 2½ years. In three-fourths of the cases, they report, both the

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Born. To Natalie Wood, 35, perennial Hollywood starlet, and Robert Wagner, 44, onetime hot property at 20th Century-Fox who has most recently been starring in the television series *It Takes a Thief:* their first child, a daughter; in Hollywood. Name: Courtney. Wood and Wagner were married in their bobby-sox days of 1957 and were divorced four years later. Each was remarried and had a daughter; in 1972 they were remarried to each other.

■

Born. To Mia Farrow, 29 (TIME cover, March 18), whose unexpected pregnancy during filming of *The Great Gatsby* gave the movie's producers a scare, and Andre Previn, 44, former Hollywood jazz pianist who now leads the London Symphony Orchestra; their fourth child, third son; in London. Name: Fletcher Farrow Previn.

■

Married. Mariola Martínez-Bordíu Franco, 21, third-year architecture student and granddaughter of Spain's octogenarian ruler Generalissimo Francisco Franco; and Rafael Ardid Villoslada, 27, a Madrid lawyer; near Madrid. The lavish wedding was held in Franco's private chapel in the three-century-old Pardo Palace, attended by liveried footmen, witnessed by Franco's chosen successor Prince Juan Carlos, by the entire government and by every Spanish grandee in the realm.

■

Divorced. Ryan O'Neal, 32, boyish, hockey-playing star of *Love Story* and, more recently, *Paper Moon*; and Leigh Taylor-Young, 29, attractive but unaccomplished movie actress *(I Love You, Alice B. Toklas, The Horsemen)* who met O'Neal when they were co-stars of the television soap opera *Peyton Place;* after seven years of marriage, one son; in Santa Monica, Calif.

■

Died. Lillian Red Wing St. Cyr, 90, an American Indian who played the part of Nat-U-Rich, the Indian girl, in Cecil B. DeMille's first film, *The Squaw Man* (1914); in New York City. Red Wing later appeared in a number of westerns and after her retirement became active in Indian affairs.

■

Died. Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, 92, a founding mother of the science of child care and family relations; in Manhattan. A prolific producer of books, pamphlets and articles that encouraged parents to be authoritative with their children rather than authoritarian, Gruenberg provided guidance on everything from how much allowance to give the kids to what they should know about sex. She was director of the Child Study Association of America from 1923 to 1950 and editor in chief of the *Encyclopedia of Child Care and Guidance*

On a volume of 86,812,260 shares, the New York Stock Exchange Composite closed at 53.18, up .80 for the week ending Mar. 15. The Dow Jones 30 stock industrial average was 887.83, up 9.7[illegible]. Standard & Poor's 500 stock index was 99.28, up 1.50. Among significant N.Y.S.E. stocks:

Stock	High	Low	Close	Net Change
Allied Chem...	46½	44⅞	44⅞	−1⅛
Alum Co Am..	49	45½	47⅞	+1⅜
Am Airlines....	13⅜	11¾	12⅜	None
Am Brands....	39⅝	37½	37⅜	−1⅛
Am Can.....	29¼	28⅝	29	None
Am Motors....	10¾	9⅞	10¼	− ⅜
AT&T.....	52⅞	52⅛	52⅜	− ⅛
Anac Cop....	28⅜	26½	26¾	−1
Avon Prod....	60⅜	53¾	56⅞	+1⅝
Beth Steel....	36⅛	33⅞	34¼	− ⅛
Boeing.....	15¾	14½	15¼	None
Burling Ind....	26	24¼	25¼	+ ⅛
Burroughs....	217⅝	207½	213⅝	+5⅛
Cater Trac....	62⅜	58¾	60⅜	+1⅝
Champ Intl....	20¾	19⅜	19½	− ⅜
Chrysler.....	20⅛	18⅝	19⅞	+ ⅜
Clark Equip...	39⅛	38½	39	− ⅛
Control Data..	39⅛	35⅝	36⅛	− ⅛
Corn Gl Wks..	87½	82	84¾	+2⅛
Dow Chem....	63⅞	61½	63	+1
DuPont.....	173½	165⅜	170	+3
Eastern Air....	8½	7⅝	8⅛	+ ⅛
East Kodak...	111	106¼	109⅝	+1⅜
El Paso N G..	16	14¾	15¼	+ ⅜
Exxon.....	88⅞	86⅛	88⅛	+1¼
Ford Motor...	52⅞	49½	51⅞	+1⅛
Gen Dynam...	28¾	25⅝	27¼	+1⅛
Gen Elec.....	57⅛	51⅝	52⅞	−2¾
Gen Foods....	28⅜	27⅛	27⅜	None
Gen Motors...	55½	51⅝	53⅞	+1¼
Gen Tel & El..	26	25	25⅜	− ⅜
Ga Pac.....	45½	43	44⅜	+ ⅞
Goodyear....	18⅜	16⅝	17⅝	+ ⅝
Great A & P..	14¾	13⅝	14⅝	+ ⅝
Greyhound...	17½	16⅝	16⅞	− ⅜
Gulf Oil.....	24½	23¼	23½	− ⅜
IBM.....	254	236½	249¼	+8¾
Int Harv.....	29	28	28¾	− ⅛
Int Nickel.....	39¼	37½	37¾	−1⅛
Int Paper.....	51¼	48¾	50½	+1½
Int Tel & Tel..	26⅛	25⅛	25½	None
Johns Man....	22½	19⅛	22⅜	+2⅛
Kraftco.....	46	44⅜	44⅜	−1¼
Kresge SS....	34⅞	31	33¼	−3⅜
Litton Ind.....	9⅞	9½	9¾	+ ⅛
Lockheed.....	5⅜	5⅛	5¼	+ ⅛
LTV Corp.....	11⅛	10¾	10⅞	− ⅛
McD Doug....	19⅛	16¾	17	− ⅜
Merck Co....	86	79⅞	84⅞	+3⅞
3M.....	79⅛	74⅜	78½	+3¼
Mobil Oil.....	50	46¼	49⅛	+2⅜
NCR.....	40½	38	39½	+ ⅛
Occid Pet....	10⅞	10	10⅜	+ ⅛
Owens Ill.....	38	35⅜	37½	+1⅛
Pac Gas & El..	24¾	23⅞	24½	+ ⅛
Pan Am.....	5⅜	5	5⅛	+ ⅛
Penn Cen.....	3⅛	2¾	2¾	− ⅛
Penney J. C..	75⅞	74⅛	74⅝	None
Philip Morris..	108	104¼	106	+ ⅛
Polaroid.....	88½	81⅜	83⅜	+ ⅛
Proc Gam....	95¾	89	94½	+4⅛
RCA.....	21½	20	20⅞	−3⅛
Reyn Ind.....	49½	46⅛	46½	+1⅛
Rockwell Intl..	28⅜	26½	27⅛	+ ⅛
Sears Roe....	90⅜	87	88	+ ⅛
Shell Oil.....	61⅞	59	61½	+1⅜
Sou Cal Ed....	19⅞	19⅝	19⅝	−
Std Oil Cal...	32⅜	30⅝	31⅞	+ ⅛
Tenneco.....	23⅞	22½	23¾	+1⅛
Texaco Inc....	30½	28⅛	29¾	+1⅛
Textron.....	22⅞	21⅝	22¼	+ ⅛
Time Inc.....	40¼	36¾	39⅝	+3
TWA.....	18⅞	17	17⅝	−
UAL Inc.....	29	26½	27⅝	+1
Union Car....	39	36⅞	38⅜	+ ⅛
Utd Aircraft...	29½	26⅞	28⅞	+ ⅛
US Steel.....	44⅝	41¾	43¾	−1
Westinghouse.	23¼	22	22¼	−
Woolworth...	19¼	18½	18⅝	−

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Dolphins in Drydock

With a pool a few feet from his bedroom, a golf course just beyond his backyard, and consecutive Super Bowl victories in his scrapbook, Miami Dolphin Coach Don Shula could hardly be blamed for romping on his laurels. Training camp does not open for 3½ months; there should be little to do. Right? Wrong. Shula is in fact working ten hours or more a day searching out Dolphin weaknesses and building strengths.

Most pro football coaches go through a similar process. None is more exacting than Chief Mechanic and Perfectionist Shula, who is intent upon analyzing every piece of the smoothest-running machine in the game. "The work is tedious," he said in a recent interview with TIME Contributing Editor Philip Taubman. "But if we didn't do it, we could very well start losing games. I demand total involvement from my players, and they can expect the same from me during the season and off."

Missed Man. The first step in the Shula overhaul is "grading" films of last season's games. This is no cursory screening. Using an elaborate marking system, Shula and his six assistant coaches go over every play to grade the performance of each player. In reviewing last October's Miami-Cleveland game, for instance, Shula and his staff discovered 50 breakdowns in Dolphin defenses during the first half alone.

Each player's performance is examined minutely. The Dolphins' linebacker coach, for example, checked the effectiveness of Middle Linebacker Nick Buoniconti whenever he was on the field. If Buoniconti was out of position, a "1" for "missed man" or an "m" for "missed assignment" was recorded on a large tally sheet. A good play was noted with "2" for "got his man."

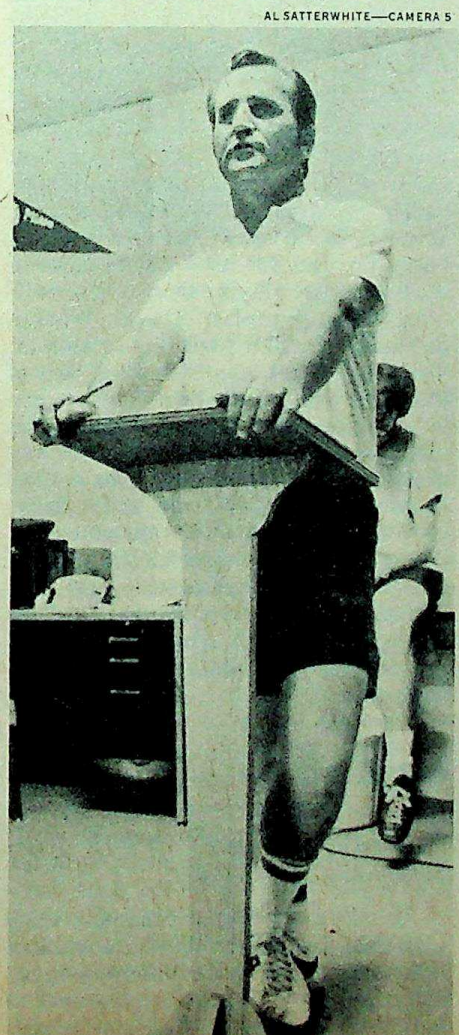
Too many bad marks can cost a player his job. "In going back over one season," recalls Shula, "we couldn't believe we'd played one guy all year when we saw how much better his replacement performed after the starter was injured. We kept asking ourselves, 'Why did we go with that guy so long?' He didn't play again."

Plays are examined just as carefully as players. By editing the films, Shula & Co. can concentrate on one problem at a time. They can review an entire season's worth of play-action passes, say, without having to watch any other action. From the resulting statistics, the staff can tell at a glance which plays are consistent ground gainers and which are unreliable.

The collection of all this material, a dull six-week job enlivened only by the occasional breakdown of the projector or a lunchtime basketball game, is a prelude for Shula's key offseason job: writing the offensive and defensive scripts. "To get the clutter out of our playbook," explains Shula, "we have to scrap plays that don't work. If we didn't do that, our quarterback might go into a huddle in a crucial situation, unknowingly pick a flawed play out of the playbook he has memorized, and we could lose." Counting variations on basic tactics, there are approximately 100 plays in the Dolphin book and each season between 5% and 10% are abandoned. In recent years the Dolphins have dropped quick screen passes and a series of counterflow running plays in which the ball carrier fakes a step in one direction and runs in the other. Two or three new plays are usually added every year, and some marginally successful tactics are revised. The Dolphins' most successful new plays in the past few years have been those in the "misdirection" series. In this gambit the ball is faked to Halfback Mercury Morris running a sweep, then handed off to Fullback Larry Csonka. He is supposed to drive up the middle through a hole theoretically created when opposing linemen chase Morris.

When the latest versions of the playbooks are ready, usually by mid-May, Shula is set for the final stage of his off-season program: planning the upcoming training camp. This, too, is revised from year to year, though it always bears the Shula stamp of relentless organization. Last year many of the days were broken down into ten-minute periods for jogging, machine work and other exercises. Many Dolphin veterans, as Shula himself admits, "bitch and moan" about the regimentation. "But they always do what we ask." Last year Shula asked for a second Super Bowl win. This year he will be requesting a third.

AL SATTERWHITE—CAMERA 5



SHULA LECTURING PLAYERS

Artificial Rhubarb

Early this spring Henry Aaron will probably break Babe Ruth's career home-run record. By that time, Aaron may be sorry he ever picked up a bat. As he slugged his way toward the 714 home-run mark last season, Aaron was annoyed by occasional hate letters and relentless coverage by reporters. Now Aaron has become the focus of an overblown rhubarb about where he should take his final swings at the record.

Atlanta Braves Chairman William Bartholomay announced last month that Aaron would be benched during the team's opening series in Cincinnati so that Atlanta fans could have a chance to see the historic blows—Nos. 714 and 715—hit at home. Bartholomay conveniently did not mention that those deserving rooters had numbered barely 16,000 at the 53,000-seat Atlanta Stadium when Aaron hit his 700th home run last summer and that only 2,800 had shown up the night Aaron hit No. 710.

Aaron himself applauded the decision, noting that he would reap a better promotional payoff if he surpassed Ruth at home. But he offered a more persuasive and personal reason as well. "In ten years," said Aaron, "I'd like to be able to walk out of my home in Atlanta some afternoon and say, 'That's where I broke Babe Ruth's record.' I don't want to have to take a plane to Cincinnati."

Bartholomay's plan quickly provoked charges that keeping Aaron on the bench was tantamount to "throwing" the games against the Reds. This time it was the critics who failed to note a telling point: last year the Braves won as frequently without Aaron as they did with him. Last week the moralists prevailed as Baseball Commissioner Bowie Kuhn ordered the Braves to play Aaron in at least two of the Cincinnati games "for the good" of the sport.

Aaron, who is more concerned about getting his 40-year-old muscles in shape than tangling with Kuhn, replied: "If the commissioner orders me to play, I guess I'll have to play." As for all the fuss about two home runs, Aaron admitted that "breaking the record is going to be an anticlimax. People have made too much of this. If I stay healthy this

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One for All

THE THREE MUSKETEERS
Directed by RICHARD LESTER
Screenplay by
GEORGE MACDONALD FRASER

There is a certain giddiness that this movie instills, a sense of being royally entertained. *The Three Musketeers* is a surfeit of pleasures. It can be said, simply and with thanks, that it is an absolutely terrific movie.

It was fashioned with a wonderful skill and high humor. A translation of Dumas' story, even a fairly respectful one, it is simultaneously a satire, sometimes antic, sometimes serious, a send-up of the whole tradition of romantic fiction. Such an accomplishment seems paradoxical, but the movie successfully cuts both ways, largely because Richard Lester is a film maker who specializes in standing paradox on its ear.

A special joy is that this is Lester's first film since the wizardly but little-seen *Bed Sitting Room*, which played in the U.S. in 1969 for approximately the time it would take to soft-boil an egg. Lester made his reputation from his two gymnastic Beatles movies, but his later work (most notably *How I Won the War* and *Petulia)* disclosed a deeper, even more enterprising talent—one tempered by a pointed satiric force. *The Three Musketeers* is not so astringent; it is ebullient, full of roughhouse, and careens along on its own high spirits.

Lester has taken the tone of *The Three Musketeers* from Scenarist Fraser, whose *Flashman* novels Lester once tried to adapt. The Fraser books are full of the kind of self-deflating braggadocio, the same sort of elaborate but inglorious combats one finds here. Heroics are mocked, survival is championed. The musketeers are made into creatures whose absurdities of conduct, florid codes of honor and hollow protestations of heroism make them all the more recognizable and human. It is their own faint absurdity that makes them true.

WELCH & YORK IN *MUSKETEERS*



Chess Games. The streets and taverns of 17th century Paris here teem with vignettes of squalor (two men playing a seesaw game over a fire for a prize of food) that make their own comment set against the distant pomp of the royal court. The musketeers move through both these worlds with equal ease, yet are part of neither. Their sworn allegiance is to the King, Louis XIII, and against Richelieu, but they are men of pride. Their greatest battle and concern are simply to stay alive. For though they would call themselves their own men, they belong to Louis—pawns like the pet dogs he uses for his life-size games of chess in the gardens.

The musketeers—Oliver Reed, Richard Chamberlain, Frank Finlay and Michael York as D'Artagnan—all perform admirably. When the casting threatens to become too capricious (Raquel Welch as the Queen's confidante, Faye Dunaway as the archvillainess, Charlton Heston as Richelieu), Lester exploits the absurdity. He made the discovery, for example, that Welch and Dunaway, for all their physical dissimilarity, are basically the same actress. So a climactic brawl between them is funny not just for itself but because of the two people playing them.

Cinematographer David Watkin has made the film ravishing to look at. There is even a happy ending: two of them, in fact. Everyone—musketeers, ladies, regents and villains—receives his just deserts and retribution as the occasion demands. The rest of us get the promise of a sequel soon to be delivered. It seems that the producers decided to make two movies for the price of one. They cut *Musketeers* in half, and will release the parts separately. This one is subtitled *The Queen's Diamond;* the next will be called *The Revenge of Milady.*

■ Jay Cocks

Maimed

MAME
Directed by GENE SAKS
Screenplay by PAUL ZINDEL

It was a novel that became a stage play that was adapted into a movie that was redecorated as a Broadway musical. Now, in a singularly costly act of taxidermy ($300,000 for the star's wardrobe alone), *Mame* has been mounted once again, this time as a transcription



ALAN PAPPE—LEE GROSS

BALL & ARTHUR IN *MAME*
Some sort of monument.

carnations, the plot details of *Mame* must be well enough known for most members of the audience to recite them in their sleep. Before the movie is too far along, many may be doing just that.

For the benefit of hermits, Mame is sort of a superannuated Sally Bowles, an addled adventuress who nurtures her orphaned nephew Patrick in her own freewheeling ways. Mame is supposed to lead a lavishly bohemian life, although her pranks and her parties as shown here would not look *outré* even to a congregation of missionaries. Patrick, however, remains wide-eyed with wonderment over the decades and throughout excursions down South (where Mame marries into Southern gentility) and up North to Connecticut where she exposes the family of his affianced as a bunch of bigoted yahoos. The movie spans about 20 years, and seems that long in running time.

Vigor and Grace. Lucille Ball plays Mame, an event calculated to please those throngs who dote loyally on her reruns, which rain down on television like static interference. Miss Ball has been molded over the years into some sort of national monument, and she performs like one too. Her grace, her timing, her vigor have all vanished. When she is photographed at close range, the image goes soft, indicating that the lens was smeared with Vaseline and shrouded in gauze. The other actors in the movie are clear enough on their own. But when they step into a shot with her, they go out of focus too.

However kind the camera tries to be to her, Miss Ball is still the victim of her vehicle. Jerry Herman's music and lyrics ("You make carnations bloom in the mud, Ma-aa-me") abuse the ear. The screenplay, by the Pulitzer-prizewinning playwright Paul Zindel, is full of inexcusable dialogue ("I haven't got you anything for Christmas yet, but how about a kiss on account?" "You know what Mame is—she's the Pied Piper"). Beatrice Arthur, the rage right now as television's *Maude*, brings the movie to

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of a Marine D.I. with social ambitions —can coax a belly laugh from a wheeze. She tucks *Mame* under her arm and walks away with it, although not far enough. ▪ J.C.

Police Gazette

BUSTING
Directed and Written by
PETER HYAMS

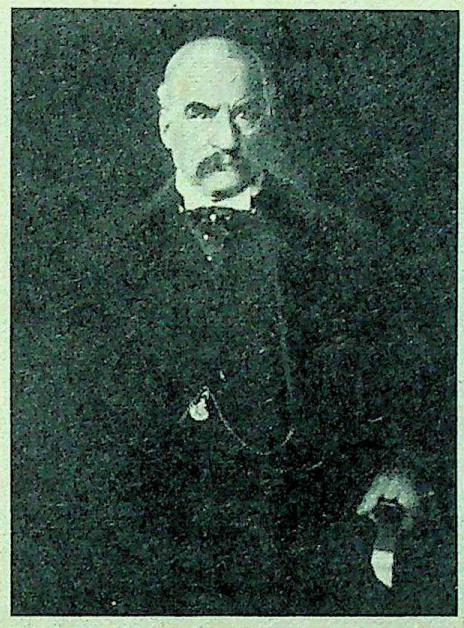
There is a great deal militating against the success of this enterprise, mostly of its own devising. First of all, as the title implies, this is a police movie, a genre so overworked during the past few months that it nearly has the status of an ecological menace. *Busting* features the usual climactic car chase, which is sufficiently grueling but also grindingly familiar, and a camera that seems forever to be bouncing across the scenes it is recording, as if the crew were performing a perpetual schottische. It is enough to reduce anyone to mumbling such truisms as "Mobility is no substitute for style" and other hardy perennials of the critical trade.

Yet as brutal and mangy as it is, the movie still works. It is an adept and forceful B picture, deriving much of its energy from its own streamlined sleaziness and from the skills of its two stars, Elliott Gould and Robert Blake. Both of them have a kind of sour, dehydrated charm that is nicely used by Director-Writer Hyams, whose most notable previous effort was the screenplay for the noxious *T.R. Baskin*. Gould and Blake play a couple of L.A. vice cops who are offhandedly conscientious about their work and cynical about its results. Their superiors, ever mindful of valuable connections and their bank accounts, are constantly thwarting them in their appointed rounds. Gould and Blake are good, dogged street cops, and they know where the action is. They just can't get to it. So out of frustration and a certain embarrassment, they have to bust whoever is without influence, people they would probably just as soon leave alone —whores or some gays trying to have a good time in a bar. It is only when they swear vengeance on a porcine vice lord and pusher (Allen Garfield) that things really begin to come down on them.

Much Life. Gould is especially adept at a stumblebum wise-guy act, which stands him in good stead through most of the movie. It is a pose, however, that he finds difficult to shake. When he is called upon to look injured and badly beaten, he does not quite pull it off. Gould will not even take the serious parts of the film seriously, so it is fitting that Hyams has not chosen to include many. *Busting* does make a fairly important point: it is as much life inside the station house as out on the street that grinds cops down, makes them petty and vicious. Hyams shows this deadening process with a raucous, vulgar vitality. *Busting* is a pointedly lowdown

The Grand Acquisitor

In 1903 J. Pierpont Morgan sat for the most succinct photograph of big money ever taken: Alfred Steichen's portrait of the financial titan glaring at the intrusive lens, an old, suspicious bull walrus, one hand gripping the chair arm as though about to reduce its mahogany to flinders, highlights glittering sharply on his eyeballs. He looks like a boiler on the verge of explosion. If Morgan had never felt the impulse to collect, this photograph would still have given him a place in the history of art. But it would have been a footnote compared to the one he occupies. Morgan



STEICHEN'S PIERPONT MORGAN
Obsessed by incunabula.

was one of the greatest collectors in American history.

From the middle 1850s when, as a schoolboy in Switzerland and an undergraduate at Göttingen University, he began picking up fragments of stained glass from ruined churches, buying works of art was his obsession. Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts, rare drawings, incunabula (literally, things from the cradle, or books printed before 1501), bookbindings, historical documents and letters—these poured into his vaults, sucked from Europe as by a vacuum cleaner by the limitless power of his funds. After 1906 the collection was housed in the Morgan Library, a Manhattan *palazzo* designed by McKim, Mead & White that is itself a masterpiece of American Renaissance Revival architecture. After Morgan died in 1913, the buying went on under the direction of Belle da Costa Greene, a woman from Virginia of brisk wit and considerable presence, who expanded and refined the collection for four decades. The library became a public institution in 1924, and this spring it has sitions of 50 Years: 1924-1974," to celebrate its golden anniversary.

The adjective great, debased in American museum parlance by the relentless way in which curators are apt to apply it to their latest snuffbox, does apply here. The reason is quite simple: there is no collection in America, and few in Europe, which can match that of the Morgan Library in its designated fields. The present show is, of course, no more than the tip of the Morgan iceberg, roughly 50 examples each from the four categories in which the library excels: autographs, early printed books and particularly illuminated manuscripts and old master drawings.

No Intrusion. In the show are illuminated manuscripts from the 8th century to about 1510. A German chronicle about events from the creation of the world to the death of Charlemagne includes an illustration of a giant Nimrod directing the construction of the Tower of Babel. Even in the compass of a page, Nimrod stands huge and commanding beside the rising tower. In the magnificent *Book of Hours* painted for Catherine of Cleves about 1440, there is a wildly imaginative image of the Mouth of Hell—three gaping bestial jaws flanked by towers, with sinners and demons scrambling about.

As with manuscripts, so with drawings. The Morgan's collection was recently fortified by a bequest from one of the greatest collectors of Italian drawings, Janos Scholz. What the library now offers is of almost unparalleled rarity, beginning with a black chalk study of devils—spiky, nervous and of an almost hallucinatory vigor—by the 15th century Artist Luca Signorelli, proceeding through works by Pontormo, Filippino Lippi, Dürer, Fragonard, Bruegel and Blake.

The Morgan continues its role as a storehouse of irreplaceable objects and documents without which our sense of the nobler efforts of visual and literary culture in the past would be drastically blunted. At a time when the role of museums is subject to so many pressures to become teaching institutions or committed to social involvement, this view is sturdily conservative. It means, in the classic sense, preserving everything worth preserving.

The library's conservatism is reflected in its staffing. The present director, Charles Ryskamp, 55, is only the fourth person to hold the office since the library began. Where Morgan policy epitomizes itself is in the public style which Ryskamp has helped crystallize: devoid of flash and spectacle, sober in its installations, hewing always to the toughest standards of scholarship and historical inquiry, never allowing institutional narcissism to intrude between the audience and the work. One hopes for another 50

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A Win for the Trojans

It is the hairiest thing we have ever done. The moving of people is just so scary. The seven towers are single units —the five center ones are cranked by hand—two men in each tower. Gravity is the thing. Rows of boats without tracks. They run like hell on cue. Boat No. 5 is always late—more weight on that one. The ghosts are in the prow. It's early Halloween to make that one work. Three of us run the show. There are two of me and the third runs the supers.

The speaker is not a madman, nor is he running a fun house or shifting the population of a prison across a body of water. He is Chris Mahan, executive stage manager of the Metropolitan Opera, unwinding after a rehearsal of Berlioz's *Les Troyens,* the crown jewel in a season beset by financial and artistic problems. First performed last fall [TIME, Nov. 5], it is back again this month. The eleven performances are the first ever in New York City, and the work has been staged only twice previously in the U.S.

The Price. Small wonder. Berlioz was a genius of unbridled imagination who sought the impossible routinely and was willing to pay the price—neglect —to achieve it. Consider the bill of particulars for *Les Troyens,* based on Vergil's account of the wanderings of Aeneas before the founding of Rome. The music takes four hours to sing. There are 13 major scene changes. A cast of hundreds is required, including two choruses, a corps de ballet and three stage bands. Also hunters on horseback, that turns into a waterfall, several ghosts and, most of all, a wooden horse.

In the composer's lifetime—he died in 1869—*Les Troyens* was impossible to stage. The music seemed to be an occasional interval in the vast silence of the scene changes. Berlioz even tried breaking the work into two parts—"The Capture of Troy" and "The Trojans at Carthage"—but could get only an inadequate staging of the second half. The Metropolitan's $45.7 million dollar plant —which houses four enormous stages on two levels, a 57-foot turntable, and the most intricate theatrical lighting system in the country—can accommodate the composer's billowing visions, but only by stretching human and mechanical resources to the fullest. Said Stage Designer Peter Wexler: "It beats anything Cecil B. De Mille was ever up against."

E. FRED SHER



DIRECTOR MERRILL & DESIGNER WEXLER ON SET OF THE MET'S *LES TROYENS*
A miracle of calibration that takes Berlioz's imaginings literally.

What the Met has mounted, in addition to a first-rate vocal ensemble consisting of Jon Vickers, Christa Ludwig and Shirley Verrett, is a true theatrical spectacular. The colossal scale is reinforced by eliminating the frame provided by the famous gold curtain. The audience sees the vast set as it enters—just as it would in *Hair.* Musically, the opera is a series of epic climaxes; there is, for instance, no overture. Except to the most committed Berlioz *aficionado,* part one is a stark musical landscape with none of the lyricism that is to follow. To compensate—and in effect illustrate the fall of Troy—Wexler and Director Nathaniel Merrill have conjured up six full scene changes spinning around on the turntable. Complete with a dazzling procession, the horse, plus three more huge icons of animals, it is a mesmer-

The horse is actually on film, and b cause the image is too impressionis it may be the least effective part of t scene. Later in the second act, film p jections—being used for the first ti at the Met—are much more power The spectator first sees an eye in t scrim curtain. Like the opening in a P bergé Easter egg, it reveals colts rom ing in a field of daisies, hunters on t chase, a shadow man and woman wal ing hand in hand through a forest—a fine, unself-conscious, pre-Freudian im ages for the awakening love of Dido an Aeneas. The cinematic montage is bo opulent and sensual.

Still, the real show may be behin the scenes. Any performance of *L Troyens* is a miracle of calibration. I the pit, Conductor Rafael Kubelik us everything but radar to maintain co tact with seven assistant conductor They are backstage with walkie-talki to communicate with each other as th herd bands and choruses around th platforms, often walking in the opp site direction from the motion of th turntable. When film sequences start roll, Kubelik's tempos must not vary b more than four seconds from perfo mance to performance.

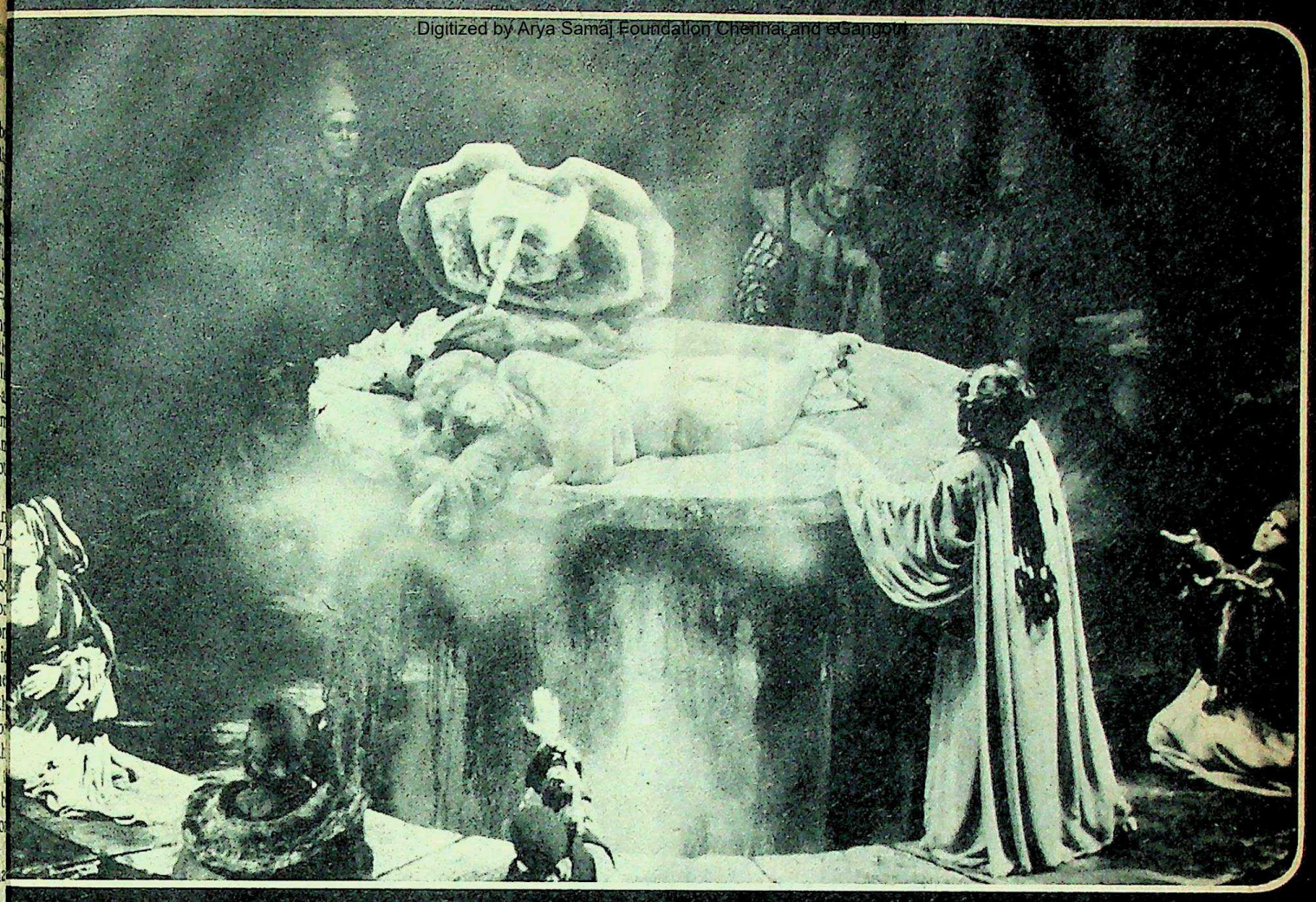
Director Merrill calls Chris Maha the "only indispensable man I know. he ever didn't show up, we could not *Les Troyens.*" Mahan sees himself as "cross between a nanny and a top se geant. You must be aware of everythi that happens on the stage. That includ some vague lady in the chorus who do not know right from left. You must a low for everything—like where you p 60 swords. It is like being a garage m chanic: you have the problem and th work backward."

Human Ghosts. All the backsta sergeants have their favorite nigh mares. Merrill's personal fear is that t five schooners that must tilt and collap when a wind machine blows at the b ginning of the opera will jam some nig and halt the entire production. Anot er perilous moment occurs in the Roy Hunt and Storm scene in the second a Four human ghosts must descend fro 60 feet in the air into the audience's v sion, while the giant turntable is abo to spin forward, all without disclosi the projection equipment. Any electri trouble then would end the evening.

The Met's courage in taking almo all of Berlioz's bizarre imaginings lit ally, instead of opting for a neo-Bayreu impressionism, is to be applauded. S certain directions are changed. T Royal Hunt scene calls for an alleg ical pantomime ballet. That is now d picted on film. "The alternative," s Merrill, "is to have a lot of little ba girls running around with flam branches. They did that in the 19th c tury, you know. That is why so m

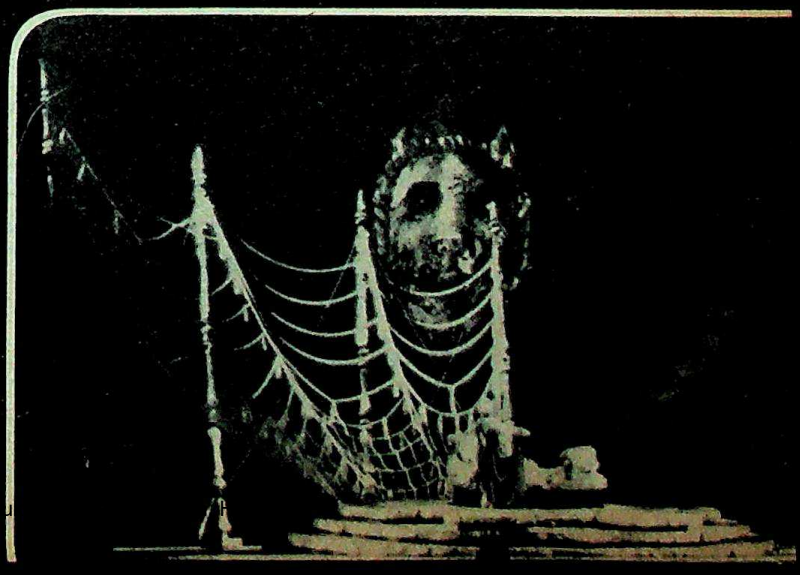
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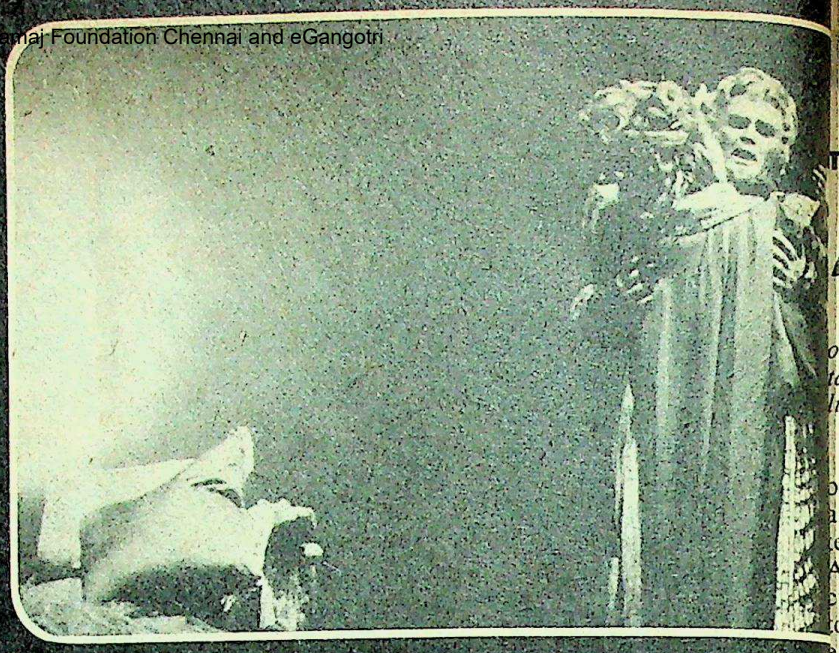
In the final scene of Berlioz's opera "Les Troyens," above, Dido, Queen of Carthage (Christa Ludwig), chooses death by sword and fire after her love Aeneas leaves her to found a Trojan empire in Italy. Jon Vickers as Aeneas, left, in the celebrated "Royal Hunt and Storm" scene. Below, Mercury (projected) appears before the royal pair.



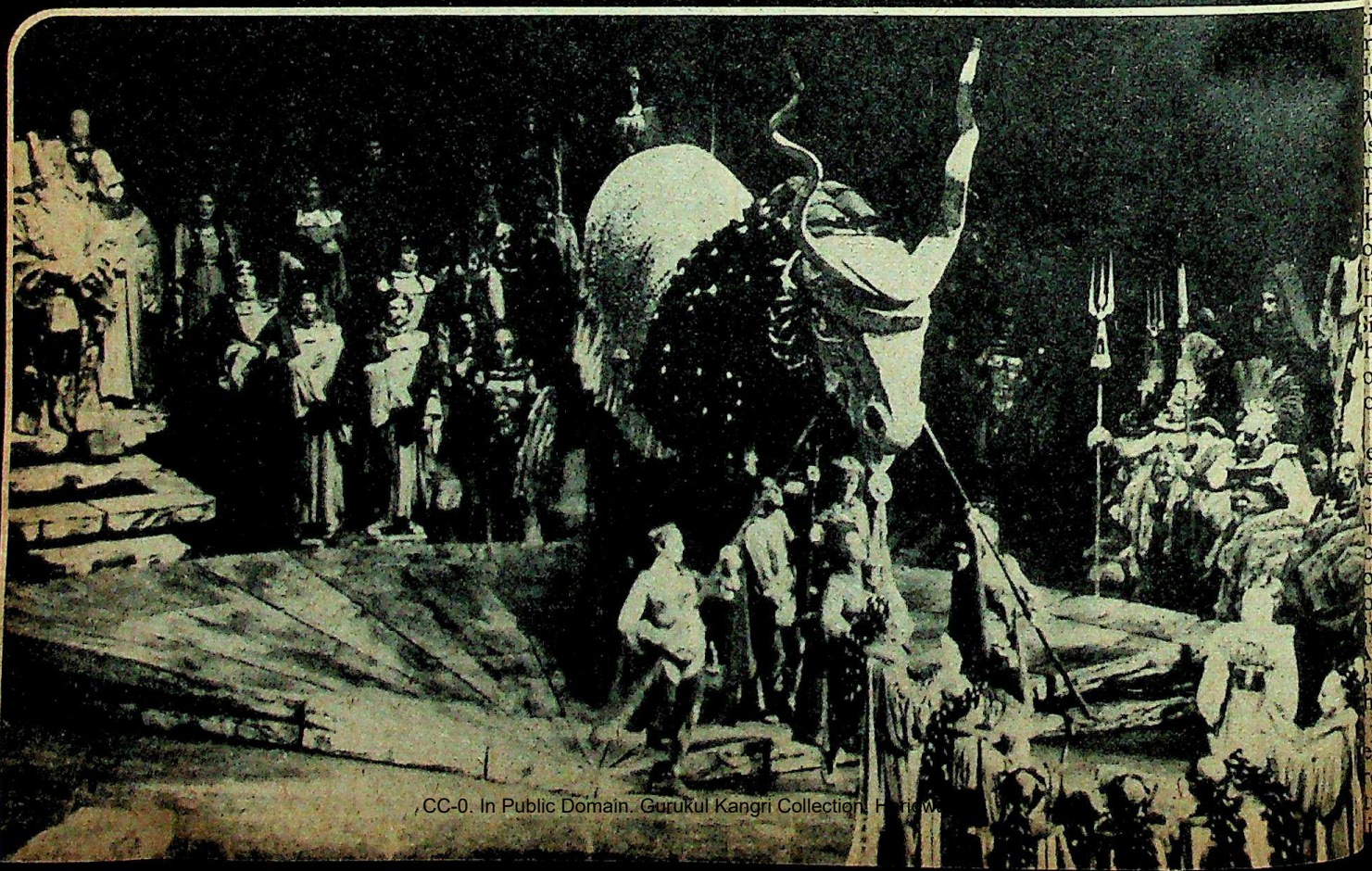
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On a moonlit terrace overlooking the sea, above, the legendary lovers sing of their passion. Later, deserted by Aeneas, Dido prepares to plunge his sword into her breast, swearing the revenge of future generations on Italy. Below, jubilant at the end of their ten-year siege, Trojans lead a ram in a triumphal procession through the city.



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THE ADMINISTRATION

A Master Tacker Departs

"With the changing political winds, one who sets sail directly toward his distant goal would never get there. The skill lies in tacking."

George Shultz is a golfer, not a sailor, but he likes to describe his practice as an economic manager in nautical terms. A confirmed free-marketeer in an Administration whose economic policies blow hither and yon, Shultz learned to become a master tacker, but he never really learned to like it. Last week, after 22 tiring months as Treasury Secretary and more than five years in top economic posts, Shultz announced that he will resign and leave the Government in May.

His departure is unlikely to change Administration economic policy much. The White House did not immediately announce a successor, but the leading candidate by far is Energy Czar William E. Simon (the only other names being mentioned are Roy Ash, director of the Office of Management and Budget, and John Dunlop, head of the Cost of Living Council). Simon is both a free-market advocate and an ardent admirer of Shultz, who persuaded him to come to Washington 15 months ago as No. 2 man at Treasury. Simon still nominally holds that post even while running the Federal Energy Office—a job that stands to lose some of its urgency and importance with the lifting of the Arab oil embargo. Should Simon indeed go to the top at Treasury, the next energy chief could well be Dunlop, whose Cost of Living Council is soon to be pruned back severely.

Neither Simon nor any other successor as Treasury chief could quickly re-establish Shultz's primacy in economic policymaking. Shultz has been not only Treasury Secretary but an assistant to Nixon and the Administration's first formally designated economic coordinator. Even if his successor also gets those titles, other Administration figures like Ash and Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz are sure to grab for some of the authority that Shultz exercised.

Shultz, a mild-mannered and courteous man who nevertheless argued his free-market principles with surpassing stubbornness, came to that authority by his loyalty to the President and skill at tacking; he is the last member of the original Nixon Cabinet still in high office. Shultz was dean of the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business when he was named the Administration's first Secretary of Labor in 1968. After serving with quiet competence in that job, he was put in charge of the newly created Office of Management and Budget in 1970.

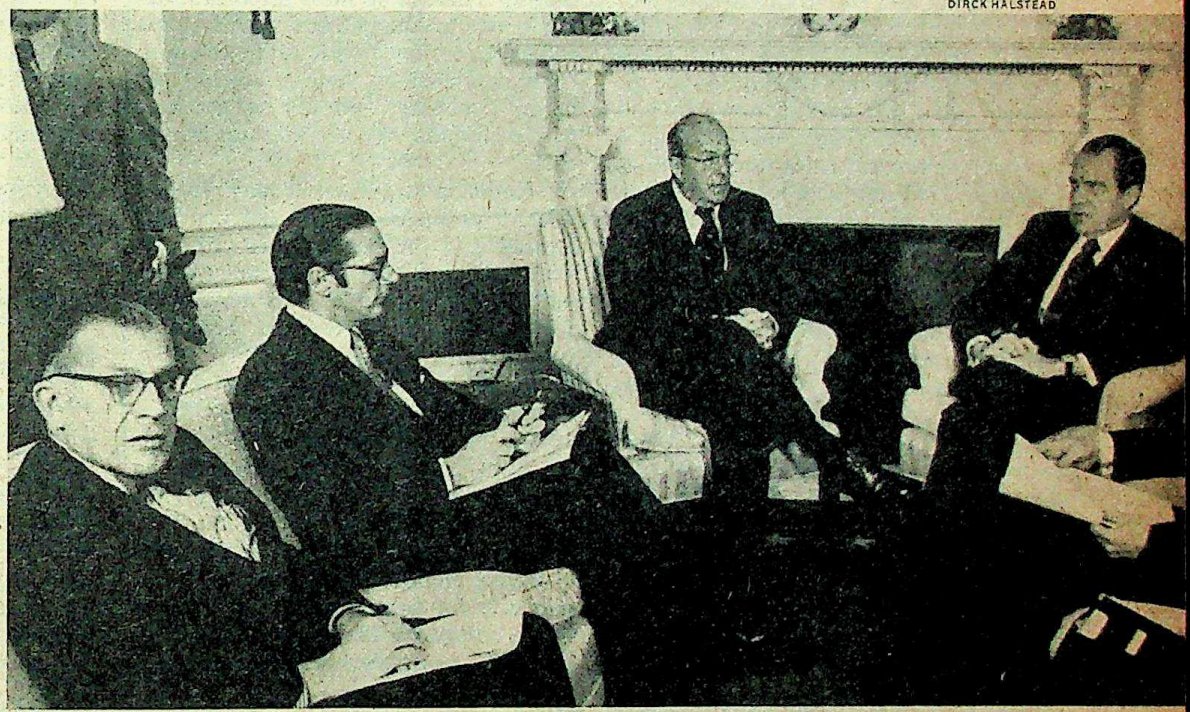
He soon became one of the two or three people most influential in shaping the Administration's early policy of trying to stop inflation by gradually slowing the economy and resisting controls—a policy that he liked to describe as "steady as she goes." That policy was reversed in August 1971, when Treasury Secretary John Connally sold the President on wage-price controls. But instead of sulking, Shultz tacked by helping to set up the control mechanism. He was rewarded for his loyalty by being promoted to Treasury Secretary, succeeding Connally in May 1972.

Since then Shultz has won a few and lost a few. He foresaw shortages of both food and energy and kept pressure on the President to end restrictions on farm output and oil imports—two steps that were belatedly taken within the past 14 months. And he persuaded finance ministers of the world money powers last year to let currency-exchange rates float in response to supply and demand, a practice that has provided a measure of stability for the international monetary system.

On the other hand, Shultz's basic abhorrence of controls, coupled with his occasional willingness to go along with them as a political necessity, helped to produce the erratic lurches from Phase to freeze that have marked Nixonian economic policy. Shultz recommended the abrupt lifting of the relatively successful Phase II controls in January 1973, a monstrously mistimed move that permitted inflation to gather renewed momentum. Last summer he reluctantly went along with the Administration's hasty and unsuccessful second price freeze but soon began working to remove controls again. The Administration has decided to drop them this spring, marking a victory for Shultz—how big a one will be determined by how well his successor does in getting the nation's 10% inflation rate under control.

Last year he was depressed by the Watergate scandals and President Nixon's inattention to economic policy; one of Washington's worst kept secrets was that he wanted to leave, but would probably wait for the energy crisis to abate and controls to be phased out before announcing his departure. Now 53, he will take occasional assignments for the White House, but says, "I don't have any idea, really," of what he will do for a full-time job. Displaying the integrity that even his bitterest critics admire, he refused to consider the subject until he actually announced his resignation. Shultz's economic policies may not have always been effective, but his candor, honesty and tacking ability are assets that the Administration will miss.

DIRCK HALSTEAD



DUNLOP (LEFT), SIMON, SHULTZ & NIXON IN OVAL OFFICE
It was Washington's worst-kept secret.

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AUTOS

The New Pacesetter

American Motors Corp. setting the pace for the auto industry? The idea would have seemed ridiculous during the long years when AMC was the only one of the four U.S. automakers losing money and struggling to stay in business. But in a market shrunk by the twin forces of inflation and the energy crisis, AMC's stress on low-priced, gas-saving small cars has suddenly made it the only company that is still prospering. Some examples of its leadership:

▶ Total auto sales so far this year are down 21% from early 1973, and sales of some big cars have been cut in half. Sales of AMC's five makes—Gremlin, Hornet, Javelin, Ambassador and Matador—are up 16% from a year ago, boosting the company's share of the U.S. auto market to 6.7%, from 3.8% in 1973.

▶ Inventories of unsold cars are so high throughout the industry that General Motors' Oldsmobile and Pontiac divisions could stop making new cars and still keep their dealers supplied until summer at present sales rates. AMC is down to a 17-day supply of Gremlins, and dealers are pleading for more.

▶ Profits in the last quarter of 1973 fell 22% at General Motors, 76% at Ford and 12% at Chrysler, from year-earlier figures. American Motors' profits rose 22%, and the company recently declared its first dividend (of 10¢ a share semiannually) in nine years.

▶ The Big Three have laid off 85,000 workers, or 12% of their auto-plant labor force; Flint, Mich., a General Motors town, is reeling from a 20% unemployment rate. AMC has hired 2,300 new workers in the past year for its Kenosha, Wis., plants, where all its passenger cars are assembled, boosting employment there to 11,800 and cutting the jobless rate in the town to a mere 3.9%.

Oddly, the sudden prosperity has caused little jubilation among American Motors executives. They are preoccupied by an unfamiliar problem: how to produce as many cars as the public wants. "Steel is tight, chemicals are tight, fabricated parts are extremely tight," complains William V. Luneburg, AMC's blunt-spoken president, who sometimes badgers suppliers personally for quick deliveries. "When you have the opportunity in your grasp and you cannot make it materialize, it is a bit frustrating." Still, he concedes, "the wheel of fortune is turning right at the moment."

Strategy. That AMC has positioned itself to be there is largely the work of Luneburg and Chairman Roy D. Chapin Jr., who took over when AMC hit its nadir in 1967 (loss that year: $76 million). They adopted a strategy of doing everything a bit differently from the Big Three. The most important decision was to concentrate on small cars, rather than offer a wide range of autos. "You capitalize on your strengths," explains Luneburg. "We are not shooting with a shotgun. We are shooting with a rifle."

Right on target too. Today, 70% of AMC's production is in the compact Hornet and the subcompact Gremlin. The little cars have turned out to be a particular hit with younger buyers. In 1967 the average age of an AMC car buyer was 62; today it is 35.

AMC has revamped almost everything else about its operation too. Since 1967 it has cut the number of its dealers from 2,465 to 1,926, dropping the weak dealers who sold few cars. In 1971 it introduced its Buyer Protection Plan, under which, for the first 12,000 miles or twelve months, AMC picks up all repair bills for defects that can be traced to the company. The plan is expensive, but AMC executives are counting on it to build brand loyalty among buyers.

The plan is backed by an elaborate employee-relation campaign to inspire workers to put the cars together properly. Signs in a Kenosha plant exhort workers to "build it as though you're going to buy it." An AMC-sponsored program on a local radio station reports the latest company news before each shift change; during shifts the announcer roams the plant in an electric cart called a "gab cab," picking up tidbits. When the plant recently shut down because of a machinery failure, the program prevented rumors from circulating by broadcasting interviews with workers about what went wrong and reports on the repair job as it progressed.

AMC still faces some problems in consolidating its new strength. In particular, it must add parts-manufacturing capacity. No plant now has enough capacity to do the full job of making six-cylinder engine blocks—so the blocks are cast in Canada, trucked to Kenosha for preliminary processing, trucked to Toluca, Mexico, for further processing and then trucked back to Kenosha for finishing. It is an expensive way to make engines. But for the moment, the public is buying all the cars that those engines can be put into.

AMERICAN MOTORS ASSEMBLY LINE IN KENOSHA, WIS.



CHUCK TERNES

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CORPORATIONS

Record Ransom

Officials of Exxon Corp. last week stuffed 142,000 hundred-dollar bills into briefcases and stowed them in a car that was then driven to a rendezvous with Argentine guerrillas of the Marxist People's Revolutionary Army. The $14 million payoff earned Exxon the unenviable distinction of having forked over what is probably the highest ransom ever collected by kidnapers. (How much, if any, is covered by insurance [Time, March 18] is unknown.) The company sought the release of Victor E. Samuelson, 36, a refinery manager who was abducted on Dec. 6. At week's end Samuelson still had not been set free, but the ransom may have saved his life: the kidnapers had earlier notified Exxon that they had sentenced him to death for the "crimes" of multinational corporations.

WALL STREET

Big Yields for the Little

The nation's money markets traditionally have reserved their highest interest returns for the best-heeled investors. The individual who can buy a $100,000 bank certificate of deposit, for example, currently gets an average return of 8.3%; the one with only $1,000 can buy a piece of paper from a savings bank yielding 7.08%—but unlike the big investor, he must tie up his money

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our mutual funds have been organized o give the small investor a crack at the igh yields—a move that seems likely o put them into head-on competition with savings banks, savings and loan organizations and other thrift institutions or small savings.

The funds take initial investments of $5,000, $10,000 or even less, pool them and invest them in "short-term money market instruments"—large-denomination C.D.s, U.S. Treasury bills (which yield 7.6% but usually are available only in blocks of $10,000) and other high-yielding paper. Typically, they prefer maturities on these instruments of less than 45 days. The funds generally charge a fee of .75% to 1% of the investment, but no other commission or sales charge; interest earned is calculated daily and credited to each investor's individual account. An investor can cash in some or all of his shares at any time for principal plus interest accrued up to the day of sale. In effect, he has the convenience of a day-of-deposit to day-of-withdrawal account at a savings bank or S and L—on which the maximum interest rate is limited by law in most states to 5¼%. Yet unlike the stock-market investor, he takes next to no risk that the value of his investment will drop.

Out of Stocks. The largest of these liquid asset funds, the Reserve Fund Inc., began accepting purchases from the public in October 1972. In the short time since then, it has attracted $138 million from 10,000 accounts (minimum: $1,000 each)—even though it has been promoted by word of mouth among investment counselors, brokers, corporations and bank trust departments. Bruce Bent, vice president and treasurer, says that many people, "punchy from the stock market, are taking their money out and putting it in the fund." Indeed, about a third of the investments have come from brokers who have put to work cash that their clients have received from sales of shares and are not ready to put back into the stock market. The clients might otherwise have withdrawn their cash from the brokers' control.

The Reserve Fund's phenomenal growth rate has prompted organization of several similar funds in recent months. Among them are Dreyfus Liquid Assets, Inc.; Anchor Reserve Fund, Inc., which takes investments as small as $100 initially and $25 thereafter; and Money Market Management, Inc., of Pittsburgh. How well they will do at a time when many interest rates have dropped a bit from their 1973 peaks is moot. Donald Pitti, president of Wiesenberger Services Inc., which among other things publishes analyses of mutual-fund investment records, believes that the new funds are "a product of high interest rates and not a major trend." But they represent a rare fresh idea in the management of small investments—and some strong potential competition for the banking business and the stock market.

Young Boss for Aer Lingus

The day of whiz-kid promotions in the corporate world is fading, but it is not quite over. Next month, David Kennedy assumes office as chief executive of Ireland's national airline, Aer Lingus-Irish at the age of 35. Kennedy, a former Irish chess champion with a dry wit, has made it to the top of the $100 million-a-year line in twelve years. One of these was spent in the U.S., from which Aer Lingus gets much of its traffic, and the others in Ireland, mostly devoted to computerizing the line's operations. He succeeds Michael J. Dargan, who is retiring because he feels "after seven or ten years you have given all you can."



DAVID KENNEDY

Kennedy takes over one of the few national airlines that expect to fly at a profit this year. That is due partly to the line's acquisition of a big London hotel and two of Ireland's biggest tour-promotion agencies, which has increased its ability to book charter groups into package tours. Another reason is Aer Lingus' long policy of offering high standards but low-cost, no-frills service; over the years it has kept as much as 13% more of its seats occupied than any other line flying the North Atlantic. Kennedy pledges to continue both policies and to cut costs further. But he warns that spiraling fuel prices, now almost 2½ times higher than a year ago, will make it "extremely difficult for any line to keep its head above water" unless governments permit some fare increases.

An Academic for Exxon

For most of its long history, Exxon Corp. has insisted that only company officers could serve on its board; not until 1966 did it begin choosing "outside" directors. Now it is going far outside indeed. Its latest nominee for director is Martha Peterson, 57, president of New York's Barnard College, a mathematician with a Ph.D. in educational psychology and an amateur ornithologist, who admits: "I am not a person who is terribly knowledgeable about business and Exxon." The world's largest oil company has never had a female director before, and Peterson suspects that she was chosen largely because "they felt it is important to have a woman on the board." She is already the only woman on the boards of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. and the Dry Dock Savings Bank.



MARTHA PETERSON

Peterson believes that her academic background (she was formerly the only woman dean at the universities of Kansas and Wisconsin) will be useful to Exxon, which like other oil companies has come under bitter public criticism during the gasoline shortage. "People in the academic world have been very critical of big business," she observes. "I can represent a sympathy with that viewpoint to the board, present certain questions, and as I learn, I can interpret the answers to the skeptics." Stockholders will vote on her nomination in May, and meanwhile she will be studying the energy crisis, which, she says, "seems unexplainable." She looks forward to getting an explanation that she can take back to the campus.

The Blind Broker

Being young and a woman are disadvantages enough on Wall Street, but Laura Sloate has a third handicap: she has been blind since she was six years old. Even so, after a mere five years in the securities business, she grossed more than $100,000 in 1973 as a research analyst with Drexel Burnham, a major securities house. Last week she opened her own securities firm with two associates and a seat on the New York Stock Exchange.

Encouraged by her mother, who, she says, never let her be treated as a blind person, Sloate originally set out to be a lawyer. After graduating from Barnard College in 1966 with a major in medieval history, she enrolled in Columbia University Law School but dropped out because she concluded that prospects for a blind woman lawyer were almost impossible. She got into the securities business by answering an ad from a go-go mutual fund that wanted analyst trainees without experience. As a girl, she had played basketball by positioning her feet on a crack in the court and shooting from memory. Now, she still operates from memory. Four hours each day and nine hours on Saturday she listens to readers recite the volumes of technical detail about companies and the economy that she must evaluate to make recommendations for clients.

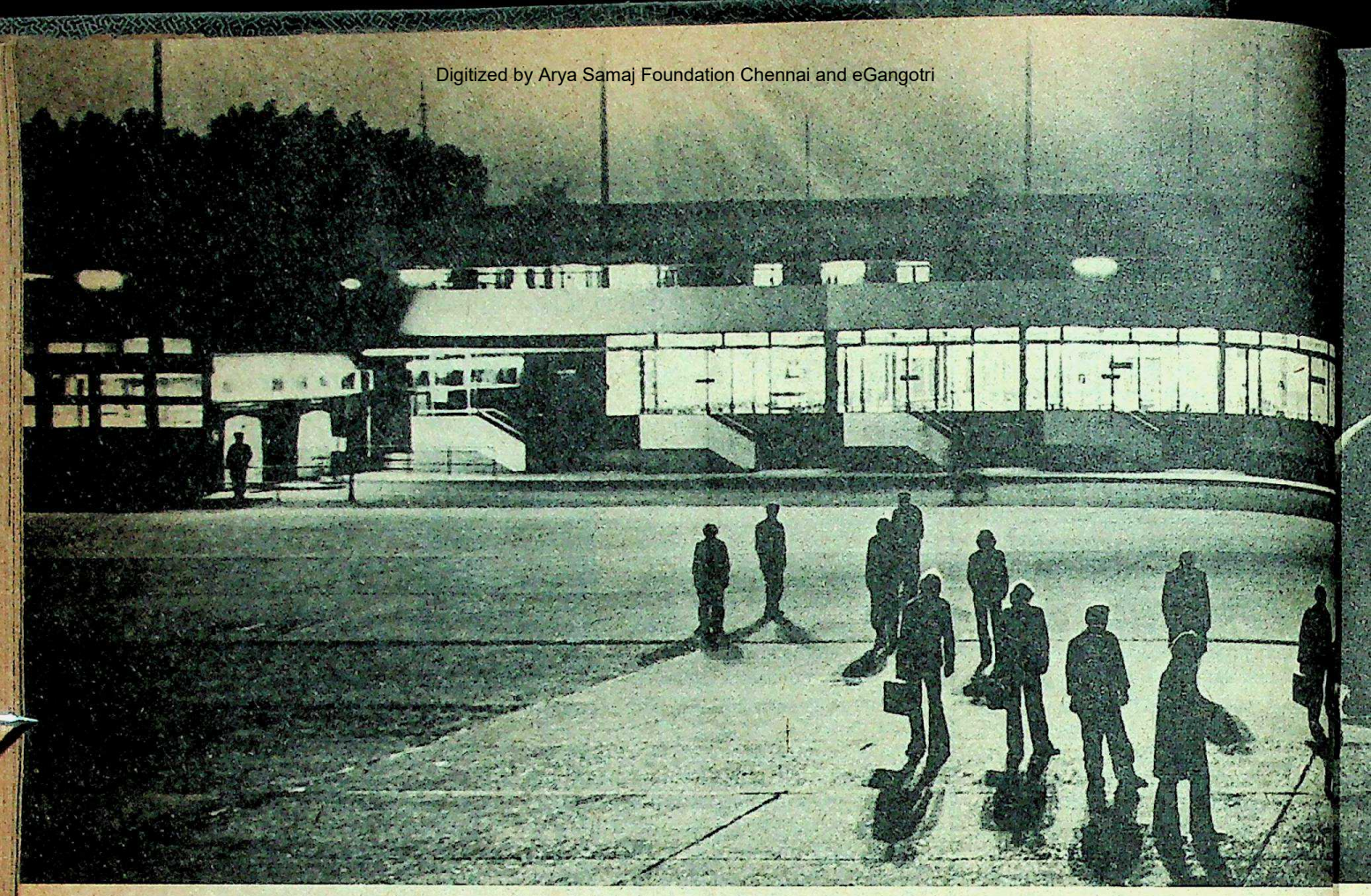


LAURA SLOATE

Some colleagues say that Sloate sometimes uses her blindness to win sympathy and describe her as a highly aggressive person. She concedes: "I've been known to annoy people." But she has demonstrated an ability to help her clients make money, and in the stock market that talent will overcome any handicap.

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The VFW 614 shortens the nig

An airline with really short-haul routes and low traffic densities needs a special aircraft. It must combine profitability with the ability to fly from short strips. And in these days it needs passenger appeal, which means jet appeal.

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The VFW 614 is such an aircraft. Until now the old, uncomfortable, vibrating propeller aircraft have been losing passengers even to road and rail competition. Now the VFW 614 offers turboprop economy and jet appeal to expand the secondary routes. The VFW 614 is a small jet – profitable with as few as 16 passengers. It is also big enough (up to 44 seats) to cope with the increased traffic it generates.

From take-off to cruising altitude takes just eleven minutes in the VFW 614. No ploughing interminably through rough, low-level air as propeller aircraft have to. High climb speed and cruising speed produce block times up to 45 % lower than offered by propeller aircraft.



Technical data:

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Pressure ratio
Take-off thrust, nominal (Static, SL/ISA)

Performance:

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Max. cruise speed (TAS):
Cruise ceiling:
FAA Take-off field length
MTOW (SL/ISA)
FAA landing field length (MLW, SL/ISA)
Range (full pass. payload):
(plus reserves for 150 n. diversion and 45 minutes

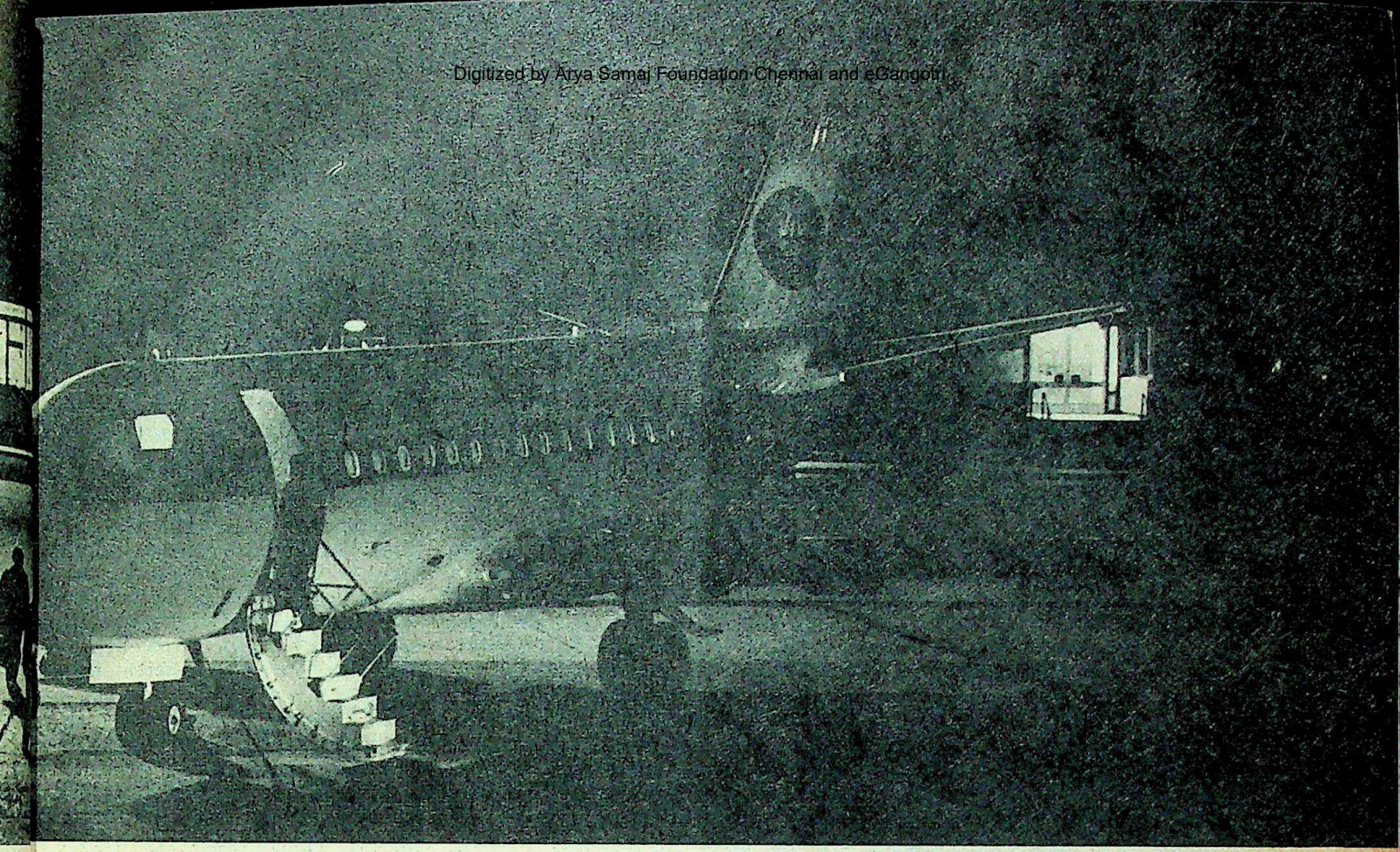
Main dimensions:

Wing span:
Overall length:
Overall height:

Weights and loading:

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ig a few profitable hours.

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ad: 4,100 kg

VFW 614 – the night worker

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e most jets are noisy.
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propeller aircraft it will
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e wing between them
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reversal because it lands
and has high-efficiency
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But many airfields that the VFW 614 visits will not have noise regulations. They may have hardly any neighbours. They might have a hard runway. With a short, sturdy undercarriage, twin, low pressure tires all round and overwing engines preventing foreign-object damage, the VFW 614 needs no runway. It can fly from the majority of today's airports, most of which have only a rough strip.

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Most existing twin jets are too big, too costly and too noisy for the really short hauls. They are unable to use 80 % of the world's airports. The VFW 614 is the only replacement for the propeller aircraft and the ideal complementary aircraft to the bigger jets.

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P. O. Box 7600
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VFW 614

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Footnotes to Genius

FAULKNER: A BIOGRAPHY
by JOSEPH BLOTNER
2,115 pages. 2 vols.
Random House. $25.

Back in 1930, when he was virtually unknown, William Faulkner was informed by his agent that *The American Mercury* wanted a biographical snippet to preface one of his stories. "Don't tell the bastards anything," wrote Faulkner. "It can't matter to them." In 1958, when Saxe Commins, his longtime editor at Random House, died, Faulkner grieved: "I'll have to hunt up somebody else now who will stop anybody making the William Faulkner story the moment I have breathed my last."

Faulkner breathed his last in July 1962. He had found no one to protect him from the ensuing scramble for his literary remains. Family cooperation and the right of access to private papers soon went to English Professor Joseph Blotner, a younger man whom Faulkner had befriended during his last years as a writer-in-residence at the University of Virginia. Blotner spent the next twelve years of his life studying Faulkner—with weighty and almost entirely lamentable results.

His book is a monstrosity: flaccid, mawkish, stuffed with the wrong kind of speculation and unnecessary detail. (Blotner notes not once but twice that Faulkner had "shapely" feet.) How can even the most fact-crazed scholar need to know the names of the Little League players whom Faulkner occasionally watched in Charlottesville?

Despite Faulkner's strictures about privacy, the author's life did need telling. The greatest American writer of this century was supremely indifferent to the fanciful legends his name collected. As Critic Malcolm Cowley noted in 1947 in *The Portable Faulkner*, an anthology of the author's work: "Most of the biographical sketches that deal with him are full of preposterous errors." Blotner's years of research, therefore, were spent in a noble cause. How, then, did things go so wrong? The author's foreword offers a clue to his—and much of modern biography's—ruling flaw. He has written, says Blotner, a biography of the works as well as the author, "since each element of them was in some sense a product of his total life." In short, whatever adds bulk to the "total life experience" has got to be important.

No writer can be measured in such a fashion—Faulkner, as he once pointed out, least of all. "Now I realize for the first time," he wrote a friend in 1953, "what an amazing gift I had: uneducated in every formal sense, without e very literate, let alone literary comp ions, yet to have made the things I ma I don't know where it came from."

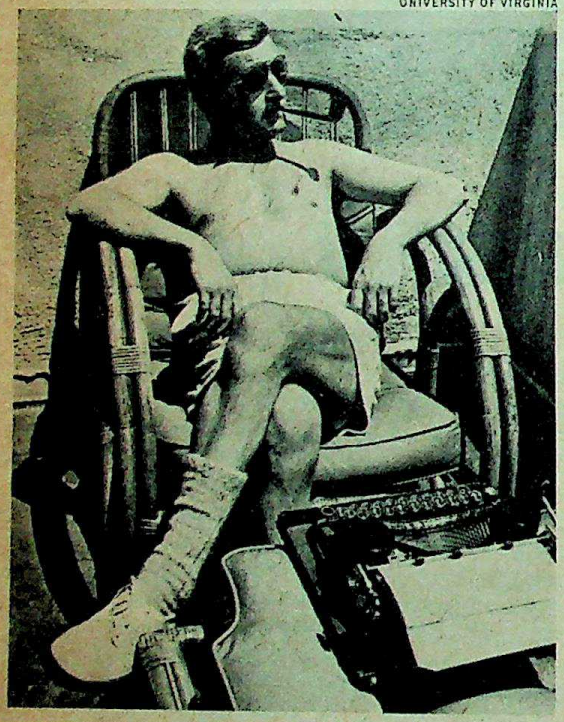
Not from formal education, wh he abandoned in high school. The lea ing that mattered to him began alm at birth. His childhood in turn-of-t century Oxford, Miss., was spent liste ing to Civil War tales told by old m who had been at Shiloh and Appom tox. He absorbed family pride indire from his illustrious great-grandfat Colonel William C. Falkner (as name was then spelled), hero, scound founder of a railroad and writer who became the doomed, quixotic colonel *Sartoris* in 1929. Blotner devotes pages to the recitation of every kno fact about the old colonel, forgetting t what history remembers and wh Faulkner knew are different matte Faulkner's South was a brooding pr ence, its fading grandeur stained by t sin of slavery, its future mortgaged to velopers and parvenus.

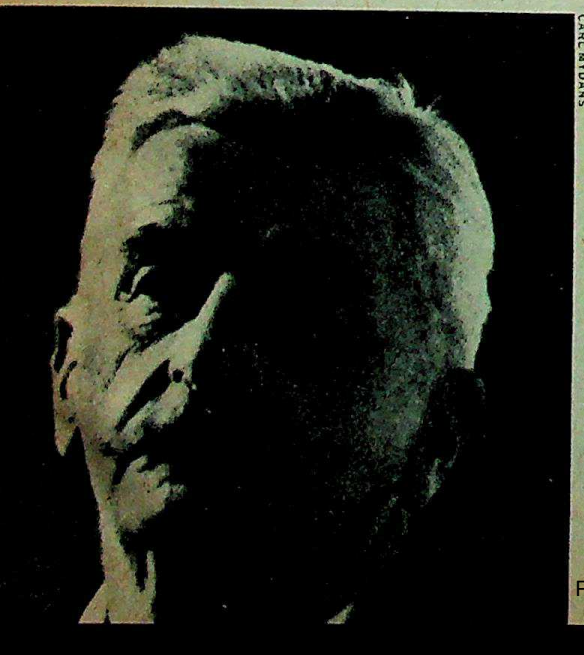
Thank God. Oxford gave Faulk a home, a past and Yoknapatawp County, a patch of "rich, deep, black luvial soil," where his imagination to root. Mississippi nurtured his gift by c stricting his life. But Blotner's plodd chronology obscures the fact that Fau ner changed very little from the al young man released after R.A.F. tra ing in 1918, whose apparent idlen ("Count No Count") scandalized t town. With demonic singlemindedne Faulkner set out to do what he wan —write. If distracting jobs were for on him, he saw to it that they were sh lived. When he was fired from his as postmaster at the University of M sissippi, Faulkner snapped: "Thank G I won't ever again have to be at the b and call of every son of a bitch wh got two cents to buy a stamp." His er, desperate visits to Hollywood w made simply to earn enough money live and work back home. They dela but did not affect his writing at all.

Driven men are rarely considerat others. With evident unhappiness, B ner notes Faulkner's truly monume drinking bouts, which friends relatives learned to predict. Whene he began reciting Shakespeare's po "The Phoenix and the Turtle," a sieg gin and bourbon was imminent. The thor's domestic life was a Faulkner blend of the Gothic and the genteel 1918, his childhood sweetheart Est Oldham wed someone else. Faulk waited. After ten years her marr broke up, and Faulkner proposed. T lifelong union was outwardly pla Faulkner the proper country squire, telle his lady. But their mutual drink produced nightmarish battles as matic though less destructive than t between Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald.

Unlike Fitzgerald, Faulkner n

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA





CARL MYDANS



ODIARNE, PARIS

PORTRAITS OF FAULKNER AS A HOLLYWOOD WRITER (LEFT), A MAN OF LETTERS IN 1962 (BELOW LEFT) & AS A YOUNG MAN IN PARIS

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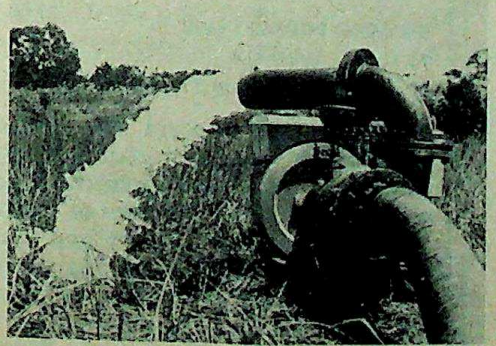
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replayed these struggles in his writing. In fact, precious few of the thousands of personal details Blotner offers shed any new light on Faulkner's novels. That is not the point Blotner wants to make, but it is an extraordinary discovery. And it is most tantalizingly true of the years between 1928 and 1936. But those years mark a time of creative intensity unparalleled in American letters, when Faulkner turned out *Sartoris, The Sound and the Fury, As I Lay Dying, Light in August* and *Absalom, Absalom!*

If Blotner thinks that any of these novels is better than another, he does not let on. (His approach is to trace the stages of writing and then, after publication, quote some reviews.)

Given enough patience and endurance, readers can piece together several contradictory Faulkners strewn through Blotner's chronicle. There was the country humorist whose quips kept strangers at bay. (After listening to Thornton Wilder eagerly discuss the meaning of the title *Light in August*, Faulkner replied: "You know I never thought of that. It just sounded pretty.") The loving father vies with the tyrant who once told his daughter Jill: "Nobody remembers Shakespeare's children." Faulkner's Nobel Prize acceptance speech rang with hope: "I believe that man will not merely endure; he will prevail." Yet at practically the same time, he was telling Estelle: "The human race stinks."

This mini-five-foot shelf will not be the last word on Faulkner. The valuable tools of scholarship have not cleared a path toward the subject; they have built a fortress around it. What the book's appearance signifies, however, is that the people whom Faulkner referred to as "academic gumshoes" have asserted their clammy hold upon him. In graduate classrooms across the country, students now will be required to read the book. Sad news, that, not only for Faulkner and his readers but for such writers as Pound, Eliot and Wallace Stevens, whose "definitive" biographies have yet to fall upon us. ■ Paul Gray

Czech 22

THE GOOD SOLDIER SVEJK
by JAROSLAV HAŠEK
752 pages. Thomas Y. Crowell. $10.

The eternal innocent. The implacable innocent. The innocent who confounds authority, the sophistry of law and the mindless brutalities of bureaucracy with sheer simplicity and obdurate truth. In the endless flux of empires, ideologies and wars, he is the irreducible survivor. Such a one was Voltaire's Candide, Cervantes' Sancho Panza, Joseph Heller's Yossarian—and Jaroslav Hašek's Good Soldier Švejk.

Fat, untidy and crapulous, Švejk is a natural disaster as a soldier. He drinks anything that is not nailed down, eats anything that is not moving, and flummoxes disciplinarians and exhorters by admitting everything instantly—always

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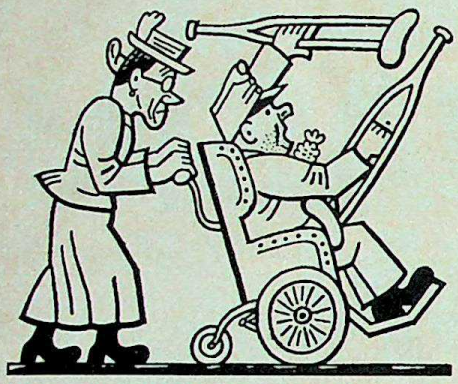
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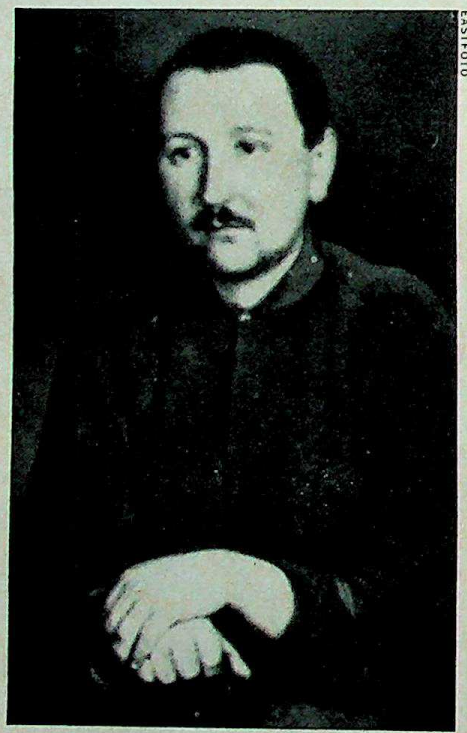
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at great length and with illustrations. Hašek's Švejk was a Czech and like most Czechs was a reluctant subject of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, especially after World War I broke out. When Švejk is drafted despite his rheumatic legs, he borrows a wheelchair, crutches and an old army cap, gets himself wheeled through the streets of Prague on his way to the induction station, crying "On to Belgrade!", and is apotheosized by the official press as the most gallant of volunteers for the great glory of the Austro-Hungarian cause. There-



ŠVEJK IN WHEELCHAIR BY JOSEF LADA



EASTFOTO

ŠVEJK'S ALTER EGO, JAROSLAV HAŠEK, IN 1915

Yossarian in Prague.

after he contrives to misplace both his papers and his battalion—which keeps him from having to fight the Serbs or the Russians for weeks and weeks.

Švejk was first introduced to European readers in the early '20s. Along with Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front,* the book became a popular symbol of the antimilitarism and distrust of glorious causes that flourished between the wars. Published in the U.S. in 1930—with Švejk spelled *Schweik* —the book, illustrated by Josef Lada, became a bestseller. The editors of that day discreetly excised more than one-third of the text, because of Švejk-Schweik's scatalogical emphasis. This new version by Sir Cecil Parrott of the University of Lancaster translates every excrementiion that Švejk is prone to.

Švejk revisited seems a timely project, especially since it introduces the book's creator, who uncannily resembles his own hero. Jaroslav Hašek's father died of drink in 1896 when the boy was 13. Hašek became a dropout, vagabond, drunk and professed anarchist. He was constantly in trouble and often in jail. Like Švejk, too, he was less political than impudent.

Some time in 1915, for instance, Hašek checked into a hotel-brothel in Prague, registering under a Russian-sounding name. On the accompanying police questionnaire, he gave as his reason for being in Prague, "to investigate the activities of the Austrian general staff." The police at once surrounded the hotel. They discovered that the Russian name spelled backward came out in Czech as "Kiss my arse." Blandly Hašek explained that he just wanted to see if the Austrian police were on their toes —and got off with five days in jail.

"Eyes Right." After that Hašek was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army. He deserted to the Russians, converted to Bolshevism and became a commissar. Later, he gave up the Party and drifted back to Prague. There, as he slowly died of drink and TB, Hašek wrote the saga of the good soldier Švejk.

The mode is heavy irony, a technique that is not familiar to Anglo-Saxon literature but is a staple of Middle Europe. A general, getting to heaven, demands to know why the soldiers he passes do not do "Eyes right." His driver explains that they cannot because their heads have been blown off. When the battalion goes to get rations, they get instead a postcard with the message: "His Eminence the Archbishop of Budapest used in his prayers such beautiful expressions as, for instance: 'God bless our bayonets that they may pierce deeply into your enemies' bellies.' "

Despite the repetitions, the discursiveness, the sometimes labored irony, Švejk/Hašek speaks vividly to a new generation that is disillusioned with power, glory and war. The reader gets the feeling that he can begin anywhere in the book, stop anywhere, and still get the essence of it. For the essence is Švejk, and Švejk travels well. ■ A.T. Baker

Deep Cleavage

THE WONDER-WORKER
by DAN JACOBSON
191 pages. Atlantic–Little, Brown. $5.95.

South African-born Writer Dan Jacobson built a small but solid reputation dealing with what he knew best: the politics and heartbreak of *apartheid,* the sour loneliness of race supremacy, and love shattered by cultural collision, and the moral and intellectual conflicts of exile. Jacobson is now 45, and he moved to England permanently in
Three years ago after the tread on
original themes had begun to wear
tle thin, Jacobson seemed to ta
fresh fictional start and produce
best novel. Called *The Rape of To*
it was an ironic retelling of the Old
tament scandal about King D
daughter whose half brother as
her and dies for the offense. The
between *Tamar* and *The Wo*
Worker are stronger than they a
appear to be. Sexual obsession, the
integration of a family, the linkag
tween love and hate are evident in
But where the biblical backgrou
Tamar lent grief and madness
heroic grandeur, Jacobson's new
is furnished with the banalities and
ia of contemporary life.

It is the tale of a nameless
ranged narrator who sits in his
at an overpriced Swiss sanitarium
purports to write a novel about a
mented dreamer named Timothy F
The narrator's own story about his
to transform his experience into
and the Fogel "novel" are offered i
ternating chapters.

Fogel, the son of an immigrant
painter and a halfwit shopgirl, is
in London and drifts through child
and adolescence preoccupied with
special powers. He believes he can
come what he observes—objects
of stone, iron, wood, glass. "The
he wanted to reach wasn't inter
in words. Only in achieved states
pable transformations. He would
known only by those who had
through them." Fogel's crowning
session is the diamond. Acquiring
through a friendly burglar, he bec
a fanatical student of facets and
tallography, of refraction angles
cleavage planes. He is possessed b
belief that diamonds are an incarn
of God's cold, durable and eterna
ing. What Fogel cannot possess is
rence's sister Susie. And what he
not possess he destroys.

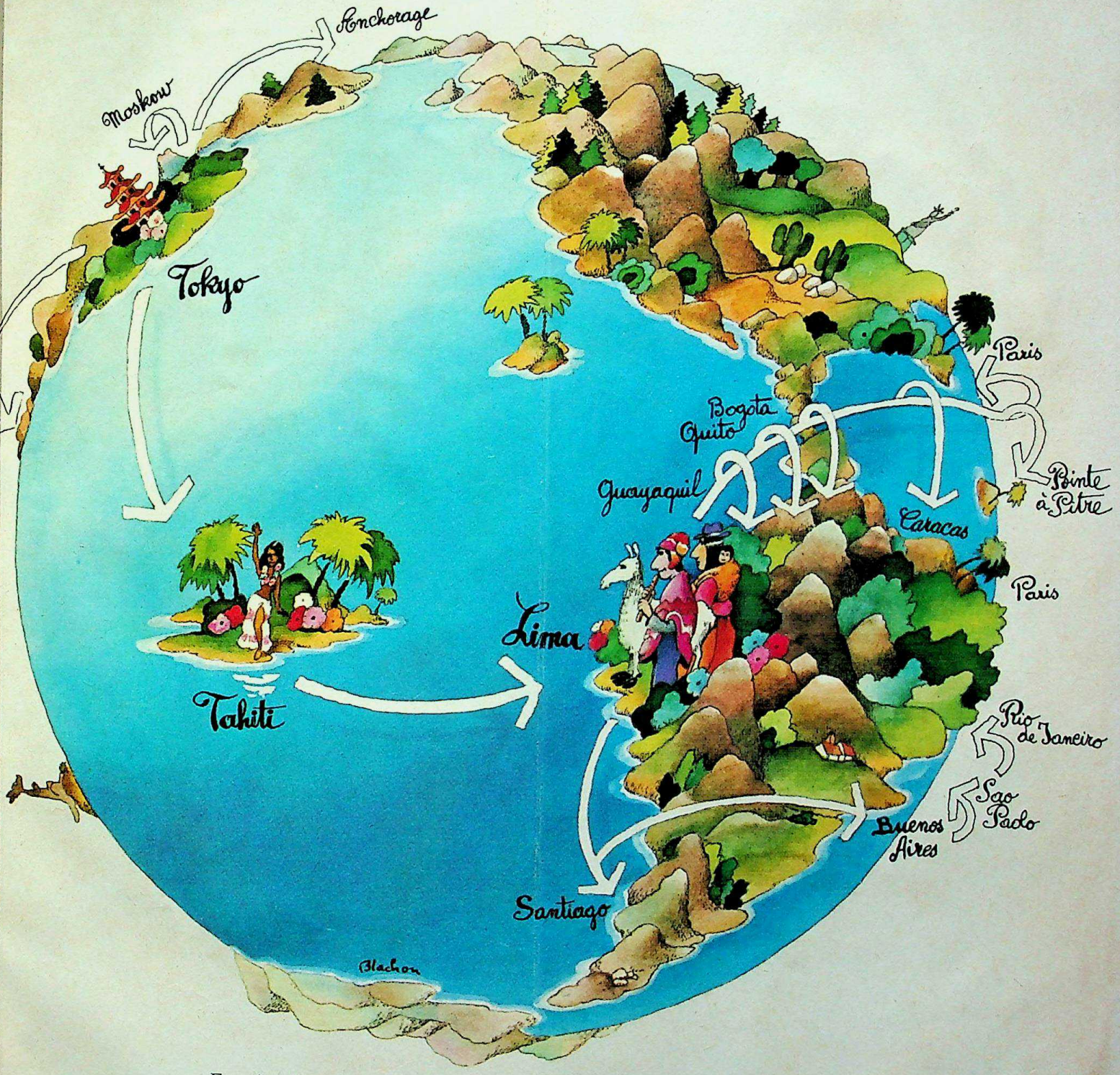
"Paradox Ahead." Yet it ap
that Fogel's story never existed in
herent written form. The insane n
tor is eventually removed to a ho
for the criminally insane, and his f
tells the police that his son's manus
was nothing but pages of wavy lines
zags, dots, loops and dashes.

What, then, is the point? Auth
cobson naturally does not offer
signs: "Meaning ½ Mile," or
Down, Paradox Ahead." *The Wo*
Worker seems to be yet another m
parable of total cultural disintegr
The crazed narrator's inability to
down his novel is actually a failu
language, which is man's unique gi
the carrier of his common huma
Both the narrator and his characte
gel are isolated shards laboring
the illusion that they are wholly f
vessels. But what could well have
an academic exercise is redeeme
compassion and craft. It makes for
thetic but telling tale. ■ R.Z. She

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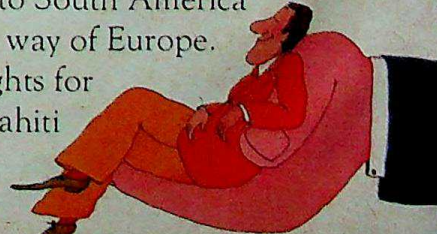


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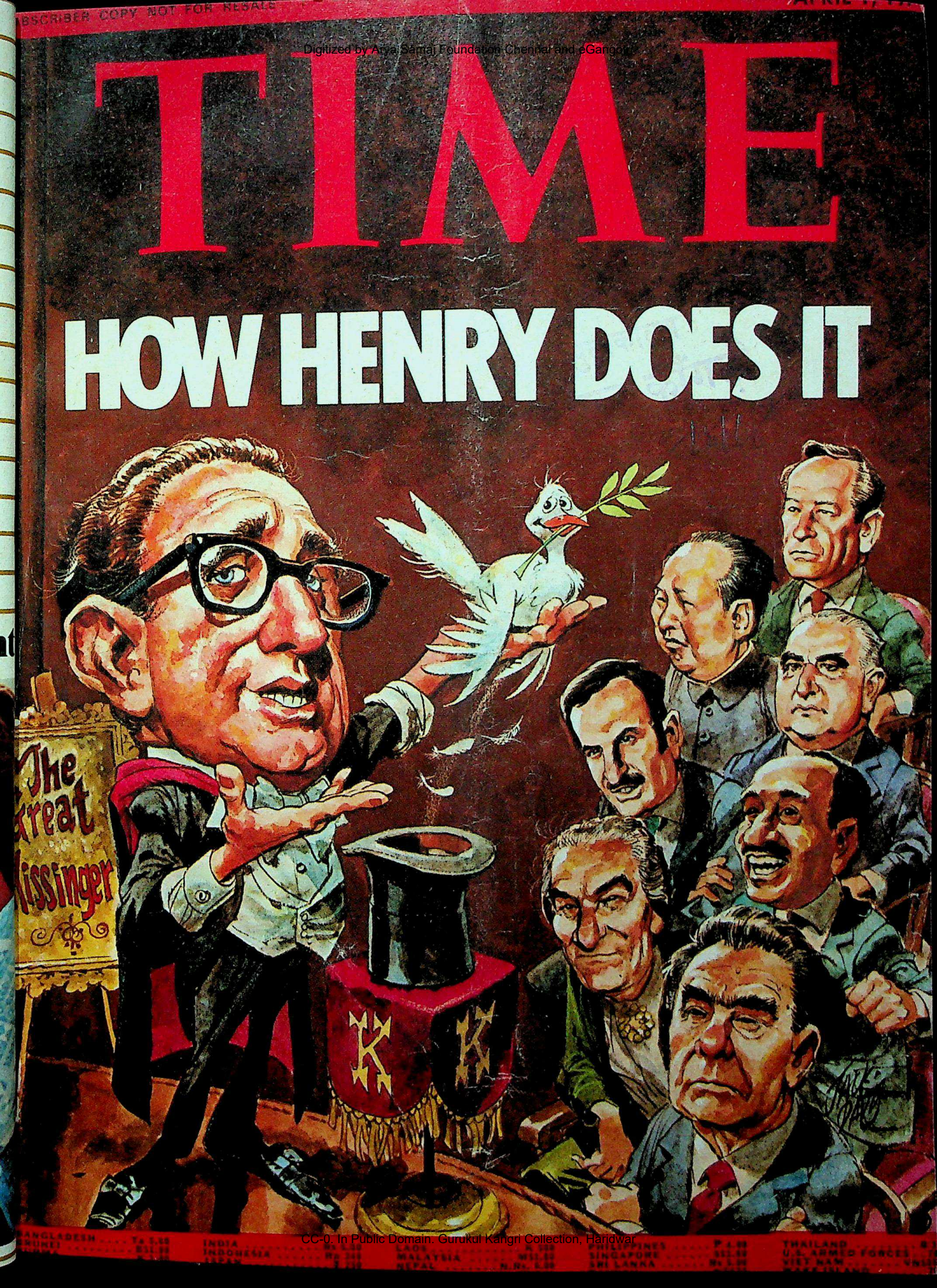
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HOW HENRY DOES IT



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Inconsistent Protest

Sir / I was interested to read your report on the use of the behavior modification principle in prisons [March 11]. It seems to be inconsistent and hypocritical to imprison persons for the avowed purpose of changing their behavior, and yet when someone seriously attempts to use scientific knowledge to change the inmate, we hear a howl of protest. Maybe we aren't as serious about rehabilitating persons who engage in criminal activities as we claim.

C.S. STANLEY
Whitfield, Miss.

Sir / The heart of behavior mod lies in correct use of positive reinforcement, simply because this most closely approximates normal human behavior. Hundreds of parents of retarded and/or behavior-problem children have learned to use behavior mod to teach their children; many are grateful because it affords them a highly successful humanistic alternative to the degrading kinds of punishing methods they had earlier felt themselves reduced to.

HENRY L. GOVERT
Boone, N.C.

Sir / Your discussion of behavior modification in prisons gives me too much credit, if that is the word, for current practices. I have never recommended the use of electric shock, drugs which produce nausea or vomiting, or psychotherapy. I am concerned only with the prison environment, and even there only with its rewarding aspects. Prisoners have been subject to behavior modification as long as there have been prisons, and the results are only too well known. Something better can be done and is being done, as your article shows.

B.F. SKINNER
Cambridge, Mass.

Sir / It seems that changing behavior always has been the goal of the prison system either through punishment or rehabilitation. In general, however, the system is still centered on the idea of punishment, and I see terrible abuses possible with the new behavior-modification programs. Rehabilitation-through-work programs and similar methods have never been given a proper chance because of the lack of funds, facilities, knowledgeable personnel and good programs. It would be better to concentrate on these areas first.

ELLEN FORD
Bloomington, Ind.

Nixon, Pro and Con

Sir / If the presidential press conference of March 6 is an example of democracy in action, the world must laugh contemptuously at it. The newsmen faced the leader of the greatest country on earth, who has achieved amazing success in handling insurmountable world problems. Yet it seemed that most of the men of the press were concerned only with Watergate.

What a pity to have so many insignificant minds in the news media.

AGNES C. RYAN
Spring Lake Heights, N.J.

Sir / It is a sad legacy that President Nixon will leave the nation. It is a legacy of legal manipulation to avoid personal responsibility. If this example were followed by each citizen, the result would be catastrophic.

CHARLES R. TUHACEK
Parma, Ohio

Sir / Recent events have caused me to ponder these times at night. If I can't sleep, I don't bother counting sheep. Instead I count the guys who have gone from Nixon's herd in Washington.

ALLEN R. DERR
Boise, Idaho

Sir / President Nixon should definitely be impeached. Through his tyrannical arrogance of power and his blatant deception of the American public, he has canceled his mandate from the voters of 1972.

Many people argue against impeachment by saying it will set a dangerous precedent, leaving no future President safe from an impassioned Congress. If Nixon is not impeached, future Presidents, looking back on all Nixon got away with, will not hesitate to abuse power themselves. Why are we so afraid of impeachment? If something is sick, it has to be cured.

PETER J. SANTANA
Lemgo, West Germany

Calley's Freedom

Sir / Far be it from me to begrudge mercy to any Viet Nam veteran. Whatever has been his individual conduct, he has already suffered more than we. Nevertheless, it seems a bit inconsistent that Lieut. Calley [March 11] should be freed before those of his age group whose disobedience was prompted, at least in part, by distaste for shedding human blood.

SHIRLEY L. HOUDE
Shirley, Mass.

Sir / There are those of us in the professional officers' corps who view Mr. Calley (I cannot bring myself to call him lieutenant) as what he is: a convicted mass murderer. I was appalled when he was sentenced to only 20 years and angered when he was allowed to remain in his quarters at Fort Benning and enjoy "almost daily visits from his girl friend." That Calley now walks the streets of Columbus wearing the uniform that he has disgraced fills me with despair and disgust.

DOUGLAS S. THORNBLOM
Captain, U.S.A.
West Point, N.Y.

New Imperialist

Sir / Your article "The Arabs Are Coming" [March 11] is probably just another scare for Americans like "the Russians are coming." The Russians never did come, but the Japanese did and our economy is swimming in made-in-Japan products.

Now the Arabs are investing in America, and I hope that our cities will benefit from this new economic imperialist. After all, the Germans make the best cars, the Japanese the best electronic equipment, and if foreign industry runs its course, then the Arabs will have the plans for the future American cities.

GARY A. GIRASOLE
Atlanta

Greedy Needy

Sir / My sympathy goes to the Hearst family [March 11], who are suffering more than those "greedy needy" people who make pigs of themselves at the distribution centers. I see nothing being solved by giving food to people who will devour it in no time and return to their original state of hunger within a few days. Why must innocent American lives be endangered because of some radical terrorists who want things their way?

PAM BEMKO
Madrid

Why They Streak

Sir / The streaking fad is a response to the feminist movement in our country. The time has come when some men are beginning to feel the need to prove to themselves and to others that they are the leaders of the species. They have chosen the best possible way to show people that men and women are not equal. When women start wearing the pants, men start shedding them.

DENNIS M. VEALEY
New Rochelle, N.Y.

Sir / These poor dears simply want to show off their brains. They have got the notion from this generation of adults (including many parents and educators, movie and TV producers, editors and publishers) that the brain is not in the head at all—it is really down there below the belt.

A. DALE SMITH
Marion, Ind.

Sir / There are those of us who are too old, too shy or too chicken (and maybe too sensible?) to try streaking ourselves. So rather than be left out in the cold (figuratively streaking, of course), we naturally turn to streak jokes. Although habit-forming, there is no evidence that streak-joking is hazardous to your health. Examples:

Q. What did Nixon say when he caught Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Dean streaking through the Watergate complex?

A. Cover up!

Q. What do you call Congressman Carl Albert if he runs naked through the House of Representatives?

A. Streaker of the House.

Q. What's naked and runs across the desert?

A. The Streak of Araby.

BOBBI AND BOB FITZSIMMONS
Wiesbaden, West Germany

Sir / If done by Mr. Onassis it is a Greek streak, by any Welshman a leek streak. In the Middle East Henry Kissinger has doubtless seen a sheik' streak. Men of humble mien do a meek streak, while those running fully clothed through a nudist colony do a freak streak. If the act is performed in Bergdorf's, it is, no doubt, a chic streak. The solo act is a unique streak; a group performs a clique streak. The possibilities for streaking appear limitless.

PAUL COTTON
New York City

Meeting in Berlin

Sir / It might seem from your report on the death of Professor Satyendranath Bose [March 18] that he and Einstein never met.

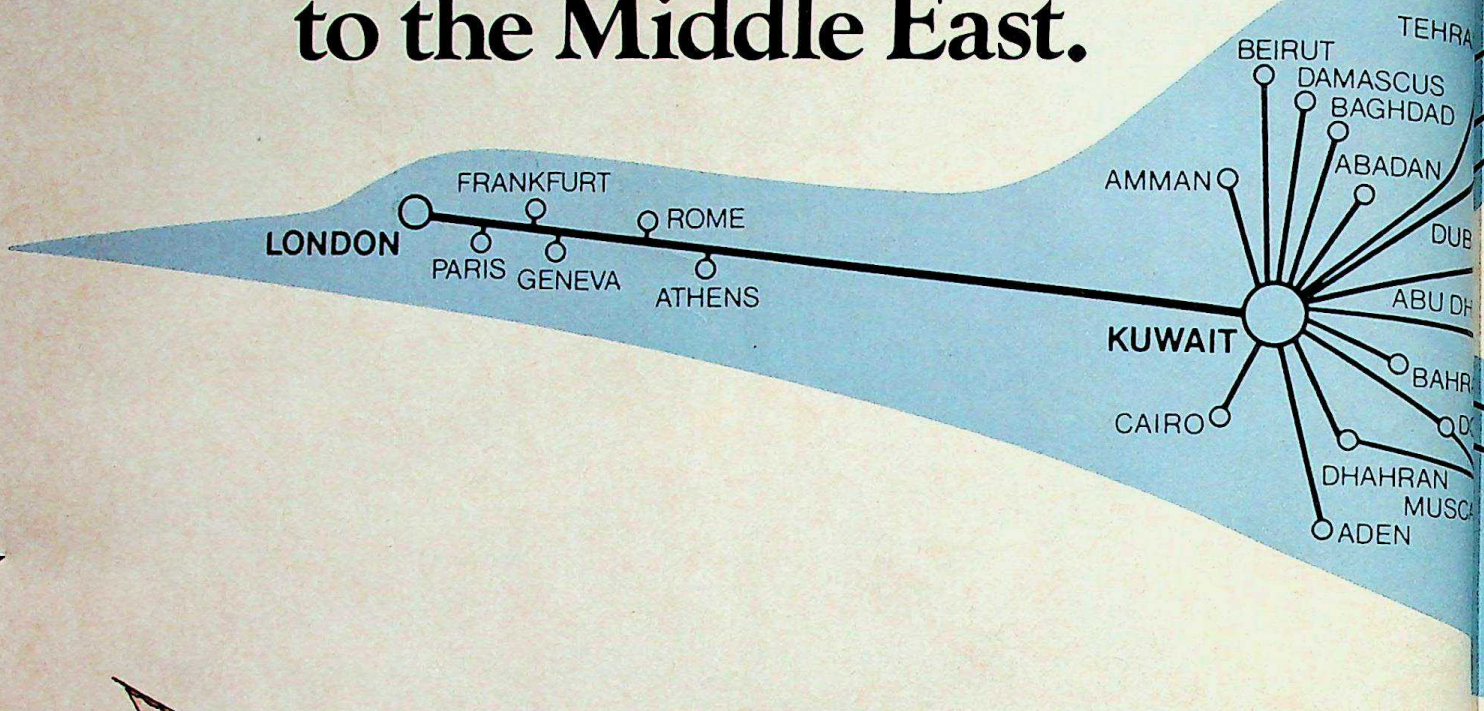
This is not correct. Professor Bose

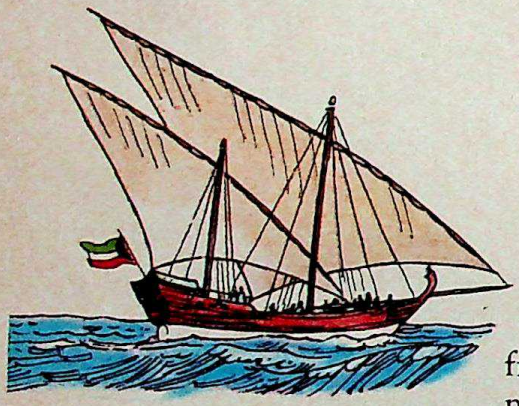
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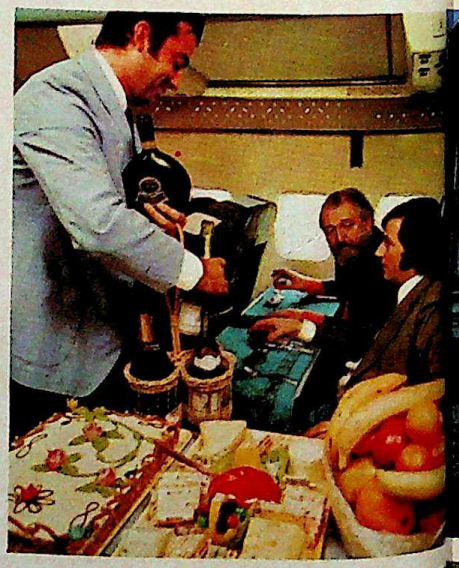
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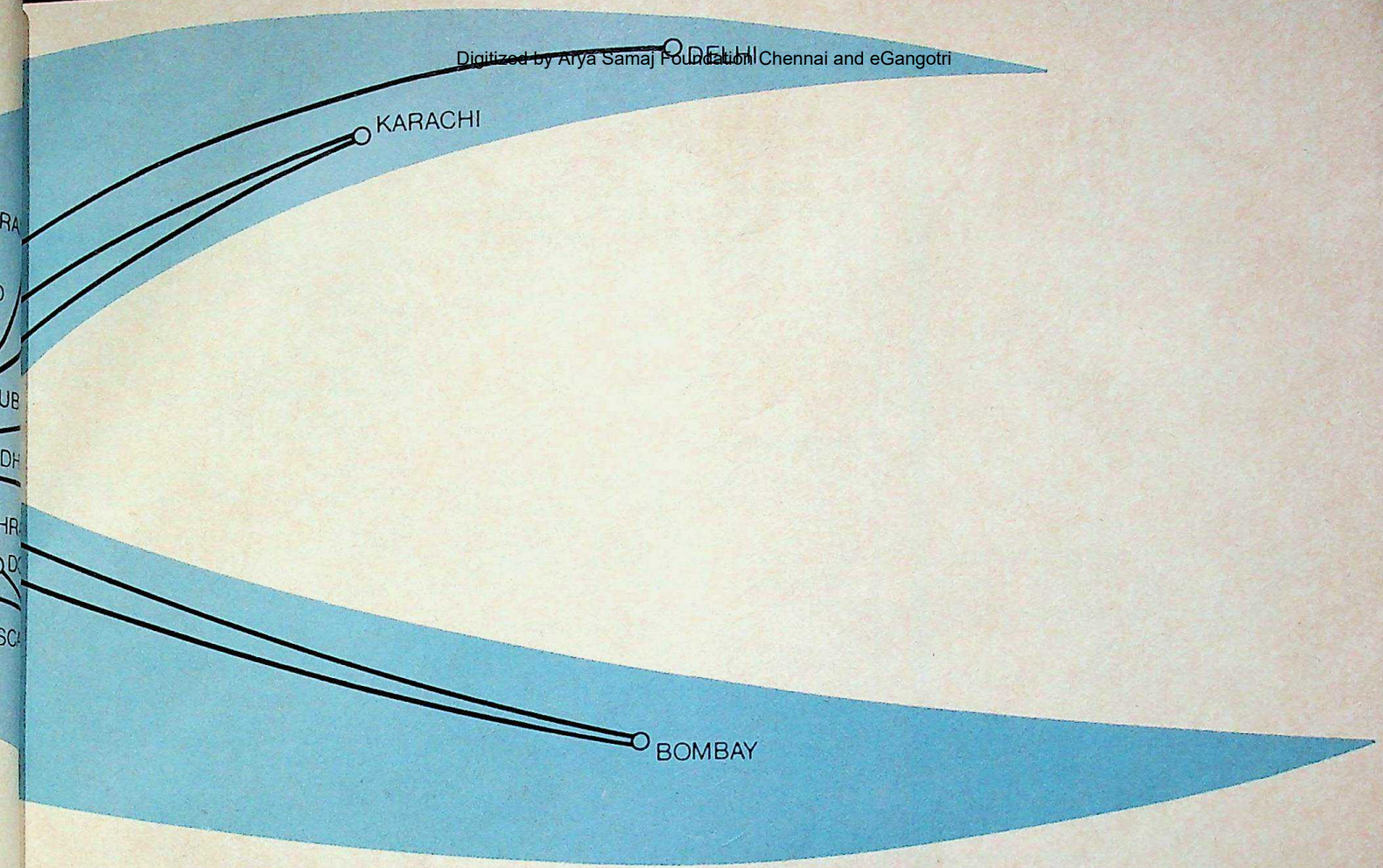
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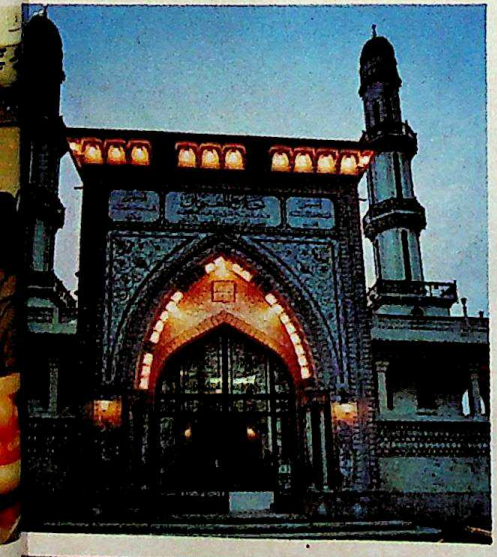




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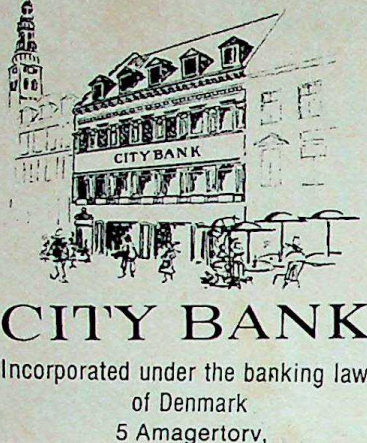
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wrote a paper on Einstein, and I am translating into English some relevant portions: "In 1925 I reached Berlin. At that time the Einstein family was living in a small apartment at 5 Heberlandstrasse. There I met Einstein several times, and we had discussions on many subjects. After 1925 I could not meet him again."

Professor Bose's paper on quantum physics was no collaboration with Einstein. It was an independent work, written in English, translated by Einstein into German, and published in *Zeitschrift für Physik*. Because the genius Einstein demonstrated its application, Bose statistics is also known as the Bose-Einstein theory.

B.P. MALLIK
Calcutta, India

Round the World

Sir / Your belittling comments on the round-the-world yacht race [March 11] are typical of the feeling in the U.S. today toward anything that is "not invented here." The exception is perhaps European and Japanese automobiles—for obvious reasons.

It is a strange European custom to undertake an occasional feat of endurance purely for the personal satisfaction and honor of taking part. Some are even willing to pay for the privilege.

I wonder how many American crews would have entered if there had been a $100,000 prize offered.

JOHN HANDSCOMBE
Dallas

Conflict and Confusion

Sir / Taking away Cardinal Mindszenty's position as Primate of Hungary [Feb. 18] will not soften the Communists' aversion to the church.

Catholicism has been able to survive through times of persecution because it was willing to stick to its principles. The Pope's decision is only adding conflict and confusion to the minds of Catholics and non-Catholics alike.

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Sharing the Bath

Sir / Re "Flubbing the Rub-a-Dub-Dub" [Feb. 11]: anyone imagining bathing together with one's mate as vulger can only be talking off the top of his head, and is not inventive enough to have thought of the idea himself. Sharing baths will get off surface dirt, but not the subterranean kind that lurks in the mores of society. Why do people consider vulgar or debasing the joint bathing of man and wife either in a tub or under a shower?

In their cooperative cleanliness, backs can be better cleaned and new conversation stimulated, which will without fail add more to the marriage rather than debase it. My Siamese wife and I have been showering/bathing together for five years now, and we still look forward to it each time (once a day). I think our bodies are quite clean, and our minds need not revert to guilt complexes or remarks of disdain for a healthy practice.

Long live the bathtub!

FRANK G. ANDERSON
Teheran

Address Letters to TIME Letters, Time & Life Building, 3-6, 2-chome Ohtemachi, Chiyodaku, Tokyo 100, Japan

The Basic Policy

Sir / After reading your article on Chi Ching-kuo [March 11], the present rule Taiwan, I must point out the following:

Although there might be a slight laxation in suppression of dissent in Tai the basic repressive policy toward intel tuals remains the same. The record of Kuomintang's dealing with the educate replete with harassment and imprisonm of dissidents. The main beneficiaries of economic growth are those who, in co sion with the government and foreign c cerns, exploit the cheap labor of Taiw workers. The recent increase in the pric basic commodities makes even the minim existence almost impossible.

JAMES C.H. WANG
New York City

Sir / Thank you for even a little good ne from Taiwan. Beside Nixon's and Kis ger's betrayal of that friendly country, W tergate is a peccadillo, though both imm ralities served the same end: winning in

VIRGINIA M. EDWARDS
Eldridge, Iowa

Solzhenitsyn as Dictator

Sir / It is clear from Solzhenitsyn's lat statement [March 11] that he approves totalitarianism. His quarrel is whether or others should do the dictating. Given views about Daniel Ellsberg and the Am ican worker, Solzhenitsyn does not sou like a very appealing dictator.

WILLIAM EASTLAKE
Tucson, Ariz.

Sir / History has shown that authoritaria ism and personal liberties are totally incon patible. Russian history is one long exam ple of authoritarian government and t resulting repression of personal liberti That Mr. Solzhenitsyn, who claims to be student of Russian history, is not opposi all authoritarian governments while adv cating the restoration of civil liberties to t Russian people, is a gross indictment of M Solzhenitsyn's intelligence.

A democratic government is the on environment in which personal liberties c survive. The establishment of a democra in Russia is the only hope for the exerci of personal liberties in Russia.

WAYNE H. MITCHELL
Springfield, Va.

Sir / At last we have the Man of the Centu —not of the Year. Alexander Solzhenits is a giant authentic hero in this era lacki such men. In spite of losing the country h loved, he screamed to the world of détent the truth. It is this kind of character th Kipling had in mind when he wrote "If."

VICTORIA EUNOUHIDOU
Thessalonike, Greece

A Special Friend

Sir / When T.S. Eliot [March 11] arrive on the Abbot Academy campus for an in promptu talk in 1952, the rumor of the da was that he was a "very special" friend Miss Emily Hale, our dramatics teache Since rumors are practically a national pa time at most boarding schools, imagine m surprise when you carried a picture of Em ly Hale as a lovely young woman and i deed a very special friend of Eliot's.

But Eliot's loss was Abbot's gain. Mi Hale nurtured and expanded our love f and understanding of the theater, which for one, needed at that time and still enjo

ANN KENNEDY IRISH
Harbor Springs, Mich.

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TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

Jerrold L. Schecter, now TIME's diplomatic editor, was a Nieman fellow at Harvard ten years ago when he first met Henry Kissinger. Schecter took Kissinger's seminar on defense policy, and their paths have crossed many times since in such faraway places as Shanghai and Cairo. Before accompanying his former professor to Moscow this week, Schecter filed much of the material for our cover story on the peripatetic Secretary's brand of diplomacy.

Schecter finds that the Secretary of State still bears a close personal resemblance to the Cambridge academic. "His ego is enormous, but his charm and grace are even greater. He likes to hear gossip about himself, he is complex, difficult and the best show in town." One element of the Kissinger act is to deflate formality. On President Nixon's trip to China, Kissinger brought on board the plane Vice Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua. In the press section, Kissinger told his guest: "That's Jerry Schecter of TIME. He's my favorite fiction writer."

ABBAS



MULLIKEN & SCHECTER NEAR CAIRO

Though a plum assignment for journalists, traveling with Kissinger is also a grind. State Department Correspondent John Mulliken, who has gone on three major journeys with the Secretary of State since September and contributed to this week's cover story, notes that a day of shuttle diplomacy often starts at 4 a.m. That is the hour that baggage must be ready for X-ray examination by the Secret Service. On board the plane, Kissinger routinely briefs correspondents but rarely allows himself to be quoted directly. "Of course," says Mulliken, "no one is fooled by the titles that are used in dispatches—a 'high U.S. official' or 'senior officials.' But that way Kissinger is protected during sensitive negotiations." The newsmen sometimes feel frustrated at their inability to check out facts with other sources at 30,000 ft. During the Aswan-Jerusalem shuttle last January, Mulliken and his colleagues raised the cry: "Free the Kissinger 14!"

In fact, Mulliken says, the correspondents revel in their bondage. Kissinger is usually candid and understands the role of the press. "To ask Kissinger to go on a trip without the press would be like asking Bob Dylan to perform without The Band," says Mulliken. In Kissinger's case, the star manages to entertain those providing the background music. In his German accent, he will start a discussion this way: "Never have I known so many secrets. Never have I had such influence on world events. Yet no one has tried to seduce me with beautiful women." After a suitable dramatic pause: "It kills me."

Ralph P. Davidson

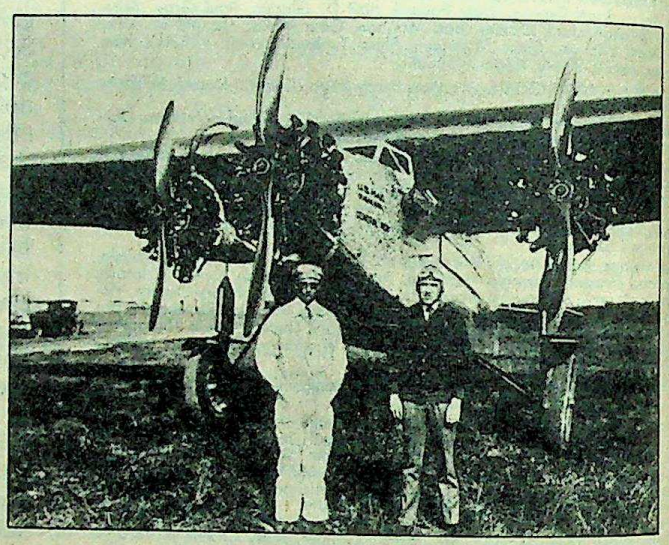
INDEX

Cover Story 8	Energy 33	Press 38
Essay 35	Law 46	Religion 40
	Letters 1	Science 48
Books 57	Market Week 47	Sexes 39
Cinema 55	Milestones 56	Sport 42
Economy & Business 50	Music 43	Television 54
Education 44	People 36	U.S. 20
		World 8

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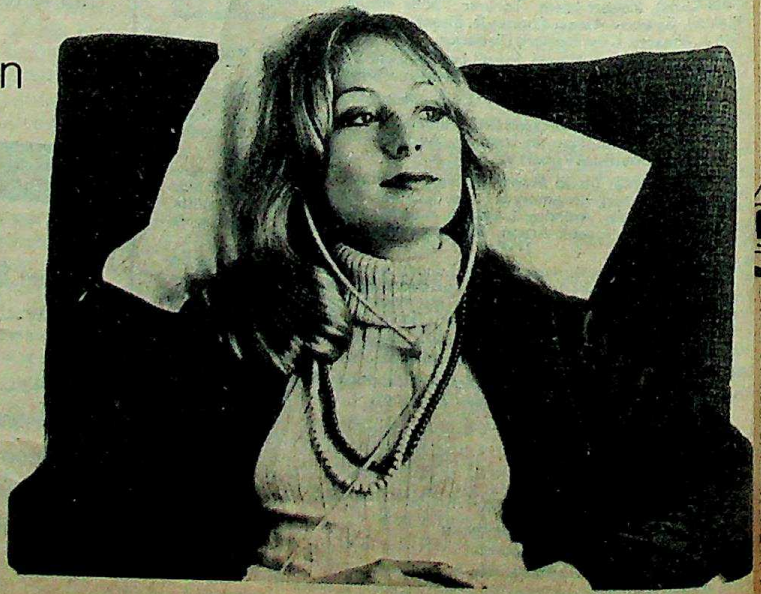


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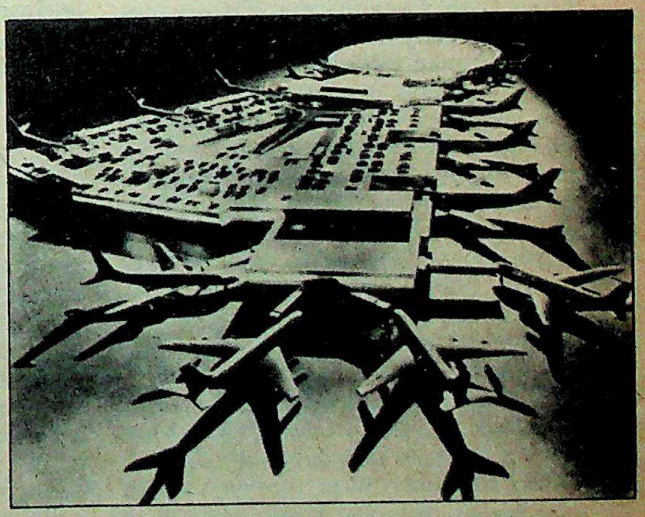
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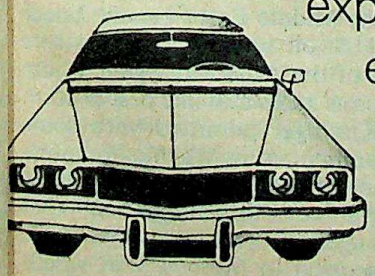
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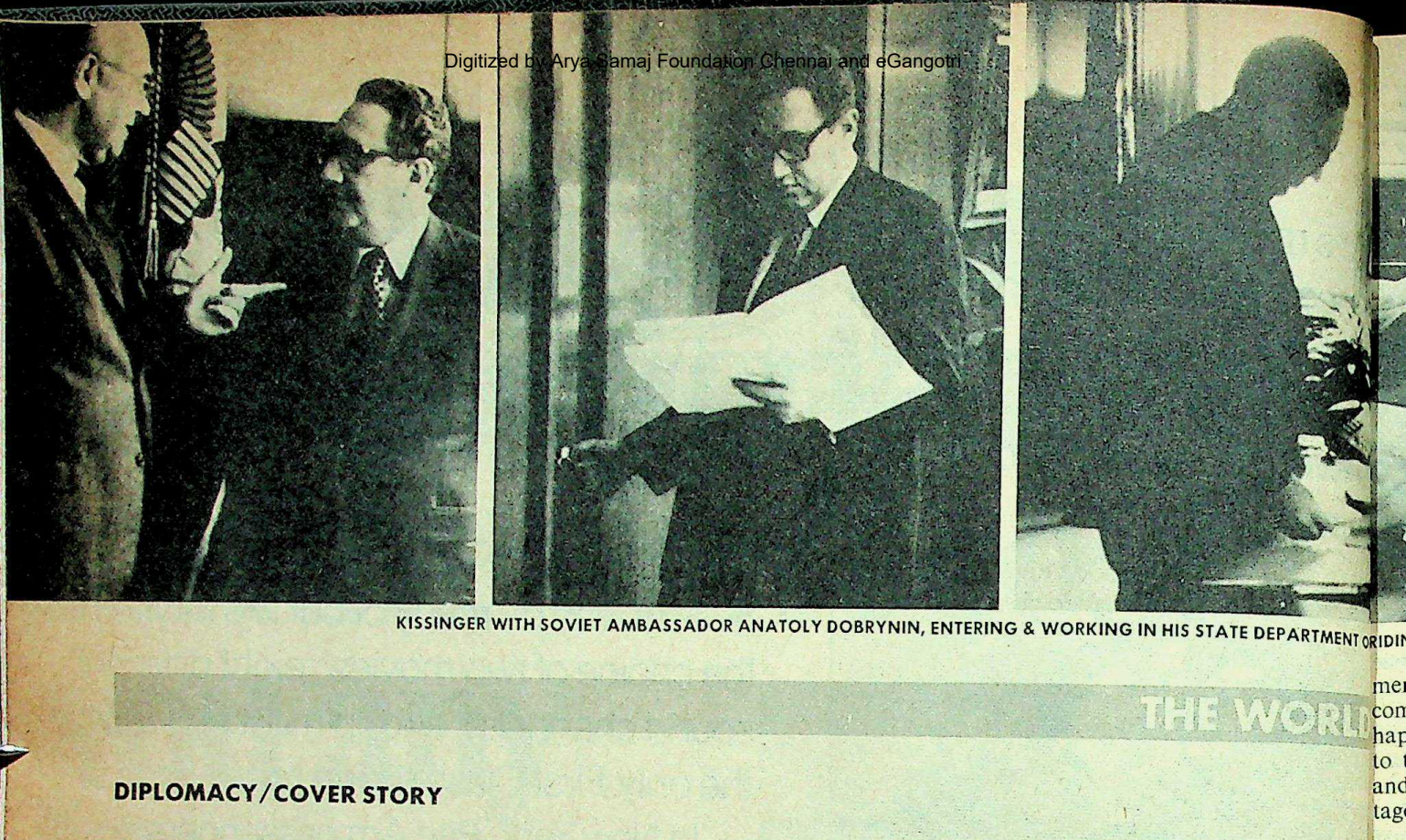


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KISSINGER WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR ANATOLY DOBRYNIN, ENTERING & WORKING IN HIS STATE DEPARTMENT ORIDIN

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DIPLOMACY/COVER STORY

Superstar Statecraft: How Henry Does I

By now the scene has been played so often—four trips to eleven nations in the past ten weeks alone—that it has taken on an atmosphere of, "If this is March, then it must be Moscow." The big, blue and white Boeing 707, with the seal of the President of the United States emblazoned on its door, wheels and whines to an airport ramp. As local officials rush forward, the door swings open, and out pops a wavy-haired, rather pudgy man (185 lbs. on a 5-ft. 8-in. frame), with the unmistakable aura of a true celebrity. Adjusting his glasses and his smile, the visitor speaks in a solemn baritone, the scholarly English sentences laced, to the puzzlement of some, with the Germanic accents of his native Fürth. But the audiences listen carefully. The hopes, fears and future of his own country and the world may well depend on whatever is about to transpire.

It is March, and it is Moscow. Early Sunday evening, *Air Force Two* was scheduled to roll up to a ramp at Vnukovo airport as U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, 50, arrived on his sixth and potentially most important visit to the Soviet Union since he became the foreign-policy plenipotentiary of Richard Nixon's Administration. In the Russian capital, the policymakers of the two ranking superpowers were to review a number of issues that affected not only East-West détente but the entire world. Items on the agenda:

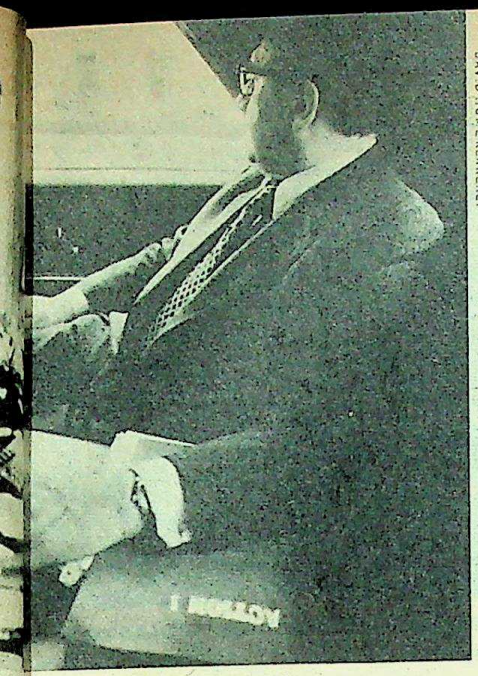
1) SALT II, or a continuation of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. Since the signing in May 1972 of the SALT I agreement, which limits offensive weapons and anti-ballistic missiles, the Soviets have tested four new intercontinental ballistic missiles and have developed their first submarine-launched multiple warhead missile. The Pentagon, meanwhile, as part of a record $85.8 billion budget request, included items to improve missile accuracy, guidance and control that are also meant to prod the Soviets into a formula for "essential equivalence" in missiles and payloads. At a predeparture press conference in Washington last week, Kissinger indicated that the two nations had passed the stage of technical exchanges and were "at the point where we should be making, or should be attempting, a conceptual breakthrough on arms limitation agreements."

2) TRADE. Both the Soviets and U.S. industry are anxious to increase U.S.-U.S.S.R. trade, but the credits and most-favored-nation status that Moscow seeks are both bottled up in Congress. Amendments to pending trade legislation, notably including one sponsored by Democratic Senator Henry ("Scoop") Jackson of Washington, tie M.F.N. status to a nagging political question and one which is directly tied to Jewish emigration to Israel—the right of Soviet citizens to leave the U.S.S.R. without harassment or penalties. Kissinger firmly insists that emigration is a domestic Soviet issue, and he has fought all efforts to tie it to the trade legislation that he considers essential to détente.

3) THE MIDDLE EAST. The two superpowers are at odds over how to achieve a peaceful resolution of Arab-Israeli hostilities. In a dazzling display of his personalized brand of "shuttle diplomacy," Kissinger successfully negotiated disengagement between Egypt and Israel. After his return from Moscow he will attempt to work out a similar agreement involving Israel and Syria, a considerably more difficult task. The settlement talks began last December in Geneva under joint Soviet-American auspices. But the Russians, who for years have been the chief arms suppliers to the Arab world, feel humiliated and embarrassed that they have seemingly contributed nothing to the shaping of a possible peace and that Kissinger has quickly made friends with Egypt, once a virtual Soviet client. Soviet resentment is visceral and obvious: last week pointed articles appeared in *Pravda* and other Soviet publications charging that Kissinger had negotiated disengagement not for the Middle East's benefit, but to protect U.S. oil sources. It was a rare criticism of the American agent whom the Russians know and like best of all.

As Kissinger admitted with some understatement at his Washington press conference, U.S.-Soviet relations have entered "a more difficult period." Beyond the agenda, there were other items to be discussed in Moscow that would make his trip particularly critical. In the course of his visit, as politely as possible, Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders were bound to ask critical questions that nag statesmen everywhere: can President Nixon survive Watergate, or should the Soviets prepare to deal with someone else? Kissinger's probable answer: Nixon will survive, but even if he does not, the institutional structure of the U.S. is strong enough to stand an impeach

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DAVID HUME KENNERLY

NT ORIDING TO THE WHITE HOUSE

ment trial, and the U.S. will fulfill its commitments to détente no matter what happens. Thus the Russians should look to their long-term interests in détente and not take a quick, dangerous advantage of a seeming American weakness.

For the President, who takes a special pride in his mastery of foreign policy, there may well be particularly poignant irony in the fact that Kissinger is now widely viewed as an autonomous operator who might well survive the collapse of the Nixon Administration. (Vice President Gerald Ford has made it clear that, should he become President, he would ask Kissinger to stay on.) Whatever private doubts Kissinger may have about Nixon's role in Watergate, he keeps them well hidden in public. Despite his immense prestige, the Secretary carefully preserves the ritual required of a subordinate who takes orders from a Commander in Chief. When in Washington, he consults daily with the President; on the road, he cables back reports and requests for foreign policy guidance when necessary.

Total Trust. Despite five years of close association, Kissinger and the President have a relationship that, in the view of White House observers, is best described as formal and correct rather than personal. Nixon's trust in Kissinger, on diplomatic issues, is total. The Secretary recognizes that the quickest way to lose his negotiating flexibility would be to exceed the President's instruction. Sums up Presidential Aide Alexander Haig: "I think the President considers Henry a unique national institution."

For Kissinger personally, the success of his Moscow trip is particularly crucial for the continuation of his grand vision of American policy, for the maintenance of the accomplishments he has both achieved and has still in the making. So swiftly and dramatically has the Secretary of State worked radical changes in U.S. diplomacy—détente with Moscow, friendship with Peking, progress toward a settlement in the Middle East—that he has acquired something of the mystique of a magician, pulling doves of peace out of a hat for a fascinated circle of world watchers.

Of late, however, the Kissinger magic has come under attack as a kind of international legerdemain that is at least partly mere illusion. Critics, including Scoop Jackson and liberal academicians, charge that détente has been unproductive, that Kissinger's personal style of diplomacy pays more attention to principals than principles, that he has neglected relations with such proven allies as Europe and Japan for deals with America's ideological enemies in Moscow and Peking. They are hard problems, partly because final judgments remain to be uncovered by events. Kissinger is a fast-moving target; aiming at him requires a long lead, and in a measure, he controls his trajectory.

The criticisms, voiced most loudly in recent weeks by Europeans *(see box page 10)*, represent a startling reversal for Kissinger. In an Administration marked by scandal, he has not only survived but prospered—a scholar, statesman and superstar who has done the seemingly miraculous for so long that it has become almost routine. Despite the new chorus of complaints and questioning, Kissinger today probably has more impact than any other person in the world. Quite possibly, he has now become the world's indispensable man.

According to a recent Gallup poll, Kissinger is the man Americans admire most in the world today. Abroad he has achieved the kind of celebrity status seldom enjoyed by anyone but top movie stars; in fact, he has become in some places almost a cult hero. His round, expressive face draws more instant recognition in many nations than even that of the local ruler. Government leaders, like so many shy fans, inveigle ways to be photographed with him. Arab sheiks, fascinated as much by the *machismo* image of his well-publicized dates with Actresses Jill St. John and Marlo Thomas as by his statesmanship, insist on being briefed by no one else. In Cairo he is referred to as "the American magician." Taxi drivers reverently point out to tourists the streets along which he has traveled, and when the car hits a pothole the cry is, "Where's Kissinger?"

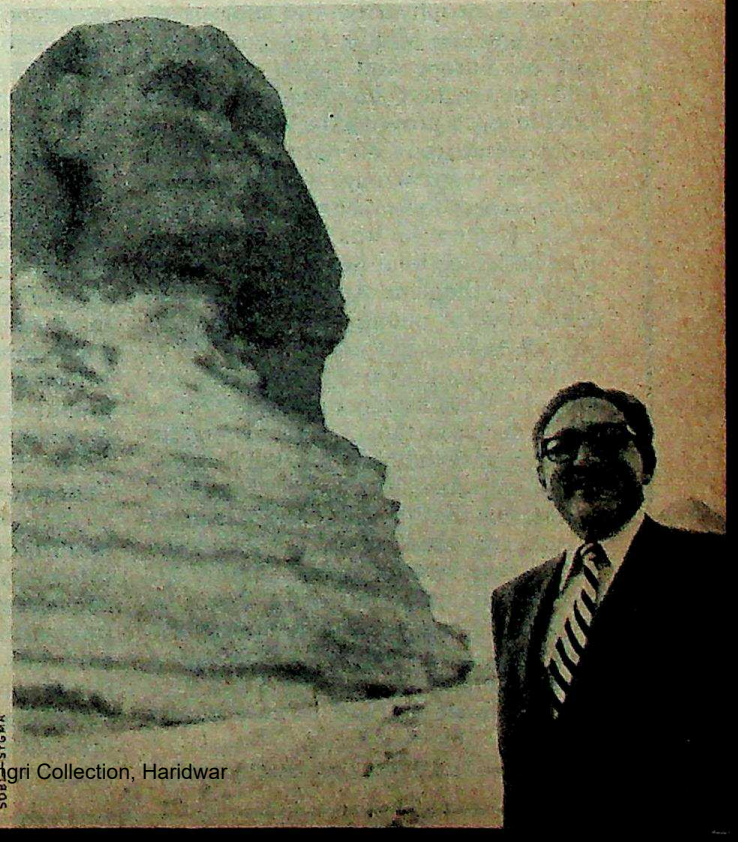
Meeting other Western Hemisphere foreign ministers in Mexico City recently, the Secretary of State was so sought-after by his Latin American counterparts that they even pursued him to the men's room to carry out impromptu discussions. *"Kissinger y Rabo en Potomac,"* headlined Mexico City's *Ovaciones*, after one such session involving Kissinger and Foreign Minister Emilio Rabasa.

One reason for Kissinger's exalted reputation as a wonder-worker, obviously, is the record of his diplomatic successes. Another is the fact that, with Richard Nixon hampered and crippled by Watergate, Kissinger increasingly looms as the architect as well as the voice of U.S. policy. That, of course, is not quite the case. Kissinger himself always makes it clear that the necessary thrust of the White House is behind his success, but the misperception is understandable. Still another reason is that Kissinger happens to be the right man in the right place at the right time. As London *Times* Foreign Editor Louis Heren recently put it: "Much of the world, East as well as West, hankers for Superman. The role was thrust upon him, although presumably he did not have to be persuaded." In fact, as Kissinger readily agrees, he did not.

Chain Reaction. Some tradition-oriented European diplomats insist that Kissinger's success is built mainly on naked power politics, as is Soviet foreign policy. "He is a troublemaker out of the 19th century," snaps a ranking French Gaullist. In fact, Kissinger has created a novel personal approach to diplomacy fashioned primarily out of self-confidence, charm, boundless energy, humor when applicable, and an ability to grasp what Kissinger, the once—and perhaps future—scholar, calls "the historical process."

Israel's Deputy Premier Yigal Allon, a friend and former student *(see box page 12)*, describes the triumph another way. "He does his homework," says Allon, who also admires Kissinger's "mastery of detail, quick mind and acute

THE SUPERSECRETARY VISITING THE SPHINX



SOBA SYGMA

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sense of timing." The success of the Secretary's "chain reaction" diplomacy is that Kissinger "manages to make you feel that he is listening to you with great understanding, and yet he is never soft. He does not antagonize you by coming with a specific plan, although I am sure he has his own ideas. He gives you the feeling that he really cares about you, your country, and the Middle East."

A man with a large measure of self-esteem—some critics call it egomania—Kissinger considers himself a statesman rather than a diplomat. Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's former Chief of Staff, as well as Ambassador to Washington and now Minister of Labor, recalls vividly Kissinger's own definition of the distinction: "The diplomat believes that an international conflict derives from misunderstanding. Therefore he seeks a verbal formula to overcome it. The statesman believes that conflict derives from a difference of interest and confrontation positions. Therefore he tries to change the realities on the ground."

The Secretary believes in taking what he calls a "conceptual approach" to negotiations: he tries to consider not problems or areas but the overall perspective. He carefully judges how far each side in his negotiations is prepared to go. He also tries to avoid getting bogged down in either minute detail or rhetorical polemics. A classic example: the Egyptian-Israeli disengagement negotiations, which climaxed with Kissinger, in his now famous shuttle diplomacy, making almost daily flights between Jerusalem and President Anwar Sadat's vacation retreat in Aswan.



KISSINGER EXCHANGING JOKES WITH EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT ANWAR SADAT AT SADAT'S HOME
Looking to the far target and paving the way.

The October war had ended with both armies hunkered down along the Suez Canal in a hazardous politico-military tangle. Kissinger began the negotiations on disengagement by going to each side and asking, in effect, "What would you like to get out of this situation? What are the minimum requirements with which you would be satisfied?" From then on, it was a matter of trying to reconcile the two positions, trying to make one side see and understand the other's conditions, suggesting sub adjustments here and there—all while keeping a basic concept in sight.

Kissinger himself appears to wo best when, rather like a playground ba ketball superstar, he can go one-on-o with a leader who shares his own se of geopolitical realities. "He alwa looks for the guy who can deliver," sa an aide who has sat in on many of Ki singer's negotiating sessions.

Kissinger's diplomatic success in t Middle East so far is due, in part, to t fact that the October war ended in stalemate, and both sides were psych

Henry's Seven Deadly Sins

When he joined the Nixon Administration in November 1968, Henry Kissinger was regarded in foreign policy circles as a neophyte on the subjects of China and the Middle East but an expert on Europe and NATO problems. And yet nowhere has Kissinger's diplomatic touch proved to be less sure than in the countries of his native continent.

What went wrong? Did the Europeans expect too much from Kissinger simply because he was born in Germany? Did he feel that he had to be "more American than the Americans," as one Dutch official put it, to prove that he was not "soft on Europe"?

In his remarks to the congressional wives in Washington this month, Kissinger declared that America's biggest problem was not its enemies but its "self-assertive" allies. But many European leaders feel that the U.S., and Kissinger in particular, deserve most of the blame for any deterioration in the Atlantic Alliance. The complaints can perhaps be summed up in a listing of what they regard, rightly or wrongly, as Kissinger's seven deadly sins:

I. He hath denied us any world role.

Many officials see the current imbroglio as a Kissinger tactic to stop Europe from playing any role at all in international affairs, outside of being simply an extension of U.S. foreign policy. Said one French diplomat: "Kissinger is attempting to bring the Nine into an Atlantic system whereby they will be able to take only decisions that are approved in Washington." Kissinger irritated European leaders in his Atlantic Charter speech last April when he stated that the nations of the Continent had only "regional" interests while the U.S. had "global" ones. He now seems to be denying them even a regional policy. If Europe cannot have a separate policy in the Middle East, where it has historical, geographical and economic ties, where can it ever have a separate policy?

II. He alone determineth the "common" interest.

Since the end of World War II, U.S. and European leaders alike have advocated a united Western Europe in the conviction that there would never be any transatlantic rupture on major policy issues. The theory was fine so long as the dominant issue was the Soviet threat to peace. But first détente and then the oil crisis have exposed the fallacy of that assumption. The Middle East is the strong est case in point. Europe is depende on the Arabs for 80% of its oil; befo the embargo, the U.S. imported on 11% from the Middle East. As a Bo official puts it: "For the U.S., the Mi dle East is one conflict among othe all of which are equally far away fro Washington. But for Europe, the Mi dle East conflict is on its doorstep a a direct threat to its security."

III. He hath interfered in our d cision-making.

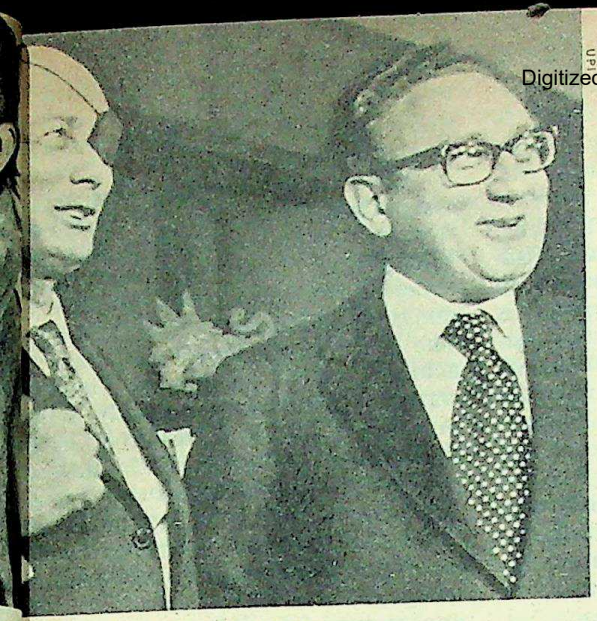
To the Europeans, Kissinger's co plaints that there has been "insufficien consultation look like an attempt to i terfere in an already difficult decisio making process. The political situatio in NATO and the Common Market rather similar to what the U.S. wou have to endure if it had a Cabinet that in cluded, say, Edward Kennedy, Bar Goldwater, George McGovern an George Wallace, each with his own co stituency, sitting down and trying reach a consensus. If they allow the U to take part in major decisions, Eur peans contend, the Americans would vide them. Says West German Foreig Minister Walter Scheel: "We cann have Americans at the table. No E ropean sits in the State Department."

IV. He doth form a condominiu with the Soviet Union.

This is a familiar argument on t

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WITH DEFENSE MINISTER DAYAN
"Moshe," and "Yigal" but "Eban."

logically ready for some kind of settlement. The situation was tailor-made for Kissinger: the Israelis, from sad past experience, greatly distrust the United Nations, and the Russians, besides being wholly committed to the Arab cause, had no diplomatic relations with Israel. But to make progress Kissinger also had to deal with an Arab leader who possessed both courage and imagination. Egyptian President Anwar Sadat turned out to be that kind of man.

Last October, for instance, Sadat took a major political risk by tolerating the encirclement of Egypt's Third Army by Israeli forces in the Sinai. Moved to act when Israeli troops violated the Oct. 22 cease-fire and surrounded the city of Port Suez. Sadat's restraint allowed Kissinger to make a convincing case to the Israelis that Egypt really wanted an agreement.

Kissinger considers Sadat the outstanding Arab leader, "a man of vision and courage, not concerned about standing up against enormous difficulties." Egypt's President enthusiastically returns the praise. As Sadat told TIME in a recent interview, "He is a very good man. For the first time, you have a real politician as Secretary of State. He is a man of vision and also a strategist. Above all, he is a man of his word."

Another Middle Easterner who seems to have a conceptual knack for successful bargaining is Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan. He handled many of the negotiations with Sadat —through Kissinger, of course—and has been designated Israel's representative in the disengagement talks with Syria that will begin in Washington this week. Another Kissinger favorite, surprisingly enough, is French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert, who has been the Secretary's most acerbic critic in European assemblies. Kissinger's superlatives, though, are saved for Chinese Premier Chou En-lai, whom he describes as "the greatest statesman of our era."

In forging Washington's new links with Peking and establishing a personal rapport with Chou, Kissinger shrewdly capitalized on China's fears of Soviet expansionism. Timing, Kissinger readily concedes, has always played a large part in his success as a statesman. But says one Washington friend and admirer: "Sure, a lot of doors open for him, but he walks through them with class."

Flexible Tactician. Kissinger approaches negotiations, not as a lawyer trying to dispose of a case, but as an intellectual and historian. His thorough steeping in the facts about a country and its problems seldom fails to impress government leaders. Although a flexible tactician, he will, if necessary, present a proposal over and over in hopes of getting it accepted. In Paris during 1972, negotiating an end to U.S. participation in the Vietnamese war, Kissinger often worked double sessions, seeing the North and South Vietnamese separately and at length in search of ways to bring the two antagonists closer. He established a respectful relationship with Hanoi's chief representative Le Duc Tho, despite his exasperation with the doggedly hortatory North Vietnamese approach to negotiations.

Kissinger has a finely tuned sense of hierarchy and addresses those he deals with in subtly differing

part of the French: East's is East's and West's is West's; the Soviet Union and the U.S. are seeking, as did Napoleon and Russian Emperor Alexander III, to divide up Europe into spheres of influence. The French fear is widely shared. Many diplomats worry that Kissinger is using the European nations as pawns in what French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert calls the U.S. "adversary-partnership" relationship with the Soviet Union. Indeed, some Europeans are now convinced that the latest diplomatic crisis was deliberately staged by Kissinger to forestall the creation of a potential rival to the U.S.-U.S.S.R. condominium—namely a united Europe.

V. He doth distort the military situation.

Europeans are tired of listening to first the pleas and now the threats of Washington to pull out its troops, while the U.S. ignores the fact that 300,000 Americans are in Europe primarily to act as an advance guard for U.S. defense. American forces are not in Europe out of charity: the Pentagon would clearly prefer that Berlin be the battleground in a potential encounter with the Soviet Union rather than Boston. Says Jobert: "In all frankness, if it is in the interest of the U.S. to remain in Europe, it will remain here. If it is not in its interest, it will leave."

VI. He hath fabricated this political crisis.

Kissinger's outburst against the European decision to go ahead with a conference with the Arabs on the plane flying back from the NATO meeting in Brussels, and his follow-up statements, are seen as deliberate provocations. What makes the Europeans so sure that it is staged is that the theatrics are out of all proportion to the problem. As a French official put it: "Why is it so vital for the U.S. if Europe takes a [separate] position in the Middle East?" Europeans argue that any conference with the Arab nations on the oil crisis is most unlikely to upset Kissinger's peace negotiations. Besides, the conference is tentative at best and far in the future. So how, then, could it threaten to unravel Kissinger's foreign policy?

VII. He hath demonstrated to us our weakness.

The sin that the Europeans will never forgive, and rarely admit, is that by demanding so much of Europe Kissinger has shown how weak it really is. After all the flowery rhetoric about European unity by 1980, the nine nations of the Common Market have failed the test of their first serious external challenge and fallen back to squabbling among themselves. Former French Premier Maurice Couve de Murville believes that the end result of the Nixon-Kissinger salvo will be more disarray for Europe in the years to come. "But it's most probably what Kissinger wants," he said. "We never seriously believed that the U.S. was interested in a united Europe anyway."

HERBLOCK—WASHINGTON POST



"It's from Europe. They're thinking about having a 'Year of the United States.'"

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REBERO—CAMERA 5

PARTYING WITH FAVORITE DATE NANCY MAGINNES
Chess with Buchwald, dinner at the Bradens'.

ways. When he meets Israeli leaders, for instance, Kissinger calls Golda Meir "Madame Prime Minister," while Dayan and Allon are always "Moshe" and "Yigal." Foreign Minister Abba Eban, by contrast, is simply "Eban." Explains one participant in their talks: "For Mrs. Meir he has high respect, with Dayan good rapport, with Allon comradeship. With Eban there is not much more than a colleague-to-colleague relationship, since Eban is the silent man on the team who does not have much to say." Although Sadat addresses his "dear friend" as "Henry," Kissinger calls the Egyptian leader "Mr. President."

Once he begins negotiations, the particular Kissinger mystique begins to operate, and that in itself is almost a harbinger of success. Wit and humor are key weapons. After many years of conferences and confrontations, he has even relaxed poker-faced Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to the point that they can kid each other about the recording devices hidden in rooms they are using.

During one sensitive stage of last fall's disengagement negotiations, Kissinger felt that the Israelis were trying to propose more than the Egyptians were prepared to consider. He advised the Israelis to hold back a bit. When an edgy Cabinet minister declared that it would be wrong to offer less than Israel was genuinely willing to concede, Kissinger smiled and answered: "Don't push it. Be despicable—like me." He feels that tension-easing banter can often help negotiations proceed smoo which may explain in part his lac success with relatively humorless anese diplomats.

Once talks begin in earnest, h ever, Kissinger can become deadl rious and wholly pragmatic. Says Middle Eastern diplomat: "He does make value judgments. The question him is not who is right and who is wr The question is what in reality ca achieved under the prevailing circ stances." Kissinger frequently st manages negotiations to produce right kind of "atmospherics." Said ta Rica's Foreign Minister Gon Facio, after the Mexico City confere "When he has a tough response, he it on gently but clearly. But when has good news, he warms up like a ennese good fairy, all sugar plums *Schlag* [whipped cream]."

Five-Minute Deal. The *Schla* more than topping. In Geneva last cember, Egypt almost scotched the meeting of the U.N.-sponsored t with Israel on disengagement by obj ing to the seating arrangements. Egyptians demanded an empty table tween themselves and the Israelis distance, with the Israelis sitting nex the Americans like satellites. The Isr lis bluntly refused. At that point, rec

Kissinger's Old-Boy Network

While on a visit to Washington, D.C., a few years ago, Israeli Knesset Member Gad Yaacobi picked up his hotel telephone early one morning and dialed the White House. Asking for Henry Kissinger's office, Yaacobi identified himself and explained that he would like to drop by to talk to the President's foreign policy adviser. Normally, such a request from a relatively unimportant visitor would be brushed aside as an intrusion on Kissinger's carefully rationed time. Yaacobi's appointment, however, was promptly arranged for 4 p.m. that same day. Recalling the incident last week with a grin, Yaacobi explained: "I guess that's what you call having an in."

Like Yaacobi, several dozen other non-Americans have a similar in with the U.S. Secretary of State. They are alumni of Harvard University's six-week summer International Seminar, run by Kissinger for 18 consecutive summers, until he joined the White House staff. Each year he selected about 40 men and women from abroad who had already started their careers and who, he figured, might eventually become leaders in their own countries.

Kissinger chose well: among the graduates of his seminars are Belgium's prospective Prime Minister Leo Tindemans, West German Minister for Economic Cooperation Erhard Eppler, Israeli Deputy Premier Yigal Allon, South Korean former Prime Minister Chung Il Kwon, Japanese Minister of Trade and Industry Yasuhiro Nakasone, Norwegian Foreign Minister Knut Frydenlund, and such prominent nongovernment figures as West German Editor Theo Sommer and British Historian Michael Foot.

In conversations with TIME correspondents last week, many of Kissinger's "old boys" remembered him as a reserved, hard-working scholar without flamboyance. Belgium's former Finance Minister André Vlerick (seminar of '53) recalled: "Henry Kissinger was very shy and timid. He was self-conscious about being considered a foreigner by the Americans."

■

While some alumni recall that Kissinger at times was overbearing and a stickler for rules, none deny his unmistakable intellectual brilliance. A European student of Kissinger's in 1962 who is now a senior official in his own country remembers that "one had to be alert in Kissinger's class or else one would be pushed quickly against the wall. The seminars were fencing matches, one hit after the other. His strong weapon in arguing was irony. We all loved it. He was never boring, always relating to what was actually happening."

Some former students occasionally dig out their old seminar notebooks for insight into Kissinger's current policies. Yaacobi says that his 1967 notes conta "a very precise plan of what subseque ly happened in America's relations w China, Viet Nam, Russia and the Mi dle East." Tindemans feels that Was ington's present difficulties with Euro were anticipated by Kissinger in 19 "He realized that Europe would want take an independent stand, but warn that Europe must accept the cons quences of its policy."

Many former students claim th their exposure to Kissinger in the se inars has helped them to understa certain key elements in his approa to foreign policy: an undisguised d dain for bureaucracy, an impatien with utopian ideas, and an ability view power relationships unencumber by ideology. Several former students r marked that Kissinger had no appare heroes, and that his supposed adm ration for Metternich has been co siderably exaggerated. Some Asian ar Middle Eastern students criticize hi on the grounds that he viewed the wor in European terms and understood li tle about the Third World.

Like most teachers, Kissinger pleased to see his former students su ceed. At diplomatic receptions, he e joys greeting foreign officials as "my o student." He must have been especial delighted at the opening of last year Middle East peace conference in Gen va, where Tahseen Basheer was th Egyptian spokesman and his Israe counterpart was Meron Medzini. Bo are Kissinger alumni.

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one participant, Kissinger "entered the room smiling and cracking jokes. He exclaimed what a pleasure it was to see Abba Eban. (They had breakfasted together.) Grabbing Eban by an elbow, Kissinger took him aside. The Egyptians were in a bind, Kissinger explained. They were embarrassed because the Syrians had refused to join the talks and needed to avoid the appearance of being too easy with the Israelis. Would the Israelis consent to make some adjustments in the seating? 'You don't like the empty table? No? What about another plan, an arrangement that would place the Israelis between the Russians and the U.N. delegation?' If the Israelis agreed, he would try the idea on the Egyptians. In five minutes, a deal was reached, and the talks moved ahead with the Israelis next to the Soviets and the Egyptians alongside the Americans in a symbolically important game of political musical chairs. The ice had been broken largely by Kissinger's warm personality and, even in this relatively minor dispute, his accurate sensing of what each side could or could not yield on."

Background Music. As part of his "atmospherics," Kissinger at times unabashedly uses the American press corps that travels with him aboard Air Force Two. During the shuttle flights between Jerusalem and Aswan in January, which eventually led to disengagement along the Suez Canal, the press was an integral part of Kissinger's diplomatic gap closing. Whenever he was asked how far along the negotiations had come, Kissinger would answer, "Oh, 60% completed." The next time it was 75% and the next 90%. As the two sides kept reading these daily stories, they could not help being nudged into believing that a settlement was nearly at hand. "He played the press like a cello," recalls one reporter. "We created all the background music he needed."

In return for such orchestration, however, Kissinger is more available to journalists than any other major figure in the Nixon Administration and more open than any other Secretary of State in recent years. On long flights aboard Air Force Two he will wander into the press section to trade news or simply chat. At such moments he is unprofessionally informal and often brutally candid in his assessment of the leaders he has just talked to. Shirt open, stomach bulging, he will complain: "When I negotiate I get nervous, and when I get nervous I eat. When I get rid of this Arab-Israeli thing, I am going to weigh 350 lbs." Newsmen enjoy the proximity to Kissinger and the thoroughness of his briefings, but they also complain that he can occasionally be devious. Despite promises to the contrary, he has yet to reveal the reasons that he says required a worldwide U.S. alert during the latest Middle East war.

These days, Kissinger does much of his socializing aloft. Since becoming Secretary of State, he has cut down on his after-hours activities in Washington. He studiously avoids cocktail parties; if forced to attend, he abstemious Kissinger (who does not smoke) will sip unconvincingly at a glass of wine or champagne. When he does relax, it is within a small circle of friends. They include the writing Alsop brothers (Stewart and Joseph), Humorist Art Buchwald (a regular chess partner) and Columnist Tom Braden and his wife Joan. A pleasant evening for the capital's most sought-after guest may include nothing more than dinner at the Bradens' with "favorite date" Nancy Maginnes, a Nelson Rockefeller aide, followed by the home screening of a movie.

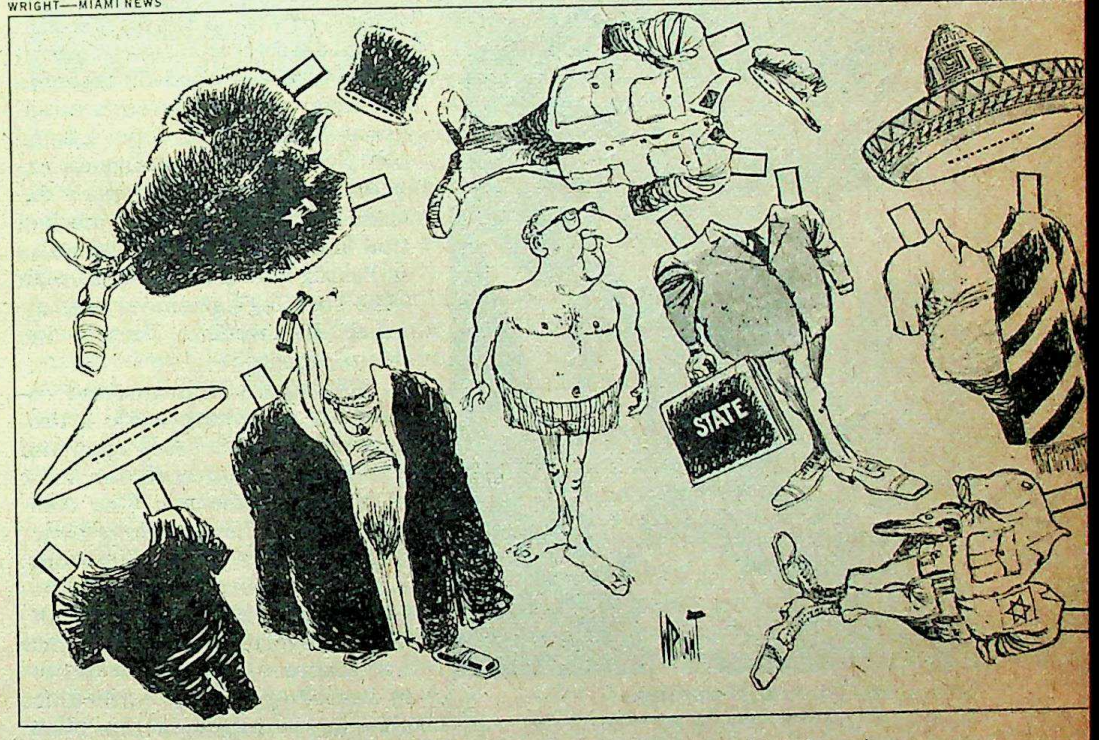
The Secretary's two children, Elizabeth, 15, and David, 12—he was divorced in 1964—live with their mother in Belmont, Mass. This week while they are on spring vacation, they will get a treat that any school child would envy. Kissinger is taking them to Moscow.

Lately, most of the Secretary's meals have been either on the road or in his private State Department dining room, where he has played host to such official guests as Israel's Eban or Jordan's King Hussein. At least once a week he will have breakfast with Defense Secretary James Schlesinger. Both men insist that they have a healthy working relationship based on mutual respect. "Schlesinger and I are closer together on strategic policy than any other Secretaries of State and Defense since Dean Acheson and Robert Lovett," Kissinger insists. "We have no basic differences on strategic policy, although we may have some tactical differences."

Kissinger's grueling workday begins shortly before 8 o'clock, when he leaves his town house overlooking Rock Creek Park for the White House. Normally, he spends the morning there and the rest of the day, which often does not end until midnight, at his State Department office. When he is not traveling, Saturdays and many Sundays are workdays, not only for Kissinger, but for much of his staff as well. "It takes a hyperthyroid condition, an iron will and, somewhere down the list, intelligence," says one assistant. "Fortunately, Henry has all three." His aides are not quite so well endowed with stamina. They can hardly wait until early April, when the boss plans a ten-day vacation in Acapulco.

One reason for Kissinger's exhausting routine is that he still serves as presidential adviser for national security affairs and National Security Council chairman as well as Secretary of State. Another reason is that since moving to Foggy Bottom, Kissinger, between overseas trips, has been attempting to overhaul the creaky machinery of the U.S. State Department. Some staffers complain that Kissinger is too aloof and fails to delegate enough authority. On the other hand, notes Ambassador-at-Large

WRIGHT—MIAMI NEWS



Robert McCloskey, 51, "there is a sense of excitement among the professionals. Kissinger's coming has made them feel not only on center stage but also part of the decision-making process."

Answering Cables. Kissinger has gathered an energetic, able team of aides and advisers, including Winston Lord, 36, head of his planning and coordination staff, Department Counselor Helmut Sonnenfeldt, 47, Executive Assistant Lawrence Eagleburger, 43, and Press Aide George Vest, 55. He has begun to pluck more talent out of the State Department to augment this group. Assistant Secretary of State Joseph J. Sisco, 54, the longtime Middle East expert, was persuaded to back out of a college presidency (Hamilton College in upstate New York) and was promoted to the No. 3 spot, Under Secretary for Political Affairs. The No. 2 job of Deputy Secretary is held by an able former Ambassador to Bonn, Kenneth Rush, 64, who oversees administration.

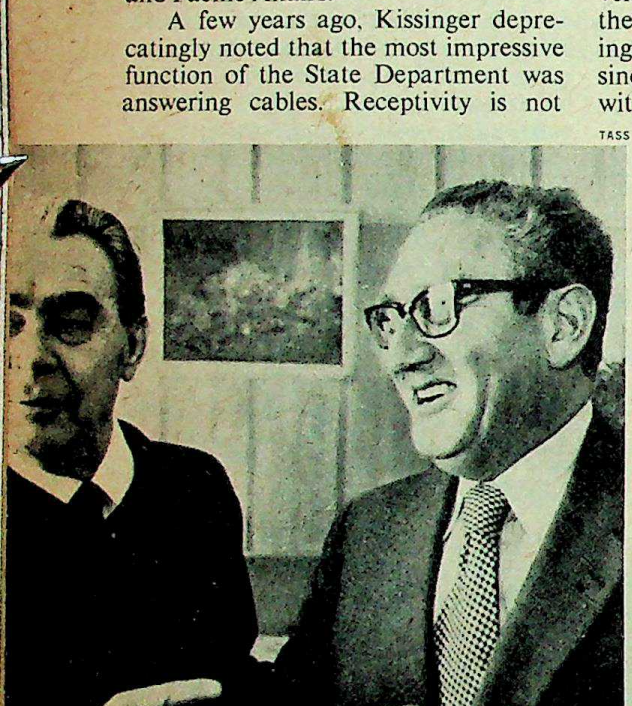
At the regional level, Arthur Hart-

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man, 48, a Kissinger favorite, was recruited from the U.S. Mission to the European Community to oversee European affairs as Assistant Secretary. Sisco's old job of Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs was last week given to his capable longtime assistant, Alfred ("Roy") Atherton, 52. Jack Kubisch, 52, who was in the Paris embassy during Kissinger's secret sessions with Le Duc Tho, now runs Inter-American Affairs. Robert Ingersoll, 60, who tried conscientiously to patch up U.S.-Japanese relations as best he could as Ambassador to Japan, was called home from Tokyo five months ago to become Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

A few years ago, Kissinger deprecatingly noted that the most impressive function of the State Department was answering cables. Receptivity is not



TASS

WITH SOVIET PARTY BOSS BREZHNEV
Rare criticism from Moscow.

enough, and no longer is the department allowed to wait for things to happen and then figure the best way out. All of State's bureau heads have been given the same mandate from Kissinger: to define precisely the foreign policy options in their areas. One sign of Kissinger's progress in trying to vitalize the department: ambassadors who formerly went to the White House for information on foreign policymaking are calling again at State.

The foreign service has so far not shown as much Kissinger imprint, partly because Kissinger does not always have the final say in the selection of ambassadors. Two important posts, however, have been filled during Kissinger's tenure as Secretary with promising results. In Egypt, where President Sadat has resumed diplomatic relations that were broken off by the 1967 war, Careerman and Arabist Hermann Eilts, 52, like Kissinger an emigrant from Germany in his youth, has assumed the re-established ambassador's post.

Last December, Walter Stoessel, 54, formerly Ambassador to Warsaw, was named Ambassador to Moscow. Secretary Kissinger is not permitted to do to Stoessel what Presidential Adviser Kissinger did to Stoessel's predecessor, Jacob Beam: in 1972, while he was negotiating détente with the Kremlin, Kissinger sneaked into Moscow without even telling Beam that he was coming, or why.

Open Target. Kissinger's passionate concern for secrecy, indeed, is one of the things for which he is most often faulted by his critics. Kissinger's treatment of Beam in Moscow may have been humiliating, but at least it had no adverse effect on U.S.-Soviet relations. On the other hand, relations between Washington and Tokyo have gone awry ever since Kissinger went to Peking in 1971 without telling former Japanese Premier Eisaku Sato what was afoot with Sato's Chinese neighbors. Even if rumors of Nixon's proposed visit had leaked, some critics say, it would have been less damaging in the long run than Japan's subsequent loss of face. One specific complaint of U.S. intelligence experts who resent Kissinger's excessive sense of secrecy: the fact that information about his talks in Peking with Chinese Chairman Mao Tse-tung have never been allowed to circulate beyond the White House.

Kissinger's eminence and visibility as a ranking world statesman make him a fairly open and obvious target for criticism, some of it valid, some not. One complaint is that he gets along better with dictators than democrats. Kissinger replies, "Our initial negotiations were directed to authoritarian governments because that was where we faced the danger of war. Negotiations with allies are more complex in this phase of the development of Western democracies but in the long run more important."

The most trenchant criticism, however, comes from old academic colleagues who question his intensive use of personal diplomacy. The University of Chicago's Hans Morgenthau worries that Kissinger will be constricted in whatever else he does by an obsession with preserving détente. Harvard Professor of Government Nadav Safran, who otherwise gives Kissinger's performance high marks, suggests that "perhaps a less interesting Secretary of State might delegate authority so that various people would be running various problem areas simultaneously."

More than one critic recalls that it was Kissinger himself, in the spring 1966 issue of the quarterly magazine *Daedalus,* who wrote: "The statesman is suspicious of those who personalize foreign policy, for history teaches him the fragility of structures dependent upon individuals."

With that dogma in mind, the K singer critics contend that his pench for building a policy on personal ra port can sometimes be a barrier to sha ing objective policies. Some feel th Washington's tilt toward Pakistan d ing the 1971 Bangladesh war was m tivated as much by Kissinger's (and N on's) dislike of Indian Prime Minis Indira Gandhi as by the fact that t eager Pakistanis were assisting Wa ington in its overtures to Peking.

In the Middle East, claim the cr ics, there is a built-in peril in Kiss ger's approach to negotiations. Pea complains one U.S. observer, "is be built on confidence in Kissinger as a g between. There isn't any systema method." Sadat has put absolute tru in Kissinger's ability to achieve Egyp goals. For the sake of the Egyptian Pre ident, who cannot stay out ahead of t rest of the Arab world in dealing with I rael for too long, the Secretary must t to win results fairly soon. But the Mi dle Eastern tangle is not easily unra eled, and Kissinger, in the end, may n be able to deliver. If this happens, or Middle East negotiations are not co cluded before he leaves office, the res might be a backlash of resentme against the U.S. for betraying a trust.

Flight Bag Diplomacy. Asked comment on his opponents, Kissing answers with a smile, "Anyone who cri icizes me cannot be in good faith." H serious answer is that it was not choi but necessity that has forced him to co duct so much foreign policy out of h own flight bag. How, he asks, would more conventional approach ha worked better? His activities thus fa both as Presidential Adviser and Se retary of State, involved what Kissing refers to as "crisis management," an he stoutly defends the results: "The Mi dle East is very complex, and it still potentially explosive. Our relations wi China are solid. Viet Nam has held t better than I thought. In Europe, we w come out of the latest blowup mu stronger because we will bring issu that have been disentangled back in some political focus."

The magician's subjects, howeve are by no means docile: he still faces p tential setbacks in détente, the Midd East, Europe—and Washington, whe impeachment could undo much of wh he hoped to accomplish. But if the cr ses ever fade, Kissinger hopes to shi so to speak, from defense to offense. H wants to do nothing less than rebui the national foreign policy consens that was fragmented first by Viet Na and then by Watergate. His aim, in world where Kissinger sees conflict the norm, is to define U.S. foreign po icy goals so clearly that future Admi istrations will have no difficulty unde standing what they are. If that happen what is good for America will inevit bly be good for Henry Kissinger. He w have become more than a second Me ternich; he will be the first statesman nuclear diplomacy.

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BRITAIN

Terror on a London Mall

To Britons, assassination is a foreign word, a foreign act.

Author Brian McConnell wrote that sentence in a 1969 book called *Assassination*, and he did so with considerable evidence to back it up: though shooting incidents had been gradually increasing in Britain, guns and political terrorism were still notably scarce in British life. One evening last week in London, McConnell was given a persuasive reason to reconsider his analysis. As he was riding in a cab near Buckingham Palace, a white British Ford in front of him veered to the left, forcing a maroon Austin Princess limousine to a halt. On top of the limousine, visible from front and rear, was a shield displaying the royal coat of arms. Inside were Princess Anne and her husband of four months, Captain Mark Phillips.

As passing pedestrians and motorists watched in horror, a tall, thin young gunman with clipped chin whiskers leaped from the Ford and raced toward the limousine, firing two pistols as he ran. One shot struck the limousine driver, who collapsed. A bodyguard sitting next to the chauffeur jumped from the front seat with an automatic pistol. He fired one shot, missing; then his weapon jammed. Three quick rounds felled him. The gunman dashed to the limousine and began pulling violently on the doors, trying to get inside. On the back seat huddled Anne, her husband, and a lady in waiting, Rowena Brassey.

Writer McConnell jumped out of his taxi and ran up to the gunman. Despite the bloodshed and the gunman's frantic attempts to force his way into the royal limousine, McConnell remembers saying with typical British cool: "Look, old man, these people are friends of mine. Don't be silly, just give me the gun." He moved forward to take the weapon, when suddenly "there was a blinding flash, and I remember thinking, 'Christ, the bastard's shot me.' "

Within moments the assailant had also shot a policeman who was dashing to the rescue. At the sight of a second constable, Peter Edmonds, 24, the gunman fled into St. James's Park, which flanks the Buckingham Palace Mall. Edmonds, who was unarmed, brought him down with a flying rugby tackle. A young woman rushed up to the Austin and asked Anne, "Are you all right, love?" Though severely shaken, she replied, "Yes, I'm fine, thank you." A bullet through the rear window marked how close they had come to death. It was the first attack on the royal family since 1939, when shots were fired at the Duchess of Kent.

Within a short time, the princess was carrying on in stiff-upper-lip fashion, issuing a statement in which she expressed concern for those hurt in the incident: McConnell, 46; the driver, Alec Callender, 55; the bodyguard, James Beaton, 30; and the policeman, Michael Hills, 22. All were later reported in satisfactory condition.

The gunman was identified as Ian Ball, 26, who apparently had hoped to kidnap the princess. In his car, police found a neatly typed but disjointed letter full of grievances against the royal family. The letter asked the Queen for a ransom of £2 million ($4.7 million). Scotland Yard immediately launched an investigation to discover any possible accomplices; preliminary evidence indicated that Ball had acted alone.

Any would-be assailant could have learned where Anne and her husband were to be on the day of the attack by the simple expedient of reading the "Court Circular," a chronicle of the royal family's activities that is published in a number of London papers. Such publicity will doubtless now be limited, and extra protection has already been assigned to the royal family. Nevertheless, there is still understandable resistance to change the traditions of centuries. The royal family has "no intention of living in bulletproof cages," said a palace spokesman. After all, pointed out Home Secretary Roy Jenkins, "it is not possible for public figures to make public appearances clandestinely, so to speak."



GUNMAN BALL ON WAY TO COURT



ROYAL COUPLE BEFORE THE ATTACK

A blinding flash, frantic attempts and a rugby tackle.

ANNE'S AUSTIN LIMOUSINE NEAR BUCKINGHAM PALACE AFTER THE ATTACK



PORTUGAL

Lisbon's Armed Doves

Alone among the old European colonial powers, Portugal has doggedly tried to hold onto its overseas possessions. Last year more than 40% of the country's $1.3 billion budget was spent on a military effort to put down insurrection movements in the three African territories of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau. Now an influential Portuguese leader has openly questioned the government's sacrosanct policy that the overseas provinces must be preserved at all cost. Ironically, this dovish challenge comes from General Antônio de Spino-

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GENERAL SPÍNOLA
A political solution.

la, a hero of the African wars. Meanwhile, hawkish devotion to the status quo prevails in the civilian-dominated National Assembly.

Last month Spínola, who was then deputy chief of the armed forces, published a book called *Portugal and the Future,* in which he argued that to "try to win a subversive war by military means is to accept defeat in advance." For that reason, he suggested, a political solution in the territories was the only answer. The book caused a sensation when first copies appeared in Lisbon. Spínola's iconoclastic views were well known before it was published and were widely shared by many of his fellow officers in the armed forces. He also reportedly had the ear of moderate Premier Marcello Caetano, who had succeeded to power after illness forced Dictator Antônio de Oliveira Salazar's resignation in 1968.

Ineffectual Band. One man Spínola definitely did not have the ear of, however, was Américo Thomaz, Portugal's President, who wields great influence as a leader of the nation's wealthy, privileged "100 families." Thomaz has been unbending in his allegiance to Salazar's conviction that "the provinces" are an integral part of "Metropolitan Portugal." Backed by powerful conservatives in the government and in the National Assembly, Thomaz pressured Caetano into sacking Spínola and his sympathetic boss General Francisco Costa Gomes. The move caused tremors in the armed forces and set rumors afoot that a military coup might be in the offing. Ultimately, a brave but ineffectual band of 200 soldiers marched on Lisbon; the protesters were easily disarmed and all troops in Portugal were ordered confined to barracks. Rather ignominiously, some garrisons were put in the custody of the National Republican Guard, a paramilitary police force. Since then the purge has continued. Among the victims losing their jobs: the head of the Lisbon military academy and the deputy commander of the navy.

At week's end the government had still not decided what to do with Spínola, who was stripped of his job but not his military rank. A dashing combat commander who often helicoptered to rebel fighting fronts armed only with a swagger stick, Spínola is admired not only by the 45,000 troops in Portugal but also by both black soldiers and white settlers in Africa. After he left his position last year as commander and military governor of Guinea-Bissau (where he reportedly met in secret with leaders of the rebel forces), troop morale there plummeted.

Ringing Rhetoric. In diamond- and oil-rich Angola, white settlers are restive under Portuguese rule, and have considered breaking away as Rhodesia did from Britain in 1965; they too like Spínola because he advocates greater autonomy for the provinces. Moreover, Spínola cannot be dismissed as just another left-wing critic. During the Spanish civil war he fought as a volunteer for Franco, and then went to Hitler's Third Reich for military training.

President Thomaz and Portugal's rightist ultras are faced with a highly uncomfortable dilemma. The general's arrest or exile would surely shatter already shaky morale, if it did not lead to open revolt by the military. On the other hand, Spínola at liberty represents a viable symbol of an alternative to the moribund colonial policies of the regime. Already, countless thousands of Portuguese have been caught by the ringing rhetoric of his message: "A government policy can never be genuine unless it is guided by the desire of those who are governed. Those who really believe in the binding force of Portugality have nothing to fear from a move toward federation. It is not national unity that is at stake but imperial unity, and today's conscience does not accept empires."

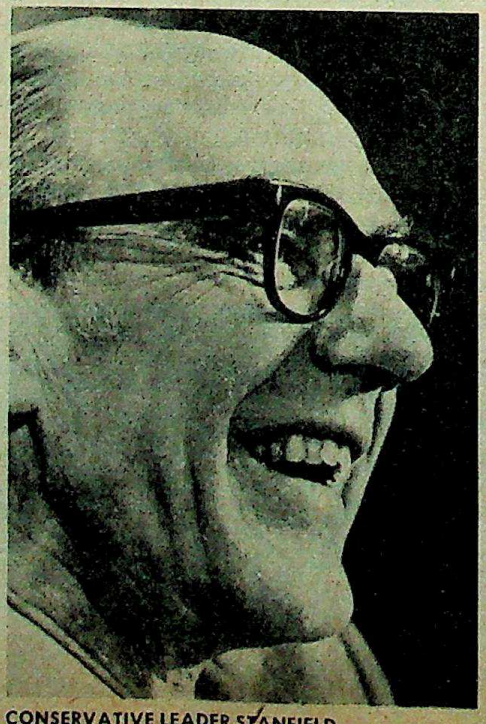
CANADA

Gunning for Trudeau

Ever since his unexpected batter at the polls 16 months ago, Canad flamboyant Prime Minister Pierre E ot Trudeau has been living on a politi razor's edge. Forced to form a mino government after the 1972 vote t wiped out his Liberal Party's major leaving the Liberals with 109 of Par ment's 263 seats, Trudeau, 54, was pected by many pundits to be out of fice within half a year. But Conservatives were unable to exploit strength of their 107 seats because of ternal disputes over party leadersh and Trudeau has managed to survive forming an uneasy alliance with stronger of Canada's two minority p ties, the socialist New Democratic Par which has 31 seats. Last week the Co servatives finally consolidated their fo es into fighting trim, apparently ready make a serious effort to unseat Trude from the post he has held since 1968.

At their biennial policy conventi in Ottawa, the Conservatives voted sounding approval of Party Leader Ro ert Stanfield, 59, as the man who co lead them to power, giving him 86% the votes in a confidence motion. Sta field is known for his single-minded d termination and unquestioned integri In making him their undisputed leade the Conservatives submerged a go deal of the intraparty frictions and fa tionalism that have impaired their a tempts to unseat Trudeau. The conve tion also produced the Conservative strongest statement of national policy date, endorsing Stanfield's position in f vor of wage and price controls to curb i flation and—reflecting the country mood of intensified nationalism—a proving resolutions calling for Canadi ownership and control of at least o

CP



DUNCAN CAMERON



CONSERVATIVE LEADER STANFIELD — PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU
In quest of an elusive parliamentary majority.

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major international company in each sphere of industry.

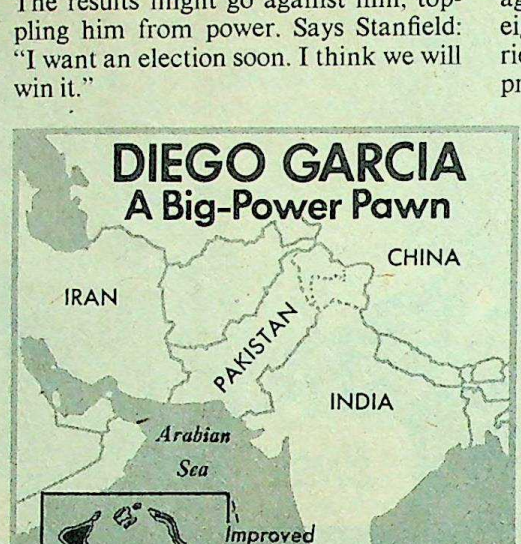
No sooner was the Conservative convention over than the Prime Minister announced that he would go on a two-day "main-streeting" (walking down streets shaking hands) and speech-making tour of the opposition stronghold of Saskatchewan. It will be his first such journey into the region since the election, and was indicative of Trudeau's fighting spirit. After a moody period of dejection following his political setback, the first of his career, the Prime Minister in recent months has shown renewed vigor.

He clearly needs all the energy he can summon to stay in power. Though the support of the New Democratic Party has kept him afloat, the coalition is shaky at best. Trudeau has met just enough of the N.D.P.'s principal demands to make his government's survival possible. He has promised to create a national petroleum company to increase government control of Canada's petroleum resources and, in the face of last year's 10% inflation, agreed to increase milk and bread subsidies and set up a food-prices review board. But many in the N.D.P. want Trudeau to go further, such as nationalizing major industries and levying heavier taxes on corporations. A clash with Trudeau over any of these issues could cause the N.D.P. to desert him, bringing down his government.

Trudeau has sought to widen his support by actively courting both the left and labor, making him sound at times more like an N.D.P. leader than a fiscally cautious Liberal. In his new image as champion of the leftist causes, he has struck out at the "myth" that high wage demands by unions have contributed to inflation. "It has not been the average working man who has exerted upward pressure on prices," he claimed earlier this month. At the same time, he has begun lambasting the "big guys," the multinational corporations. "We will not allow profiteers to pile up unearned windfall profits at the expense of the people of Canada," Trudeau declares.

Fighting Words. Trudeau's dependence upon the N.D.P. has become an object of Conservative derision. Conservative Leader Stanfield taunts him about running the country through a "coat-room coalition" that has resulted in "almost two years of negotiated inertia." Stanfield also sarcastically notes that the Trudeau government could hardly be expected to be on its toes when it "is literally living on its knees" at the mercy of the N.D.P.

Stanfield's fighting words have the hyperbole of a campaign speech—which is exactly how he intended them. Though Trudeau's popularity increased to 43% (up from 35%) in the polls, the once swinging Prime Minister faces numerous sobering problems. Inflation seems insoluble, labor has been making strong wage demands, and the Prime Minister suffers from deep-rooted unpopularity in the west because of what many westerners view as his pro–eastern-Canadian oil policy. Tory strategists thus believe that Trudeau is still as vulnerable as ever. A no-confidence vote on any of the key issues could force Trudeau to call a national election, something he would very much like to avoid. The results might go against him, toppling him from power. Says Stanfield: "I want an election soon. I think we will win it."



DIEGO GARCIA

Atoll Trouble

As one of those incongruous specks on the map that once posted the British Empire, the isolated little island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean was no better known than it ought to be. Consisting of two slender strips of sand skirting a great lagoon—"like a V written by a shaky hand," wrote one visitor—it was overrun by forbidding jungle growth, wild donkeys and giant land crabs that, according to the few hundred migratory workers who settled the island and harvested its coconut palms, would mass like an army to attack and devour the unwary stroller.

But Diego Garcia—named after the Portuguese navigator who discovered it in 1532—now has come into its own. The growing U.S.-Soviet rivalry for naval power in the Indian Ocean has suddenly transformed the tiny coral atoll into a strategic scrap of real estate and catapulted it into a storm of controversy reaching from the Kremlin to the U.S. Senate, from Dar es Salaam to New Delhi. The brouhaha stems from U.S. plans to upgrade a small naval and communications station on the island into a $55 million base to support U.S. naval forces in the Indian Ocean.

The Pentagon has asked Congress to appropriate $29 million this year to deepen the harbor, lengthen the 8,0 ft. runway to 12,000 ft., and build b racks for the 500 naval personnel w will eventually be stationed there. S an investment is necessary, contends t Pentagon, to counter the Soviet na presence in the area, which now av ages 30 ships; the U.S. presently h eight ships, including the aircraft c rier *Kitty Hawk*, there. The Russi presence is expected to increase ev more with the reopening of the Su Canal. Then the Soviet supply li from its Black Sea bases to t Straits of Malacca, will shrink fro 11,000 miles around the Cape Good Hope to 2,200 miles throu the canal.

Excellent Perch. The Nix Administration maintains that, in tially at least, Diego Garcia w serve merely as a fueling station f American ships and a landing str for reconnaissance aircraft. Inev tably, there has also been specul tion that the base might be used f nuclear submarines and strike ai craft, including the new B-1 supe sonic bomber—a fact that m have prompted *Izvestia's* castig tion of the U.S. project last we as "totally unjustified" and dange ous to détente.

Diego Garcia's strategic po tion is evident. Almost equidista from Indonesia and East Africa, h dia and Mauritius, the island si astride the great sea lanes from th Cape of Good Hope to Singapor It is an excellent perch from whic to observe ship traffic from the wester Pacific to the oil-rich Persian Gulf an thence to the Mediterranean.

The U.S. began eying the island 1966 after Mauritius, which had admi istered its affairs, became independen At that time, Britain bought Diego Ga cia for $7.5 million, and signed an agre ment with Washington for a joint U.S British communications facility on The countries rimming the area (Indi Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Kenya and Si gapore)—and U.S. congressional criti as well—fear that the base will increas big-power rivalries in the region. La week Australia's Prime Minister Goug Whitlam joined the chorus of critic saying that he would try to persuad Britain's Labor government to abroga the agreement made by former Prim Minister Edward Heath. So far, Haro Wilson's new government has said on that the plan, like all foreign policy is sues, was under "review."

The Pentagon, meanwhile, pr fessed not to be taking the fuss too se riously. Much of the outcry, a spokes man declared, was intended fo domestic political reasons. Many of th countries that have criticized the pro ect, he added, privately hoped that th U.S. would proceed as planned in orde to counter Soviet influence. Whethe Congress will buy that argument at ap propriations time remains to be seen.

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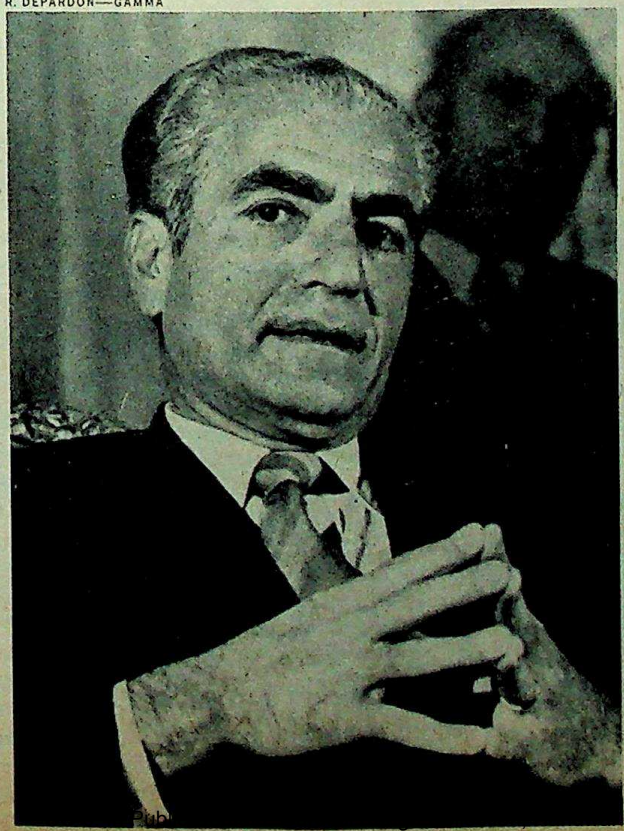
A Talk with the Shah of Iran

Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, the Shah of Shahs, inheritor of Persia's ancient throne, recently was interviewed by Time Inc.'s *Editor in Chief Hedley Donovan and Chief of Correspondents Murray Gart. Their meeting took place over tea in his enormous second-floor office, a cruciform chamber in green and silver, in the Niavaran Palace, the royal residence in Teheran. The highly active 54-year-old monarch sighed frequently as he talked, his voice sometimes dropping to a whisper, as though betraying the burden he feels as the absolute ruler of Iran's 34 million people. For more than a decade he has concentrated on using his country's vast oil riches to turn Iran into a modern state. With arms purchased primarily from the U.S., the Shah's country now constitutes the most powerful force in the Persian Gulf. Yet the Shah worries about war. Iraq has been a troubling neighbor, and the forces of the two countries have clashed repeatedly in border skirmishes in the past two months. The Shah's views:*

ON IRAN'S FOREIGN POLICY. We have positive points. One is that we now have warm relations with the Indians, which was not the case before. We have excellent relations with the Egyptians, which was not the case before. We are going to have excellent relations with the Sudanese. Most of the African countries are running here because they know that our help will be completely without strings. China is behaving in a very friendly way. In the long run, all of these are very peaceful points. In the short term, they will not have any influence on the potential threats to my country because none of them are going to restrain the Iraqis.

ON OIL. If the oil of this part of the world is denied to the so-called Western world or the free world, you are dead. I have to go back a little. In 1947 the posted price for a barrel of oil in the Persian Gulf was $2.17. Then it was brought down to $1.79, and that lasted until 1969. So there were 22 years of cheap fuel that made Europe what it is, that made Japan what it is. Then the price of wheat jumped 300%, vegetables the same, and sugar in the past six years increased by 16 times. Can you imagine? So we charged experts to study what prices we should put on oil. Do you know that from oil you have today 70,000 derivatives? When we empty our wells, then you will be denied what I call this noble product. It will take you $8 to extract your shale or tar sands. So I said let us start with the bottom price of $7; that is the government intake. Suddenly everybody started to shout foul. Why don't you use coal and shale for electricity or to heat houses, and keep this precious petrol for the petrochemicals for another 300 years to come?

R. DEPARDON—GAMMA



ON IRAN'S FOREIGN AID PROGRAM. Ten years ago, UNCTAD [United Nations Conference on Trade and Development] started to speak about the gap between the haves and the have-nots. During all these ten years, not a single resolution was adopted to go to the help of the poor countries. Never. Even the U.S., this country with your fantastic humanitarian action, even you slowed your aid to the developing countries. So the gap between the haves and the have-nots widened. At the same time, I realize that $40 billion or $50 billion were coming to the oil-producing countries. So I came up with this idea of volunteering not less than $1 billion this year in loans to the International Monetary Fund and to the International Bank to take care of the balance of payments deficit in the advanced countries of the world and also in the developing countries, and to create a new institution to make soft-term loans of 2.5% over 15 years, something like that, for projects in the developing countries. That is why World Bank President [Robert] McNamara called it a new Marshall Plan, but obviously with a much bigger scope because it concerns the whole world. This should really strike the imaginations of people because Europe was saved by the Marshall Plan.

I understand that the Arabs want to create their own thing. They say we will help [only] those we choose, our friends, and this and that. What are they going to do with the excess of their oil profit? Buy buildings? It is their right. They are sovereign countries. My job, my responsibility was to propose what I did. The rest will depend on the world, and I think other countries should support this proposal because it is the only workable solution yet proposed.

ON CONFLICT WITH IRAQ. The first time [the Iraqis attacked], obviously we were taken by surprise. Tanks showed up and fired pointblank, but they did not really move on. Only the sacrifice of our boys saved the situation, and then we launched not a very heavy counterattack and they fled. [The Iraqis want] to keep their people busy; so they are always creating an imaginary enemy—how do you say?—a bogeyman? The second time they opened up with artillery, and they suffered very heavily when we counterattacked.

I get irritated when our good friends ask me, "Why do you arm so much?" What we fear is that the Iraqis will start some kind of adventure in the Persian Gulf, and if the countries there do not ask for my assistance, I will be very embarrassed about what to do. That is why I propose some kind of regional defensive agreement. So far, except for Oman, we have no reply. The small states in the region know very well that we don't want anything. It is the same with Kuwait. We would hate to see Kuwait fall into the wrong hands because of its potential wealth. The Iraqis have tried to take Kuwait. They aggressed. They stopped—God knows why. They could have crossed the whole country before midday. But their subversive activity is going on everywhere.

ON THE SUCCESSION. We have provisions that the Empress will be regent until the Crown Prince [Reza, 13] comes of age when he is 20. She will rule with the help of a council. That is voted, accepted. It is legal. But I also have my political will [which has been] written, signed and sent to the people [in order to] try to keep what permitted us to be what we are—that is, to continue along our present course until the country is really and truly developed and illiteracy does not exist any more.

ON THE FUTURE OF IRAN. We now have a program in which the factories are offering 49% of their shares to the workers. So the workers and the small landholders are in the forefront of our revolutionary movement and are with the regime. Charles de Gaulle tried to do the same in France. He could not. I can, because of the very special relationship that exists between the King and the people in this country. I hope that this leadership will continue until everybody is not only literate but has a good life. A lot is at stake in the preservation of this country as an independent, sovereign, happy, progressive state.

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AMERICAN NOTES

Class Tensions

A nationwide attitude-measurement questionnaire given last fall to fourth- and fifth-graders by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare asked students a blunt question about their parents: "How do you think your parents feel about black and white students going to the same school together?" And about their schoolmates: "Do you think black students in this school cause more trouble than other kinds of students?" About their teachers: "Do you think white teachers in this school are unfair to students who are not white?" The questionnaire was designed to measure racial attitudes, primarily in urban schools, and to see whether these attitudes were being improved by HEW-supported programs that were intended to do just that.

In most cities the questionnaire met with no serious objections, but in New York City it did. Protesting teachers and parents wondered whether the questionnaire was more likely to instill or reinforce troublesome racial attitudes than to measure them. Board of Education President Seymour Lachman graded the questionnaire "polarizing . . . inflammatory and racist." When HEW drew up a slightly modified version to administer this spring, the chorus of complaints quickly resumed.

Last week the department reluctantly withdrew it not only in New York City but across the nation. "The questions were sensitive," acknowledged a disappointed HEW spokesman. It was just as clear that HEW had been insensitive—and that once again the Government had been unwisely prying into the private lives and personal attitudes of the nation's citizens, notably children.

PIERRE HONEGGER



LIEUT. FOLLETT & PFC. JOHNSON
A fall into "fraternization."

A Private Affair

Love is never having to say yessir. Army Second Lieut. Mary Lou Follett, 22, a nurse, and Specialist Fourth Class James C. Johnson, 20, a medical technician, met last summer while both were working at Heidelberg Army Hospital in West Germany. They fell in love —and soon fell afoul of Article 133 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, which has been interpreted to hold that since Johnson was an enlisted man, Lieut. Follett was guilty of "conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman." Her commanding officer, Lieut. Colonel Doris M. Cobb, called her in for counseling and pointedly reminded her that the Army word for such liaisons is "fraternization."

"I told Colonel Cobb that there was no problem," says Lieut. Follett, "that my relationship with Johnson did not interfere with my duties at the hospital, and that furthermore I was dating whom I pleased."

After the couple began living together in a $175-a-month furnished apartment, the petty punishments began. While driving Lieut. Follett's car without a military driver's license, SP4 Johnson was stopped one day by MPs; he was fined $80, reduced to private and given 14 days extra duty. Then he was transferred to another job at a dispensary in Worms, 25 miles away, forcing him to commute by train or car, or to hitchhike. Says Johnson of his new assignment: "The people here are pretty nice. As long as I keep my bunk tidy and footlocker straight, nobody cares where I spend my nights."

In two petitions for redress of grievances, Follett and Johnson have charged their superiors with harassment. The Army has declared both petitions "without foundation." It should come as no surprise that when their tours of duty are up, the Lieutenant and her private have no plans to remain in the Army.

The God Squad

Police scandals have erupted lately in many cities, including Philadelphia, Chicago, New York, Indianapolis and Houston. What can be done—and may or do about it? In Cleveland, where var-

DIRCK HALSTEAD



PRESIDENT NIXON AT SPACE CENTER
Events beyond his control.

ious police have stood accused of pro tecting pimps, accepting payoffs t influence court cases and operating bu glary rings, Mayor Ralph J. Perk is a tacking corruption from the highe ground. Two weeks ago he picked a pan el of five clergymen to investigate th charges. It was a beautifully balance ticket: two Roman Catholic priests, on Baptist minister who is a black, on Hungarian Reformed Protestant mini ter and one rabbi.

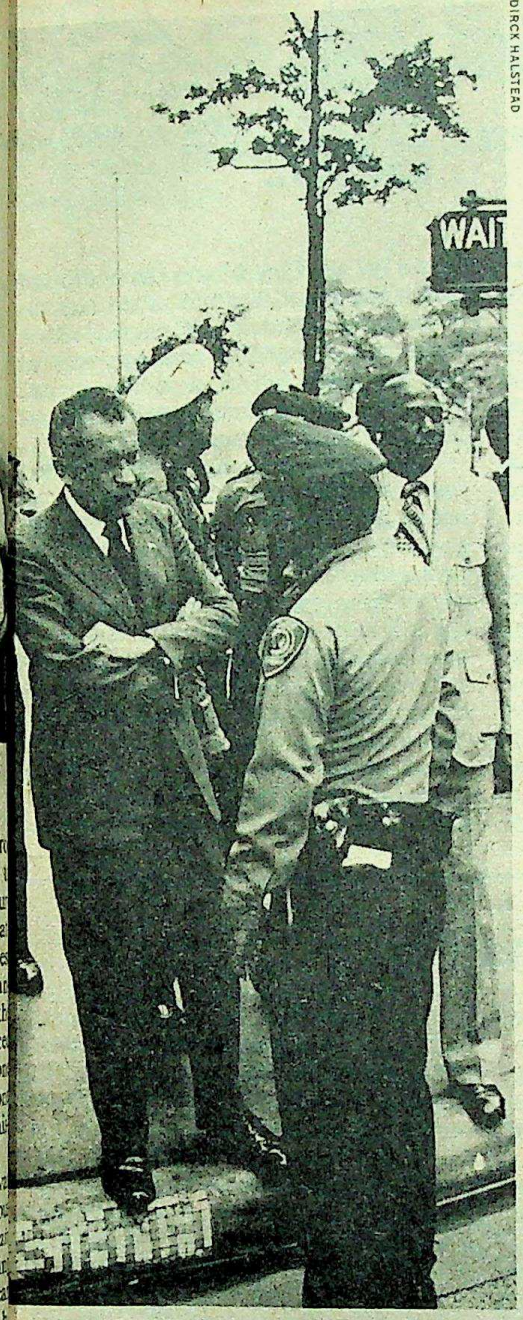
Almost universally, Perk's idea w condemned as a cop-out. "A ridiculo diversion," scoffed the Cleveland *Pla Dealer*, which has been uncoverin much of the chicanery. Republica Perk's political opponents said that h was merely grandstanding to raise sup port for his announced candidacy for th U.S. Senate, and indeed Perk has bee having trouble getting his campaign o the ground. Speaking of the clergymen Gerald T. McFaul, Democratic majorit leader in the city council, thundered "What the hell do they know abou crime? These are men who have le sheltered lives. To them everyone is good guy because that's what the Lor says." Typically, one patrolman echoed "Perk didn't get investigators—he go exorcists."

Chastened by the outcry, Perk las week relented and added four laymen to the commission; but the clergymen re main in the majority. A smart inves tigator, after all, need not be a prose cutor or a lawyer. Indeed, a corrupt co might just be more willing to confess t clergymen, if only because they can kee secrets.

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Pressing Hard for the Evidence



DIRCK HALSTEAD

CHATTING WITH POLICEMAN IN HOUSTON

He basked in the prime-time televised applause of broadcast executives in Houston. He startled a waitress, "Shrimp" Hamilton, by dropping in at the lunch counter of Houston's Keystone Drugstore to buy a cup of coffee and a 6-oz. jar of hot "Evangeline peppers" (leaving a $1 tip). He took a stroll downtown in that city, and paused to speak with a traffic policeman, Ignacio Aranda. He chatted with U.S. astronauts and Soviet technicians at the Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center, lauding their courage for never "giving up," not even during dire emergencies in space.

Ostensibly, Richard Nixon was enjoying another good week in his public relations offensive against Watergate. But related events were still unfolding beyond his control. A leading conservative Senator publicly urged him to resign. The Watergate special prosecutor issued a subpoena for more White House evidence—destroying Nixon's repeated claim that he had been fully cooperating with the multiple investigations. Federal courts on two levels directed that a grand jury report on the President's Watergate role must go this week to the House Judiciary Committee, which is conducting an impeachment inquiry. Nixon continued to drop in two public-opinion polls, reaching his lowest point yet in popularity.

The call for Nixon to resign was issued by Conservative-Republican Senator James Buckley, who was co-chairman of his 1972 re-election campaign in New York. It was the first complete break by a leading conservative—and it was a blow to Nixon's efforts to hang onto the hard-core support that would give him the one-third-plus-one vote in the Senate needed to block any effort to remove him from office. Buckley's eloquent statement *(see box next page)* was overdrawn in describing the terrors of a Senate trial of the President and sugar-coated in its acceptance of the notion that Nixon's Watergate problems were being pursued only by critics to overturn the 1972 election results. But it was a sound assessment of the practical realities of Nixon's current situation, and it rocked Republicans.



AP

The President's public position was also undercut by the revelation that Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski had issued a new subpoena for Watergate evidence. At the time that Nixon was telling his Houston audience that he had "cooperated completely with the grand jury" in its Watergate investigations, he knew—but did not mention—that Jaworski had been denied many tapes and documents and had therefore issued a subpoena to get them. Its existence was not revealed by Jaworski, but by Nixon's counsel, James St. Clair, in a television interview. Jaworski had been willing to keep the matter secret so that the White House could save face by delivering the evidence and later claiming that it had done so "voluntarily."

What Jaworski Wants. If the White House fails to supply the evidence, Jaworski will almost certainly petition the Washington federal court this week to enforce the subpoena. This could touch off another round of court fights similar to those last summer, when Nixon tried to withhold subpoenaed tapes and papers sought by Archibald Cox, the special prosecutor whom Nixon fired for persisting in demanding evidence. Nixon had claimed that most of the material was protected by Executive privilege—a claim that both Federal Judge John J. Sirica and the U.S. Court of Appeals rejected. Presumably, the courts would do so again.

The new subpoena deals primarily with the handling of campaign funds. Jaworski is also seeking further evidence, and he may subpoena that as well. The evidence being sought includes tapes and documents related to: 1) the possible "sale" of ambassadorships to large contributors to Nixon's political campaigns; 2) the Administration's settlement of an antitrust suit against ITT after a large campaign contribution was pledged by the company; 3) meetings at which Nixon and his aides discussed increased dairy price supports and a $2 million pledge of campaign aid by milk producers; 4) Nixon's notations from the summer and fall of 1972 on the White House daily news summary, which may have included instructions to his aides on what action to take on Watergate developments; 5) the records of former White House Aide John Ehrlichman on his dealings with Nixon's secret squad of plumber investigators; 6) other Nixon conversations with his aides relating to the Watergate cover-up conspiracy; 7) the location of the tape containing

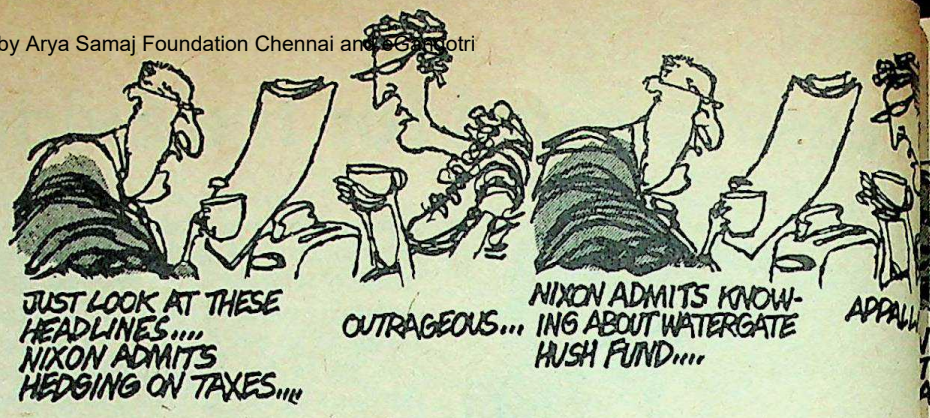
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an 18½-minute gap during the time that Nixon claimed all of the subpoenaed tapes were in his custody, as well as of persons who had access to it.

Even as the special prosecutor was forced to take legal steps to compel the turnover of White House evidence, the House Judiciary Committee, headed by New Jersey Democrat Peter Rodino, received a forward assist in its investigation of presidential conduct. Moving swiftly, federal courts on two levels ordered that a grand jury report dealing specifically with Nixon's Watergate role must be given this week to Rodino for the impeachment inquiry.

Grand Jury Report. First, in an impressively detailed 22-page decision, Judge Sirica said that he had carefully examined the grand jury report and found that "there can be no question regarding its materiality" to the impeachment inquiry. The package includes: 1) a letter recommending that the grand jury's findings be transmitted to the Judiciary Committee; 2) an index of specific acts by the President, presumably related to the cover-up conspiracy; 3) a briefcase full of documents and sworn testimony supporting those findings of fact. Wrote Sirica: "We deal in a matter of the most critical moment to the nation, an impeachment investigation involving the President of the U.S. It would be difficult to conceive of a more compelling need than that of this country for an unswervingly fair inquiry based on all the pertinent information."



Sirica—who turned 70 last week and thereupon shifted from chief judge to a senior judge of the federal district court in Washington—rejected claims by lawyers for the indicted conspirators that the grand jury had no power to make such a report and that giving the material to the House committee could prejudice their clients' trials if the evidence became public. The appeals court promptly supported Sirica's decision. The appeals judges had examined the summary of facts listed by the grand jury and found them impressive enough to warrant quick transferral to Rodino.

The grand jury report bears on the payments made to the original Watergate defendants to keep them quiet —and on whether Nixon really did a to cut the payments off, as he has r peatedly contended. Of course, oth time bombs could be ticking away that briefcase full of tape transcrip White House documents and the tes mony of former Nixon associates.

Although Nixon has already yielde some 700 documents and 19 tapes, h continued to insist in Houston that give up any more would "weaken th presidency of the United States" an could even lead to "the destruction the office of the President." His aud ence, consisting mainly of prosperou radio- and television-station owners an managers, applauded both his sharp r plies and some of the tougher questio posed by broadcast newsmen. Firm and aggressively in command of the s uation, Nixon insisted that he was n

Resignation: "An Act of Statesmanship"

In urging President Nixon to resign, Senator James Buckley neither denounced Nixon nor prejudged the President's role in the Watergate scandal. The New York Conservative based his call on a tough assessment of the probability that Nixon has already been so irreparably damaged by the affair that he cannot govern effectively. Excerpts:

The Watergate affair had its faint origin in what was itself a trivial and foolish incident. But from this minor incident, Watergate has expanded on a scale that has plunged our country into what historians call a "crisis of the regime." [This] is a disorder, a trauma, involving every tissue of the nation, conspicuously including its moral and spiritual dimensions.

■

The outward signs of the depth of the crisis are obvious: the unparalleled downfall and departure of virtually the entire staff of the head of Government; the formal initiation of impeachment proceedings; the confessions, indictments and trials.

I don't think many of us have seriously considered what an impeachment trial would be like in the era of mass electronic communications. Public opinion would compel the proceedings to be televised. For three months or more the Senate chamber would be transformed into a stage set for the greatest melodrama ever conceived. History would come to a stop for the duration—in the country and throughout the world. The ruler of the mightiest nation on earth would be starred as the prisoner in the dock. The chamber would become a 20th century Roman Colosseum as the performers are thrown to the electronic lions.

The most sordid dregs dug up by the Watergate miners would inflame the passions of the domestic audience and provoke the guffaws, prurient curiosity or amazement of the outside world. The audience would hear those magical tapes in full. Not only the words directly relevant to charges at issue, but all the surrounding talk and epithets of tough, earthy men speaking as such men do in their supposedly private dialogue.

Can anyone imagine that such a trial could bring the nation back on an even keel and steady course, that it could fail to hurt the presidency itself? The impeachment process cannot possibly resolve the crisis. It can only exacerbate it still more, with reverberations that will be felt not only through 1976 but for many years beyond.

Suppose the House votes articles of impeachment and the Senate convicts. That result would leave a sizable, embittered, stubborn minority convinced that the media had hounded Richard Nixon out of office in order to upset the mandate of the 1972 vote and subvert what it believes to be the foundations of the Republic. On the other hand, suppose the House fails to impeach, or the Senate, judging a House-voted impeachment, fails to convict. With equal certainty that would leave a major segment of the constituency equally embittered and unreconciled, convinced that the Congress had placed political expediency above its duty. Does either outcome hold the slightest promise of domestic tranquillity?

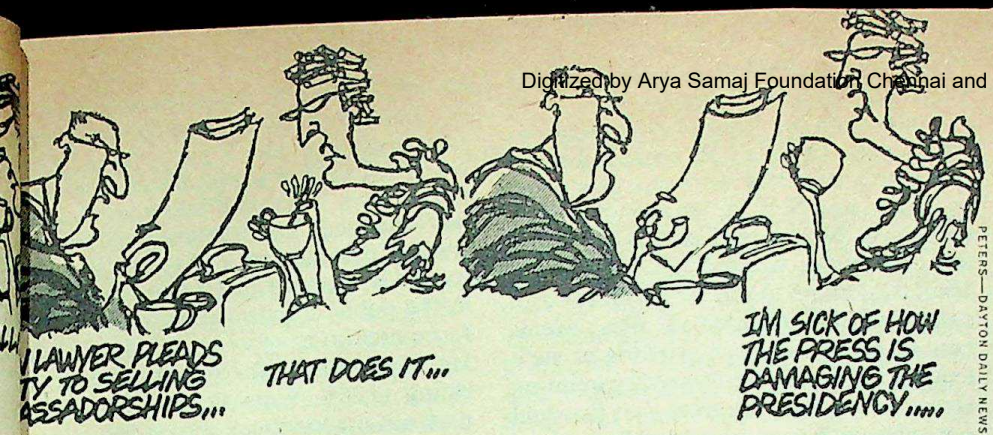
■

There is one way and one way only by which the crisis can be resolved and the country pulled out of the Watergate swamp. I propose an extraordinary act of statesmanship and courage—an act at once noble and heartbreaking; at once serving the greater interests of the nation, the institution of the presidency and the stated goals for which he [Nixon] so successfully campaigned. That act is Richard Nixon's own voluntary resignation as President of the United States.

Inevitably, the President is the focus the essence of the crisis of the regime, the linchpin of its entire structure. The character of a regime always reflects and expresses the character of its leader. It is

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trying to hide anything; he simply wanted to ensure that no future President would be surrounded by fearful advisers who are "yes men" too timid to give their boss "the variety of views he needs to make the right kind of decision."

Nixon never came to grips with the main question posed by CBS Correspondent Dan Rather, although the exchange between them was electric. Noting both applause and scattered boos as Rather identified himself, Nixon asked pointedly: "Are you running for something?" Rather replied firmly: "No, sir, Mr. President, are you?" But how, Rather asked, could the House perform its constitutional duties if the President, the person under investigation in the impeachment inquiry, was "allowed to limit its access to potential evidence"? Nixon answered circuitously. He contended that the House investigators were not abiding by the Constitution's grounds for impeachment: "Treason, bribery or other high crimes or misdemeanors." He added: "I am suggesting that the House follow the Constitution. If they do, I will." Nixon ignored the fact that the House, not he, must define what those terms really mean.

Executive Privilege. Nixon was totally misleading in an answer to NBC's Tom Brokaw, who wanted to know how the President could justify his repeated claim that he was just following the precedent set by past Presidents in withholding evidence from the Judiciary Committee. Only Andrew Johnson, Brokaw noted, had faced an impeachment inquiry—and he yielded everything that the House demanded. Nixon conceded that Brokaw was right on Johnson but argued that the "principle of confidentiality" between President and advisers was applicable in an impeachment proceeding as well as in any other congressional investigation.

There is no precedent in U.S. history for that view. No President has ever claimed the right to withhold documents from a duly authorized impeachment inquiry. Regarding the far less urgent business of the special prosecutor's criminal investigation into the activities of the President's aides, Judge Sirica has written: "The Constitution mentions no Executive privileges, much less any absolute Executive privileges ... even the Chief Executive is subject to the mandate of the law when he has no valid claim of privilege." Those words were cited by the appeals court that confirmed Sirica's decision last week.

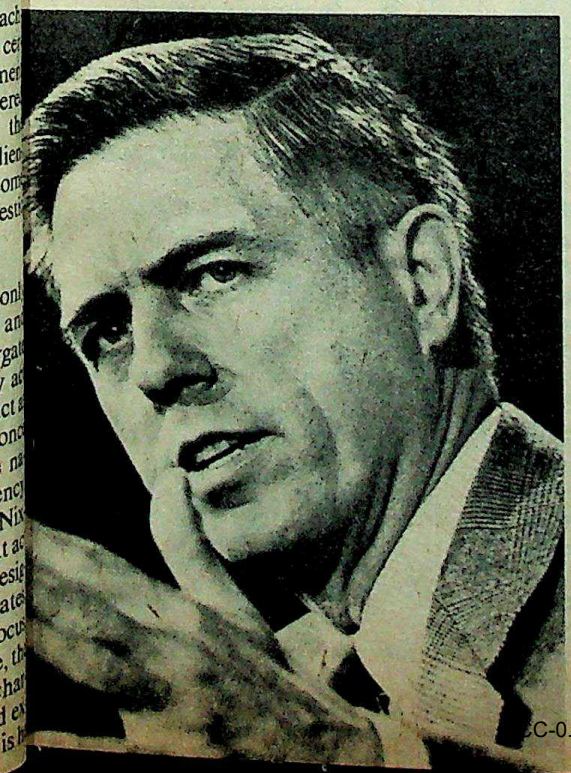
Nixon and his special counsel, James St. Clair, still resisted requests by the Rodino committee staff for 42 Nixon tapes and an undisclosed number of documents embracing a variety of presidential activities that are under investigation. The request is aimed primarily at securing tapes and papers that would clarify the following events in the winter and spring of 1973:

▸ Conversations between Nixon and Haldeman on Feb. 20, in which they discussed finding a new Government job for Jeb Stuart Magruder, deputy direc-

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who appoints his executive staff. If he does not explicitly command what his aides do and agents do, they in any event do what they sense and believe he wants them to do. The captain is responsible for his ship, the commander for his army. And Mr. Nixon has explicitly recognized this responsibility.

BUCKLEY EXPLAINING RESIGNATION CALL



If the President withdrew, this crisis would be resolved. Watergate scars would remain, of course. The debris would have to be cleaned up.

I do not in the least imply belief that the President is legally guilty of any of the hundreds of charges brought against him by those sections of the media that have appointed themselves permanent grand juries and public prosecutors. My proposal reflects no personal judgment on the matter of guilt or innocence, for I have made none.

Nor do I propose Richard Nixon's resignation as a retreat by him, or as in any way acknowledging either guilt or weakness. He would be succeeded by a man of his own choice; and one, most importantly, who is free of any connection whatever with the entire Watergate affair. Gerald Ford upholds the policies for which the electorate overwhelmingly voted in November 1972. Therefore, his installation would be in no way a repudiation of the electoral mandate. Rather, it would reaffirm those goals [and] it would offer a much more favorable chance of realizing them than is possible while the crisis continues.

I am deeply aware, of course, that in recent weeks Richard Nixon has found several occasions to say that he must defend the office of the President, and that he should not resign because that would weaken the office. But precisely the opposite is the case. As it now stands, the office of the President is in danger of succumbing to the death of a thousand cuts. The only way to save it is for the President to resign, leaving the office free to defend itself with a new incumbent.

■

Mr. Nixon argues that it would be destructive of the office for a President to be hounded out of office because he happens to have a low rating in the polls. In normal circumstances I would agree. But we have in the present case a qualitative difference that hinges not on the fact of a low rating but on the reasons for that rating. It does not reflect a dissatisfaction with one, or two, or a dozen specific issues. Rather it reflects an accumulative loss of faith that has eroded his credibility and moral authority; a loss that, in my judgment, is beyond repair.

I do not doubt that, as he sees and judges his own conduct, Richard Nixon has acted throughout this time of troubles for what he believed to be the well-being of his country. I hope and pray he will realize that the greatest and culminating action he can now take for this country is the renunciation of the world's highest office. His countrymen and the historians of the future, I feel sure, would judge that action in terms of the courage, patriotism and self-sacrifice it would so dramatically display.

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JON BENNETT

SIRICA ENJOYING 70TH-BIRTHDAY CAKE
A compelling need for information.

tor of the Nixon re-election committee. Magruder, who has admitted helping plan the Watergate wiretapping, claims that Haldeman told him that a job would be found, but not one requiring Senate confirmation because of Magruder's involvement in Watergate. If Haldeman told Nixon the same thing, that would destroy the President's claims of not knowing then about any complicity of his political aides in Watergate.

▶ Conversations on Feb. 27 between Nixon, Haldeman and Ehrlichman. Dean contends that at this time he was told by Nixon to see him directly about Watergate problems because the other two aides were "principals" in the matter and had too many other duties. These tapes could also indicate that Nixon knew early on about the cover-up.

▶ Talks between Nixon and Ehrlichman on March 27 and March 30. These took place about the time that the President assigned Ehrlichman to conduct an "investigation" of the Watergate conspiracy—even though Dean had told Nixon that Ehrlichman was one of the conspirators. What kind of instructions did Nixon give Ehrlichman?

▶ A flurry of conversations between Nixon, Haldeman and Ehrlichman from April 14 to April 17. This was at a time when Dean and Magruder were revealing the cover-up to Justice Department prosecutors. Were Nixon and his closest aides discussing how to handle the revelations, and did their conversations indicate much earlier knowledge of the cover-up?

▶ The dialogue at a meeting of Nixon, Attorney General Richard Kleindienst and a top assistant, Henry Petersen, on April 15. This was when they informed Nixon that Dean and Magruder had named other Nixon aides as being involved in the cover-up. Was Nixon really "dumbfounded," as Kleindienst testified, or surprisingly calm, as Petersen described him at the Senate Watergate committee hearings?

Although the Rodino staff's requests for documents thus had specific and legitimate aims, they were still portrayed by Nixon and St. Clair as too vague and extensive. Nixon said at Houston that the committee wanted to "bring a U-Haul trailer" up to the White House and carry out the presidential files. Members of Congress were bristling at such exaggerations. There was overwhelming sentiment in the Congress that it would not tolerate Nixon's withholding of evidence from the Rodino committee. Nevertheless, Ziegler insisted that the White House would not supply the evidence requested by the Rodino staff until the committee "defines the charges" against Nixon and specifies "what materials are wanted and why."

St. Clair did manage, however, to provoke a partisan split within the committee. He argued that he must be allowed to be present and to cross-examine any witnesses whom the committee calls as it attempts to determine what charges, if any, to lodge against the President. Disputing St. Clair's argument, Rodino contended that his committee's investigation is not a trial or an adversary proceeding; it is akin to a fact-finding grand jury probe in which potential defendants are not represented by counsel because no one has yet been charged. Yet Republicans on the committee had a point in noting that fairness would be better perceived by the public if St. Clair was allowed to quiz witnesses. In at least four of the dozen federal impeachment cases in the nation's history, the impeached official was represented by counsel in preliminary hearings.

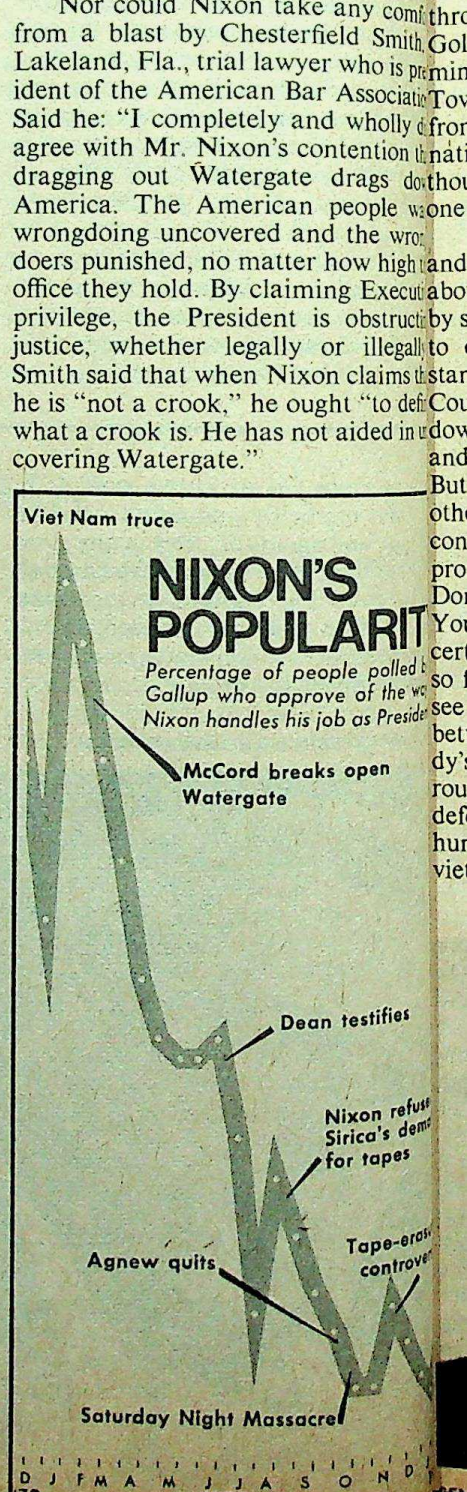
Irrelevant Drive. The situation now is more complex. To speed the inquiry, the Judiciary Committee's chief counsel, John Doar, has proposed taking sworn depositions from witnesses and presenting these documents to the full committee as evidence. This would replace lengthy committee hearings. Because this procedure has not been part of past impeachment proceedings, it is controversial.

The committee leaders hope to reach a compromise with St. Clair. They are willing to discard the idea of taking depositions. Instead, the staff would interview witnesses, who would not be under oath but would be asked to sign their statements. Since these would be less formal than depositions, no cross-examination would be appropriate. Whether committee Republicans will accept that proposal is still in doubt.

The threat of partisan division in the impeachment inquiry remained one of Nixon's best hopes for stalling an adverse committee decision. Certainly, his public relations drive was increasingly irrelevant. As Republican Senator John Tower of Texas observed: "I suppose it humanizes him a little in the public's mind when he walks into a diner and chats with a black waitress. But his problem is in Washington now. Hell, he ain't running for county sheri

Though Nixon's campaign mi stem his slide in public approval, it co hardly raise him significantly from recent lows. Two polls taken just bef he launched his public appearan showed that he was still slipping in teem. Gallup recorded a two-point d in the public's approval of Nixon's p formance, to a new low of 25%, wh Harris reported a three-point slide in rating, to 26%. Even the President's s port among political conservatives a peared to be fading *(see story page)* Conservative Columnist George F. W wrote that the one-quarter of the pu that still approves of the President is a conservative bloc. Instead, "it is lar ly an inattentive bloc of people who s port Presidents, no matter who, no ma ter what."

Nor could Nixon take any comf from a blast by Chesterfield Smith, Lakeland, Fla., trial lawyer who is pr ident of the American Bar Associati Said he: "I completely and wholly d agree with Mr. Nixon's contention th dragging out Watergate drags do America. The American people w wrongdoing uncovered and the wro doers punished, no matter how high t office they hold. By claiming Execut privilege, the President is obstruct justice, whether legally or illegall Smith said that when Nixon claims th he is "not a crook," he ought "to defi what a crook is. He has not aided in u covering Watergate."



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CONSERVATIVES

Slipping Anchor on the Right

The alliance between Richard Nixon and the nation's conservative ideologues has never been automatic or assured. His 1960 campaign, in which he compromised with New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller on matters like civil rights and medical care for the aged, caused many conservatives to worry that he was far too willing to sacrifice philosophical principles for the sake of votes. They backed him for the Republican nomination in 1968 largely because he seemed more likely to win than their preferred candidate, California Governor Ronald Reagan. Explains Texas Senator John Tower: "Having gone through the debacle of 1964 with Barry Goldwater, we were not going to be lemmings again." Moreover, according to Tower, "we received certain assurances from Nixon. So we felt that his inclination would be in our direction, even though he was never really regarded as one of us."

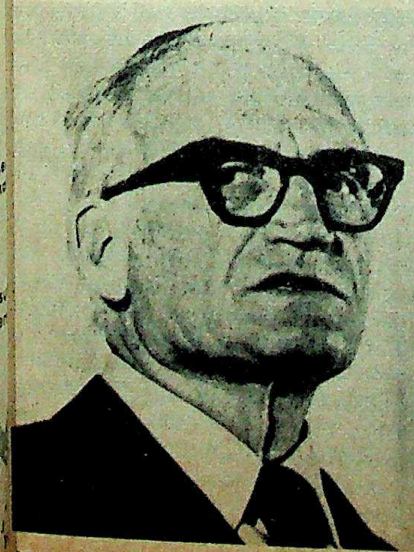
Riding Roughshod. Now, more and more conservatives are uneasy about the President. They were pleased by some of his actions, such as his move to end the antipoverty program, his stance against busing, his Supreme Court appointments, his efforts to scale down the Federal Government's activity and return revenues to the local levels. But they were dismayed by many of his other moves, including the wage-price controls that he imposed and the rapprochement with Peking. Says Frank Donatelli, executive director of the Young Americans for Freedom: "He certainly is not a conservative President so far as we are concerned. We do not see how his health-care program is much better than [Senator Edward] Kennedy's. His conception of détente is riding roughshod over our friends, ruining our defense posture and ignoring the basic human rights of people within the Soviet Union."

In his time of Watergate troubles, Nixon has tried to make fast his slipping anchor on the right. He scuttled a land-use bill in Congress, opposed big subsidies for mass transit and proposed amendments to weaken a consumer-protection bill. But conservatives regard such shifts as being too little and too late. Says Maryland Congressman Robert Bauman: "After five years of losing initiative a change at the last minute to win back our support isn't going to help." So much criticism of Nixon was voiced at a conference of conservatives in Washington last January that Presidential Assistant Patrick Buchanan rather defensively asserted: "The President may not be a card-carrying conservative, but he is certainly a fellow traveler."

Watergate and the President's fumbling defense have widened the rift between Nixon and conservatives. Many believe that the scandal has destroyed an opportunity to remake American government in a more conservative image. They had hoped that the landslide victory would make Nixon so secure in office that he would feel no need to compromise with liberals. Now, however, they believe that the Watergate scandals have changed that situation. Last week, for example, the American Conservative Union forwarded to the White House statements from 35 conservative Senators and Congressmen roundly criticizing Nixon's proposed fiscal 1975 budget of $304.4 billion with its projected deficit of $9.4 billion.

Ohio Congressman John Ashbrook, who ran against the President in several 1972 primaries, argues that "there is not much support for the President below the surface of conservatism. There is a lot of grumbling and downright hos-

AP



SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER

DOUG BRUCE—CAMERA 5



CONGRESSMAN JOHN ASHBROOK



SENATOR JOHN TOWER

AP



GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN

tility. For the average conservative, it has been a question of digesting so much stuff: Agnew, the 18-minute gap in the tape, the President's taxes, the missing deed for his papers. It is a litany of events that seems not to cease, and no demagoguery of trying to blame it on the press and on the left is going to work. The President acts as if he thinks that he has the conservatives in captivity, with nowhere else to go. That position itself grates on a lot of conservatives."

Last week, after Nixon lost the support of Senator James Buckley of New York, most other conservative leaders followed the example of Senator Goldwater, who said that he would not subscribe to Buckley's solution "at this time." From their statements, however, it was clear that conservatives were not holding back because they approved of Nixon. Rather, they fear that a resignation with no finding that he was guilty of serious wrongdoing would set a dangerous precedent.

Many conservative officeholders agree with North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms that "conservatives will make a serious error if they advocate that a President, if he is truly innocent, resign to appease a hostile press or even a majority of his countrymen." Senator Tower declares that for Nixon to resign

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THE PRESIDENCY/HUGH SIDEY

Silence as a Statement

There are important changes now occurring in the chemistry of Watergate.

Richard Nixon's new low in the Gallup and Harris polls is only a national manifestation of what has been cropping out on a smaller scale across the nation. At first, back in January when the weekly *Penny Press* of Peoria, Ill. (Nixon's favorite political town) took a sample that showed 51% wanted the President impeached, White House aides could hardly contain their disbelief and contempt. It is apparent now that Peoria was not a freak.

In four months, the share of people surveyed by the statewide Minnesota poll who want Nixon to resign has gone from 36% to 47%—just two points below those who want him to continue in office. Asked if they felt that Nixon had broken his oath of office, 58% said yes. In California, the Field Poll found 46% believed that Nixon should be impeached, an additional 24% felt that he should resign, and only 23% said that the investigations should be dropped.

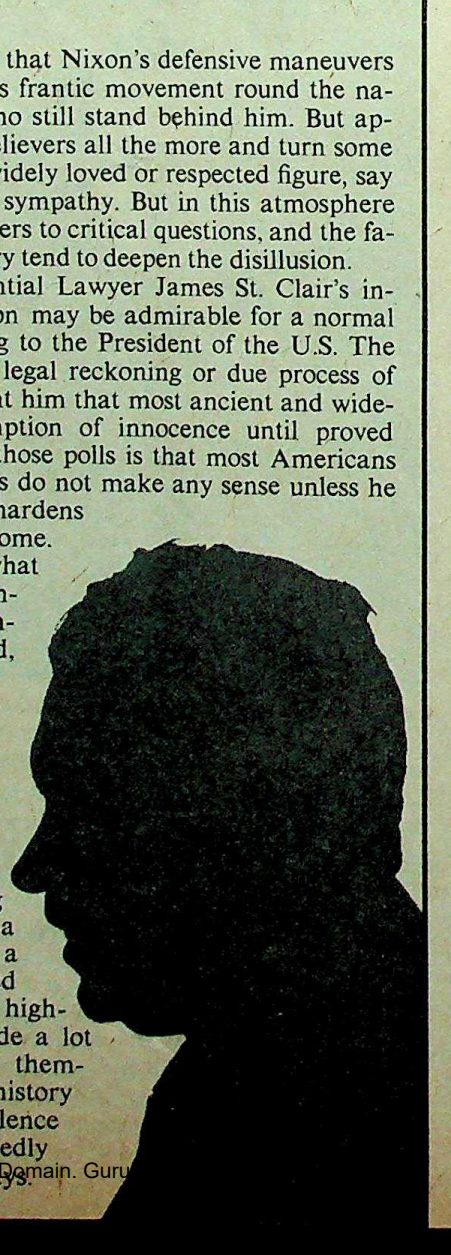
This new erosion at the grass roots has been felt in Congress. Those who have always talked tough are tougher than ever. Connecticut's Lowell Weicker went back to New Milford last week roaring: "The nation has taken offense to being treated like idiots . . . If the explanations and illogical statements emanating from the White House during the past months had come from anyone other than a President of the United States they would have been labeled for what they are—trash." Some legislators who have kept a strained silence are beginning to break, like New York's Senator James Buckley.

The silences on the Hill are also significant. Senate Republican Leader Hugh Scott, who a few weeks ago was proclaiming Nixon's innocence, is in anguish. His voice in defense of the President is muted. Friends say that he now believes it is inevitable that Nixon will be impeached. G.O.P. Whip Robert Griffin has been a troubled man for months. Some of his colleagues would not be surprised to see him add his voice to the rising chorus for resignation.

■

It may be the ultimate irony of this tragedy that Nixon's defensive maneuvers will assure his resignation or impeachment. His frantic movement round the nation may build warm emotion among those who still stand behind him. But apparently the televised spectacles anger the disbelievers all the more and turn some of the waverers into enemies. If Nixon were a widely loved or respected figure, say the poll takers, such appearances might evoke sympathy. But in this atmosphere his illogical explanations of events, his nonanswers to critical questions, and the familiar litanies of what he has done for the country tend to deepen the disillusion.

There also is evidence that while Presidential Lawyer James St. Clair's intricate legal tactics of delay and non-cooperation may be admirable for a normal defendant in a courtroom, they are devastating to the President of the U.S. The longer that Nixon is kept from some kind of legal reckoning or due process of law, the more impossible it is for people to grant him that most ancient and widely hailed of all juridical rights—the presumption of innocence until proved guilty. One thing that emerges from studying those polls is that most Americans are concluding that Nixon's defensive measures do not make any sense unless he is guilty. The power of such a belief, if it hardens further in the national mind, would be awesome.



It is the same sentiment that underlies what has been happening on Capitol Hill. Some Senators and Congressmen still try to live in a fanciful world, where hard choices can be fudged, where blunt assessments can be avoided. In his call for Nixon's resignation, Senator Buckley used language skillfully to create the image of a President innocent of criminal acts, a man essentially victimized by others. But Buckley's whole performance in the cavernous Senate Caucus Room spoke something quite the opposite, something that members of Congress until now have only dared mutter among themselves. It is the horror of the spectacle of a President of the U.S.—a friend, a Republican, a national figure for three decades—being revealed as a criminal while holding the nation's highest trust. The growing reality of this has made a lot of important people come face to face with themselves and consider their own place in the history now being written. We are in a period when silence is its own statement. But there most assuredly will be more voices raised in the next days.

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when there are only "allegations of cumstantial evidence" against would do "irreparable damage to presidency." California's Reagan scribes Buckley's call as "a little c in the road," a departure from pr conservative ideology.

Profound Effect. Nonethe Buckley's defection had a profound fect on conservatives, particularly those in Congress. "What Buckley done is pull a plug on the Preside most important reservoir," says How Phillips, a Washington lobbyist for American Conservative Union. At very least, Buckley's pronouncem will force many on the right to consider the reasons why they w Nixon to stay in office. Says Congr man Bauman: "Some of us feel that S ator Buckley said many of the thi that we have had on our minds, though we may not agree that Ni should resign." Adds California C gressman John Rousselot, a one member of the John Birch Soci "Conservatives do not want to lead charge. They do not want to ask fo public hanging in the square. But th is quite a lot of disgust with what been going on."

Quite a few conservatives have a view of Nixon's prospects. "He's not ing to resign, and his credibility is go to worsen," complains Ashbro "There's no light at the end of the t nel." Others, however, are more o mistic about the conservative ca "With or without this President, cert basic principles are going to surviv says Tennessee Senator William Bro "I am convinced that the country more conservative today—in a resp sible, creative sense—than it was years ago. I am confident that we elect a man in 1976 who is essenti in the conservative mainstream."

TRIALS

Casey at the Bat

With a friendly wave, the Gove ment's witness greeted the two celeb ed defendants, whom he had known years. Then William J. Casey, 61, former chairman of the Securities Exchange Commission, settled back a Manhattan courtroom last week to swer the prosecutor's questions ab John Mitchell, 60, the former U.S. torney General, and Maurice Stans, the former Secretary of Commerce.

Bill Casey went far to undercut Government's main case against b The two men are charged with takin secret $200,000 cash contribution Richard Nixon's 1972 presidential ca paign from Financier Robert Vesco a in return, trying to hinder an SEC vestigation into his dealings with s overseas mutual funds.

Casey did testify that Mitch phoned him in December 1971 or J uary 1972 to ask if the SEC staff was

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fairly harassing Vesco. But Casey said that he had received a number of complaints about how the SEC was handling the Vesco case. What was more, Mitchell's call came several months before Vesco made his campaign contribution.

Asked by Defense Lawyer Peter Fleming if Mitchell had ever requested him to "fix" the Vesco affair, Casey replied: "Nobody ever asked me to fix the case." And Walter Bonner, Stans' top lawyer, inquired: "Is it not a fact, Mr. Casey, that Maurice Stans never, never asked you to fix this complaint?" Casey replied: "That's a fact."

Campaign Smear. The Government has charged that Mitchell induced John Dean, then President Nixon's counsel, to contact Casey before the 1972 election and ask him to postpone some SEC subpoenas served on some of Vesco's employees. Casey acknowledged that he got a request from Dean on Nov. 2, 1972 —five days before the election. Dean, he said, wanted the testimony of the employees to be delayed until after the election, lest their appearances before a grand jury somehow be used as a "last-minute campaign smear." But, Casey added, Dean did not say that Mitchell had asked him to make the call. Casey decided that the employees should testify as scheduled, before the election.

The witness who caused the biggest stir among spectators last week was Rose Mary Woods, Nixon's personal secretary. She testified that Stans left Vesco's name off one list of campaign contributors—thus raising the possibility that he might have been trying to conceal the gift. But she noted that the financier's name appeared on a second list in the impeccable company of the four Rockefeller brothers.

It went like that all week for the Government, just as it has since the trial began a month ago: one step forward and another backward. But while the prosecutors seemed to be making little headway in establishing the charges of conspiracy and obstruction of justice against Mitchell and Stans, they have been methodically accumulating testimony supporting the less spectacular charges of perjury.

Last week Casey backed the Government's charge that John Mitchell lied to a federal grand jury on April 24, 1973. Prosecutors claim that Mitchell, despite his claims to the contrary, phoned Casey to complain that the SEC staff had sent a cable urging the U.S. embassy in Geneva not to aid Vesco when he was jailed without bail in Switzerland. Casey testified that Mitchell did indeed make such a phone call to him. According to previous testimony at the trial, Mitchell phoned the Geneva embassy himself and got Vesco sprung five months before Vesco made his secret contribution of $200,000.

This week the Government is scheduled to call its two last major witnesses: G. Bradford Cook, who was counsel for the SEC during this period—and the all-important John Dean.

THE CONGRESS

Bold Reforms for Better Budgeting

Senator Sam Ervin, co-author of the bill, proudly calls it "one of the most important pieces of legislation considered during my service in the Senate." Republican Senator Charles Percy, another co-author, claims that it is "one of the historic turning points in the evolution of our institutions." The bill has been hailed by many liberal Senators, notably Maine's Edmund Muskie and California's Alan Cranston, as well as by such conservatives as Virginia's Harry Byrd Jr. and Tennessee's William Brock.

With this kind of broad agreement, the Senate last week passed by the remarkable vote of 80 to 0 a bill that may well turn out to be as revolutionary as Ervin and Percy claim. It would for the first time in modern history make Congress an active partner with the White House in drawing up the federal budget, instead of merely approving or denying presidential proposals or developing isolated and improvised programs on its own. A similar version of the measure swept through the House last December by a vote of 386 to 23. When the differences are ironed out and the bill reaches the White House in the next few weeks, it is likely to be quickly signed into law by President Nixon, one of its longtime supporters.

The rate of inflation, the level of income taxes, the size of the national debt, the price of cheese—all are affected by the size and shape of the budget. With so much power at stake, politicians of such differing plumage would never have agreed to change the system if it was not inexcusably bad—and it is.

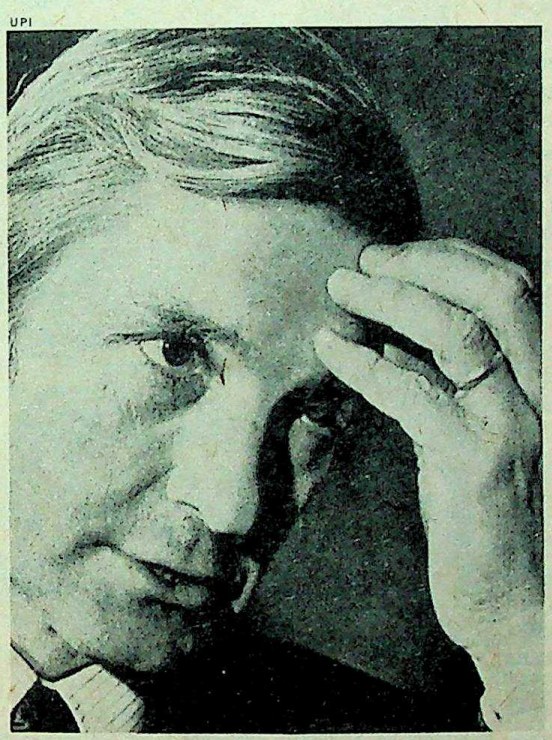
At present, the President draws up his own budget, using the 428-man Office of Management and Budget to do his staff work, and dumps the huge volume into the lap of Congress in January. The document presented by Nixon this year is intimidating: it has 1,071 pages, weighs 2½ lbs. and calls for spending $304.4 billion. Congress now has the power to revise the President's budget completely, but it lacks a centralized staff to analyze such a massive tome. More important, Congress is simply not organized to consider the proposal as a whole—or to perform the essential job of setting goals, weighing priorities, and figuring out where the money is going to be raised to meet specific needs.

Instead, the various House and Senate committees extract those parts of the budget that bear on their special responsibilities and then rearrange items, raise or lower the dollar totals, or tuck in new projects. Rather than producing a final and coordinated budget, Congress normally passes 13 separate appropriations bills that fit no overall plan. Until they are added up, no one knows how big the budget will be or how much of a deficit it will cause.

Master Plan. What is more, in the past ten years, only six of these money bills have been passed before the date that they were needed: July 1, the beginning of each fiscal year. Congress has regularly had to whiz through temporary funding measures that kept programs going. Nixon is not the first President to accuse Congress of "fiscal irresponsibility."

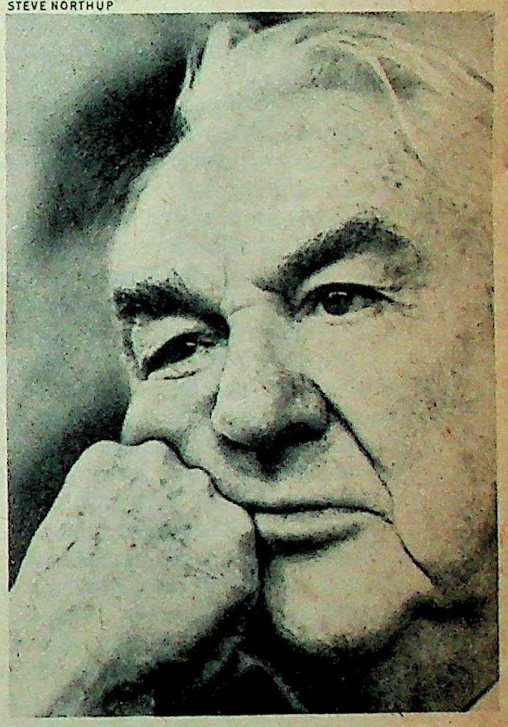
Under the Senate's bill, many of these flaws would be remedied. The

UPI



CO-AUTHOR CHARLES PERCY

STEVE NORTHUP



CO-AUTHOR SAM ERVIN

A bill to set priorities and battle the big spenders.

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President would submit his proposed budget on Feb. 15. In both houses, the budget would be referred to newly created budget committees, which would analyze its proposals with the help of economists and other experts in a new congressional Office of the Budget. The two budget committees would meet by May 1 to issue a concurrent resolution setting spending levels for all 14 major categories of programs, including health, defense and space. The committees would also specify the revenues that would be needed and the expected deficit, if any, and its effect upon the national debt. The master plan proposed by the budget committees would have to be passed by both houses by June 1.

As the summer went on, the various appropriations bills would move through Congress much as before, with politicians pushing their favorite projects; then the bills would go to the President for his signature or veto. By mid-August, after adding up the appropriations that had been passed, the two budget committees would report out a second concurrent resolution that reaffirmed or revised the earlier goals. If Congress agreed that too much money had been spent, it would have to pass a "reconciliation bill," which would reduce expenditures that had already been approved, or raise taxes—or perhaps do a bit of both. If the President went so far as to veto the reconciliation bill, Congress could either revise the measure or try to pass it over his veto. The whole complicated process would have to be finished by Sept. 25, just in time for the beginning of the new fiscal year, which would start on Oct. 1, thus giving Congress more time for deliberation.

Limit the President. Each faction in Congress has its own reason for supporting the budget reform, which would go into effect in October 1976. Conservatives see the new system as a means of battling the White House and the big spenders in Congress to achieve a balanced budget. Liberal Democrats believe that the reform would enable them to reshape Republican budgets along more progressive lines. The bill would drastically limit the President's authority to impound funds—refusing to spend money appropriated in bills that had become law. Although the political infighting over budget making is bound to go on, the skirmishing will at least take place within a more systematic framework. That is a prospect that every politician—and taxpayer—can applaud.

MISSOURI

Kit's Cleanup

When Christopher ("Kit") Bond, a lawyer from Mexico, Mo., took office last year as his state's first Republican Governor since 1940, leaders of both parties anticipated stormy sessions between him and the heavily Democratic legislature. Bond, now 35, is not only the youngest U.S. Governor but also among the most inexperienced, having won elective office only once before, as state auditor. The salvos came early and fast at the reform-minded Governor, primarily over an issue that is one of the hottest facing state governments. The issue: reorganization of the morass of committees, agencies, boards and departments that set state policy. Bond is streamlining Missouri's government —but not without a fight. As he puts it: "We are coming out of the Dark Ages."

Missouri's sprawling state bureaucracy consists of 87 departments and commissions that have grown up, layer upon layer, under the long Democratic rule. Instead of ousting faithful bureaucrats held over from previous administrations, many Governors simply created new agencies for their supporters.



T. MIKE FLE

GOVERNOR BOND EATING A FAST LUNCH AT HIS JEFFERSON CITY OFFICE
Coming out of the dark ages of state bureaucracy.

There is a board of barber examiners, a board of embalmers and funeral directors, a board of cosmetology, as well as both a savings and loan commission and a division of savings and loans supervision and seven often overlapping agencies that deal with clean water. When members of the redundant committees would go to Washington to plead for appropriations or testify on bills, they sometimes presented opposing testimony. "We had no clout in Washington because the Federal Government didn't know what the hell Missouri wanted," says Bond.

Incompetence persisted. As state auditor, Bond found that the books for the county encompassing the capital of Jefferson City had not been audited for 23 years. The department of revenue had failed to collect at least $6 million in unpaid taxes because it had not bothered to pursue tax dodgers. Of the 125 members of the state auditing staff, only ten had college degrees and only one was a certified public accountant. The legislative liaison officer at the department of community affairs was, curiously, a bartender.

By 1969, the abuses were so flagrant that Governor Warren Hearnes appointed a commission to draw up organizational proposals. Eventually the legislature drafted a constitutional amendment, which was supported by Missouri voters in a referendum. In January of 1973, after Hearnes had concluded the two terms permitted by Missouri law, Bond urged the legislature to take the last step and enact a specific reorganization law. Almost a year later, after a series of struggles between Bond and the legislature, both houses passed a bill acceptable to the Governor. Beginning in July, the state's agencies will be consolidated into 13 departments.

Bond is combing the nation to recruit top aides. As budget director, he signed up an expert from the Office of Management and Budget in Washington. For the first time that anyone can remember, the head of the accounting division in the office of administration is a CPA. The new chief of the office of administration, Robert James, a former management consultant, is computerizing employee records and the previous year's expenditures—detailed accounts of which have never been kept. Bond has asked Missouri companies to "lend" executives for up to six months to study state administration and make recommendations; so far 41 executives have volunteered.

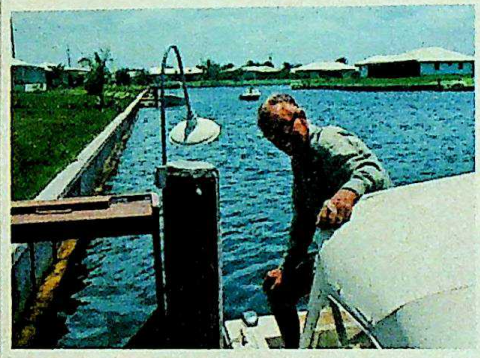
Many Missouri politicians are responding cautiously to the Governor. Republicans, hungry from the lean years, criticize his appointments of Democrats to some key agencies. Democrats complain that he has isolated himself from the legislature. The Governor, however, remains unperturbed, banking on his ability to satisfy both parties in the tradition of Missouri Compromise.

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The value of property has a better chance to increase in a "limited size" Florida community.

That's what we told Wendell Mills in 1967. How does he feel about things today?



Wendell Mills, former General Motors executive, now retired and living at Marco Island, Florida

"I looked over Florida pretty well, but once you see a place like this, there's really no question. I landed on Marco Island one evening about 7 o'clock. The next morning by 10 o'clock I had acquired property. And it's worked out even better than I hoped!"

The reason is as simple, and sound, as the law of supply and demand.

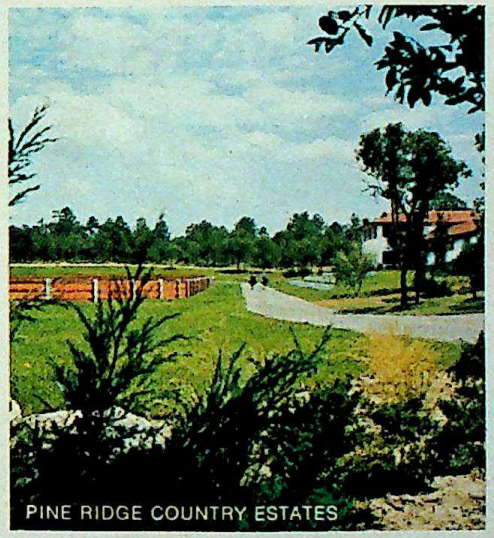
The Mackle brothers, who head The Deltona Corporation, developed the principle of "limited size" because a "limited size" community will sell out faster. And that means if you ever want to resell, you're not competing with unsold homesites held by the developer. It is a lot different from the huge developments of 100,000 acres with 250,000 homesites. They could take decades to sell out.

That's one reason Deltona property has distinct advantages as Wendell Mills and hundreds of others have found out. The Deltona Corporation continually reviews resale prices as an indicator of the vitality of its communities.

Here is a recent check of Marco Island homesite sales by owners who, for one reason or another, sold their improved homesites during the first ten months of 1973, through the Marco Island Realty Company.

Year of original purchase	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Number of improved homesites resold in Jan.-Oct. 1973	32	29	35	18	33
Average % increase of resale price over average original purchase price	111.3%	116.8%	71.2%	59.4%	50.0%

As you can see, the most dramatic increases in resale prices accrued to owners who held their property over a longer period. But on the average, the resale prices exceed the original purchase prices by 79%.



There is a similar pattern in other Mackle communities. At our first community, Deltona, resale prices of all homesites resold, from Jan. to Oct. 1973 through the Deltona Realty Company, exceeded the original purchase prices by an average of 60%.

It's not our intention to imply that increases will continue in this manner. No one can predict that. But we think we have real evidence that our "limited size" principle works.

If you agree, then we think you will be particularly interested in one of our newest and smallest communities, Pine Ridge Country Estates. It has just 5,000 homesites.

This beautiful Central Florida community is one of the few places where you can own up to 5½ acres—but not less than one acre—in a planned community. Today it has a magnificent equestrian club with show ring, stables and paddocks and miles of riding trails. There's also a Country Club Estates section.

"I always look at the financial situation of the company I'm doing business with . . . and I was really impressed with Deltona. They really stand out in this business."

Property is an important purchase, and it's important to know the people you're doing business with. The Mackles have created eight planned communities in Florida. Their family has been part of the southern building scene for 65 years. They've built a reputation—and the $350 million Deltona Corporation listed on the N.Y.S.E.—by delivering what they promise.

For details about Pine Ridge, Florida, including a full-color brochure, just mail the coupon. There's no cost or obligation.

Deltona

Ask our property owners how they feel about things today.

THE DELTONA CORPORATION
3250 S.W. Third Avenue, Miami, Florida 33129.

Yes, please send me your full-color brochure with details on Pine Ridge. I am particularly interested in:

☐ **Long-Range Real Estate Investment**
☐ **Homesites** ☐ **Homes**

☐ **Other** _____

Mr. / Mrs. / Miss _____ (Please Print Plainly)

Address _____

City _____

Country _____

Telephone _____

2040 AD 10065(K)

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"I flew KLM to Amsterdam. And Brussels.

I was treated to Royal Class service on a DC8, enjoyed the ultimate in airport design at Amsterdam, saw the grand hotels and fun palaces of Scheveningen, watched porcelain being handmade Delft and the flowers of the garden of Europe auctioned at Aalsme



The Indonesian diplomat who found Amsterdam such a surprising place to visit and KLM such a nice way to get there.

I was going to Europe on diplomatic business. Amsterdam, The Hague and then Brussels.

My travel agent recommend KLM. First, for reliability. And second, for the unique servic and style of their **Royal Class.**

I certainly enjoyed both on th KL834, my Satur afternoon flight fro Jakarta.



Champ before ta offered m with a flo by a very attractive Indonesian stewardess. The flourish continued under the hand of the purser and his very experienced cabin crew. Canapés hot and cold. A choice of cocktail Dinner, European or Asian. 7 Different coffees, Irish to Jama Slippers to relax my feet. Shades help me sleep. And so on, till I wa convinced KLM's Royal Class is definition of style.



Arriving at **Amsterdam Airpo** just after 10 on the Sunday, I kn I was in Holland immediately.

Not only because there are fl everywhere, but also due to the

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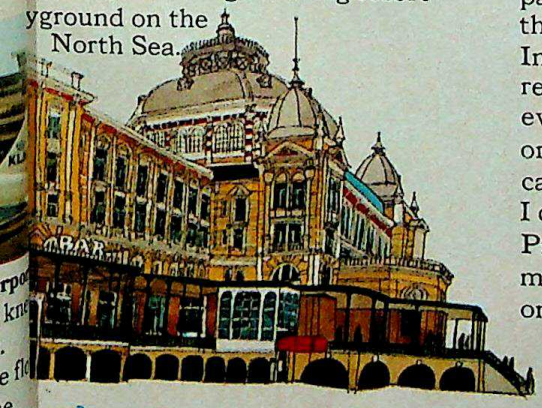
nate practicality of the airport's
gn.
The rest of that day I relaxed,
on the Monday left for The Hague,
g via the very **colourful flowercentre**
alsmeer.
One look and your guide doesn't
l to tell you you're at the world's
est flower auction. There are 54
s of it.
Bidding starts at 7 and continues
ll the flowers - up to 6,000,000 a
- are sold. Meanwhile, everything
tomated, including the visitors
view the whole business from
ended catwalks.



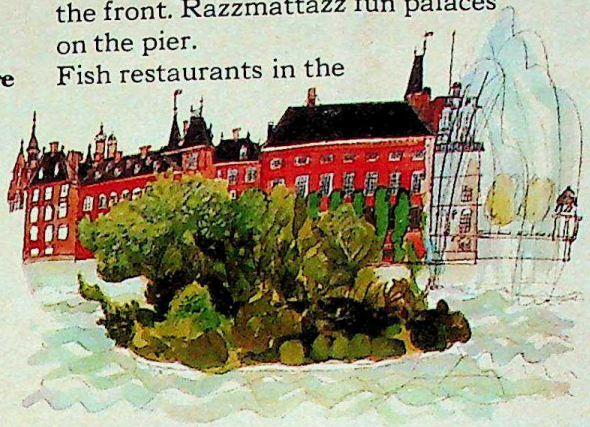
cking
my hotel
he Hague,
und a brochure offering an after-
n tour of the ancient town of Delft.
Included was a visit to the only
viving factory where the **real Delft**
Blue porcelain is still
made. Founded in 1653,
visitors are taken round
the tiny premises, shown
all the techniques
from moulding to
glazing, and allowed
to watch the artists
paint each flawless
stroke and squiggle.
(By hand, that is.)



Tuesday was occupied by
tings with government officials
he Hague, but on Wednesday the
ather was so good I went to
eveningen, a neighbouring resort-
yground on the
North Sea.



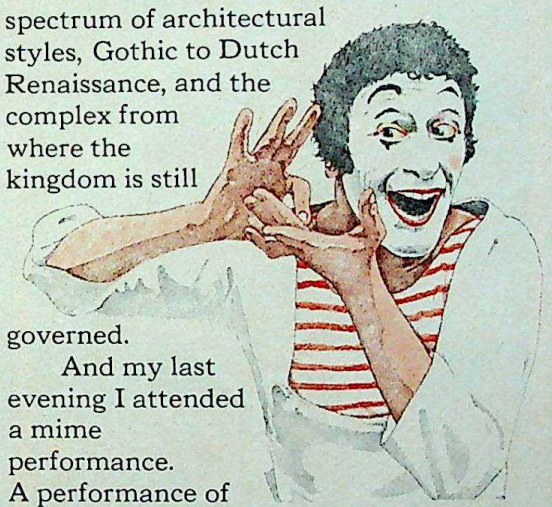
A strange mixture. The pomp-and-circumstance of grand hotels on the front. Razzmattazz fun palaces on the pier.
Fish restaurants in the



original herring port. And many of the women in traditional costumes and coiffes.

Back in **The Hague** that afternoon I walked. Walked along its wide boulevards and open squares, past its patrician mansions and discreet embassies, until in the very centre I came to a quite perfect balance of water, trees and buildings.

This was the Binnenhof. Almost a spectrum of architectural styles, Gothic to Dutch Renaissance, and the complex from where the kingdom is still governed.



And my last evening I attended a mime performance.
A performance of **pure European artistry,** unencumbered by stage props or effects.

Something else that impressed me greatly about Holland - particularly The Hague - was the vast number of Indonesian restaurants. In fact, even in the most ordinary Dutch cafés I found I could eat **sateh.**
Properly charcoal-grilled, bite-size morsels of meat speared on wooden sticks and dipped in correct, ketjap sauce.



Thursday afternoon, I reluctantly took the coach back to Amsterdam Airport, giving myself extra time to browse **the famous bargains** of the Tax Free Shopping Centre. After much indecision, I chose a 25oz bottle of rare French Cognac for $15.90, and a Sheaffer Lady's Pen Set at $15.80 for my wife at home.



Next, about 5pm, KL387, my flight number was called for Brussels. This time I enjoyed the comfort and service of a DC9, while the flight lasted barely half an hour. (I'd no idea Amsterdam Airport was that close to so many **major European cities.**) But even within that half hour, those KLM stewardesses managed to serve refreshments to all passengers with an absolute minimum of fuss.



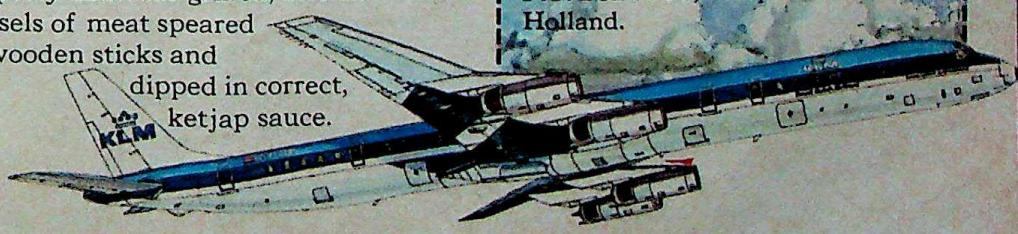
However, there was still time for me to reflect, perhaps a little sadly, on Holland and the many many pleasant surprises it had given me.

Free! Happy Holland.

Please send me the comprehensive guide to Europe's Gateway Nation in 222 pages and 17 maps.

Name .....
Address .....
City .....
Country ..... TP 8

Send this coupon before 1-6-1974 in a stamped addressed envelope to: KLM Royal Dutch Airlines, Advertising Department AMS/MC, P.O. Box 7700, Schiphol-Oost, Holland.



KLM HOLLAND "The reliable airline of those surprising Dutch."

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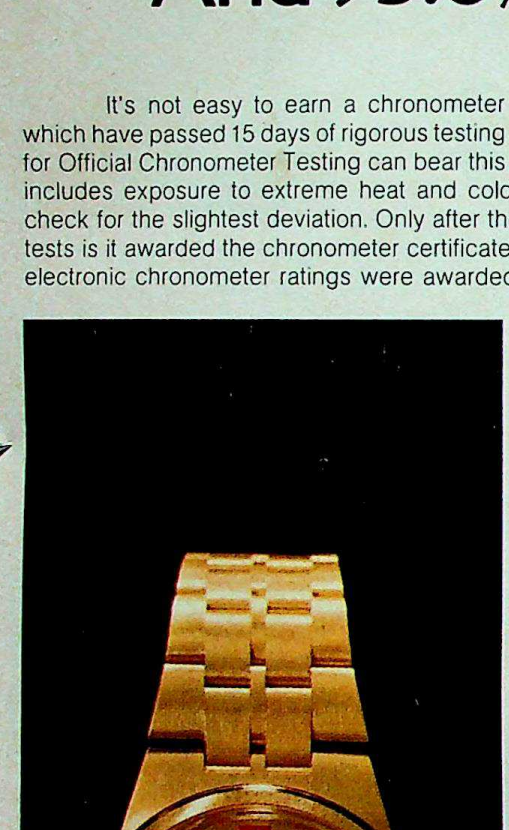
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"Electronic Chronometer" - a coveted title for the most accurate electronic watches. And 95.8% are gained by Omega.

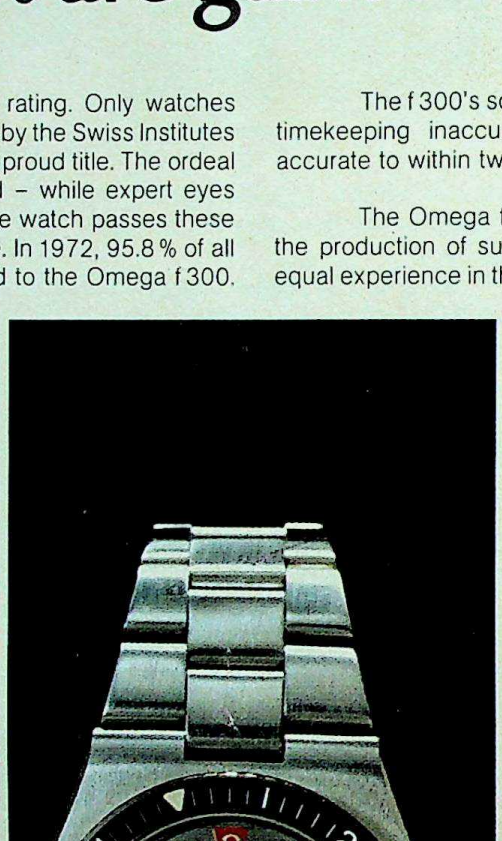
It's not easy to earn a chronometer rating. Only watches which have passed 15 days of rigorous testing by the Swiss Institutes for Official Chronometer Testing can bear this proud title. The ordeal includes exposure to extreme heat and cold – while expert eyes check for the slightest deviation. Only after the watch passes these tests is it awarded the chronometer certificate. In 1972, 95.8% of all electronic chronometer ratings were awarded to the Omega f 300.

The f 300's sonic resonator is counter-balanced to overcome timekeeping inaccuracies caused by gravity. It is guaranteed accurate to within two seconds a day.

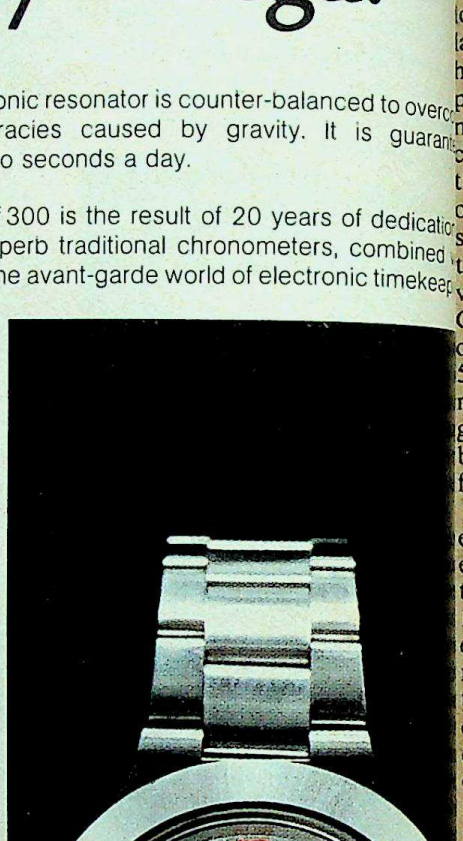
The Omega f 300 is the result of 20 years of dedication to the production of superb traditional chronometers, combined with equal experience in the avant-garde world of electronic timekeeping.



*Omega Constellation electronic chronometer, 18 ct. yellow gold, water-resistant, instant date change.**



*Omega Seamaster electronic chronometer, water-resistant, instant date change, elapsed-time bezel 1-12 or 0-60 for time-zones or diving. 18 ct. yellow gold or steel.**



*Omega Seamaster electronic chronometer steel, water-resistant, instant date change.**

OMEGA

the name you can trust in electronics

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SUPPLY

Preparing for Arab Oil

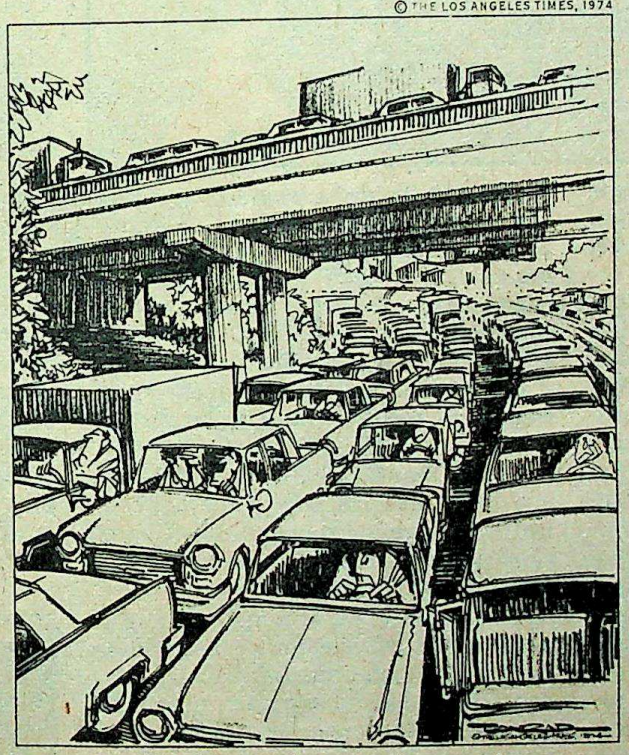
The lifting of the Arab embargo on oil sales to the U.S. had been coming so long that when it was finally announced last week most of the emotional impact had been spent. Not so the economic impact. Within a day of the official announcement, President Nixon proclaimed the end of gasless Sundays in the U.S. General Motors canceled layoffs of 27,000 workers that had been scheduled to begin this week, in the hope that greater availability of gasoline would halt the deep slump in car sales. Gulf Oil slashed prices of jet fuel, kerosene and heating oils between 1.5¢ and 5¢ per gal., while Texaco announced a penny-per-gal. cut on gasoline—welcome signs of a break in the seemingly endless inflationary escalation of oil prices.

All these actions reflected an expectation that renewed Arab exports would increase U.S. petroleum supplies by as much as 1.6 million bbl. per day by May, enough to close most of the current energy gap. Yet deep uncertainties remain about the course of Arab oil production and world crude prices. The Arabs lifted the embargo in recognition of U.S. efforts to arrange a Middle East settlement. But there remains a threat that the Arabs could close the spigot again in June if they judged that the U.S. had not pushed hard enough to secure, among other things, an Israeli pullback in the Golan Heights. The Arabs will meet in Cairo on June 1 to "review" American efforts along these lines, and could reimpose the embargo if they are dissatisfied.

President Nixon, who had warned the Arabs not to attach any "conditions" to the lifting of the five-month-old embargo, chose not to regard the decision to review as being a condition. That was a wise diplomatic attitude; without such a string attached, it is unlikely that the divided Arabs* could ever have agreed on a plan for resuming exports to the U.S. As it was, Syria and Libya refused to join in the decision, taken in Vienna at a meeting of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries.

Key Questions. Egypt and Saudi Arabia wanted the embargo ended unconditionally, but Algeria argued for a more cautious approach. Still, the final decision, conditional as it was, represented a major softening of the Arabs' demands. They had once vowed to keep the embargo in effect until Israel agreed to withdraw its forces from all occupied Arab territory, including Jerusalem.

The key questions now are how much oil the Arabs will actually make available and at what price. On these issues, too, there are serious divisions. Not all the Arab nations have been rigorously observing their proclaimed 15% cut in production below last September's levels. Libya, for example, pumped 93% as much oil during January as it did last September, and Saudi Arabia cranked out 91% as much. Last week Saudi Oil Minister Ahmed Zaki Yamani declared that his country would supply the U.S. with 1 million bbl. a day, implying a production boost all the way back to September levels. That move alone would cut the projected U.S. petroleum shortfall about in half. But Yamani's Arab brethren declined to disclose how fast they intended to pump and ship oil.



"Waiting in those gas lines used to drive me up the wall!"

The main reason for their silence is that the Arabs now face a tough choice between increased output and higher prices; they cannot have both. U.S. Energy Chief William Simon estimates that during the embargo period world daily demand for oil fell 5 million bbl. below prewar forecasts, to 46.4 million bbl. Even if oil becomes more abundant, demand is not likely to grow much—in part because the Arabs have taught the world the need for energy conservation, in part because at present exorbitant prices, roughly $11 per bbl. for crude, the world's consumers simply cannot afford to buy much more. Any big influx of Arab oil into world markets would almost inevitably produce a temporary oversupply that could crack prices.

Hot Debate. Recognizing these economic realities, the Saudis are striving to persuade the other members of OPEC (which includes several non-Arab states) to cut prices to a more reasonable level. They may fear that sky-high oil prices threaten the stability of the industrialized nations, where much of their petro-wealth is stored. Another reason: price cuts might prolong world dependence on oil by discouraging large-scale efforts to develop alternate sources of energy, such as the U.S. Project Independence. (One proposal being circulated in Washington, and presumably noticed by the Saudis, envisages spending as much as $98 billion over the next 14 years to subsidize a synthetic-fuel industry that would tap the nation's stores of shale oil and coal.) But some OPEC members—among them Libya and Iran—favor yet another oil price boost. After hot debate at last week's OPEC meeting, the oil exporters could only paper over the division by agreeing to freeze present prices for three months as a compromise.

In the U.S., some brands of gasoline could cost even more at the pump in coming weeks because many refiners will be blending high-priced Arab crude into their product and importing expensive fuel from Europe. But shortages should ease quickly; the Federal Energy Office will permit an immediate 11 million bbl. drawdown from refiners' inventories, the fourth so far this year. Exxon announced last week that it would increase supplies to gas stations from 83% of their 1972 usage to 95%. Still, some FEO officials are proceeding on the assumption that the energy crisis is far from over. They are now trying to decide what conservation measures will be needed if the Arabs do unsheathe their oil weapon again in June.

*Abu Dhabi, Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Kuwait, Qatar and Saudi Arabia.

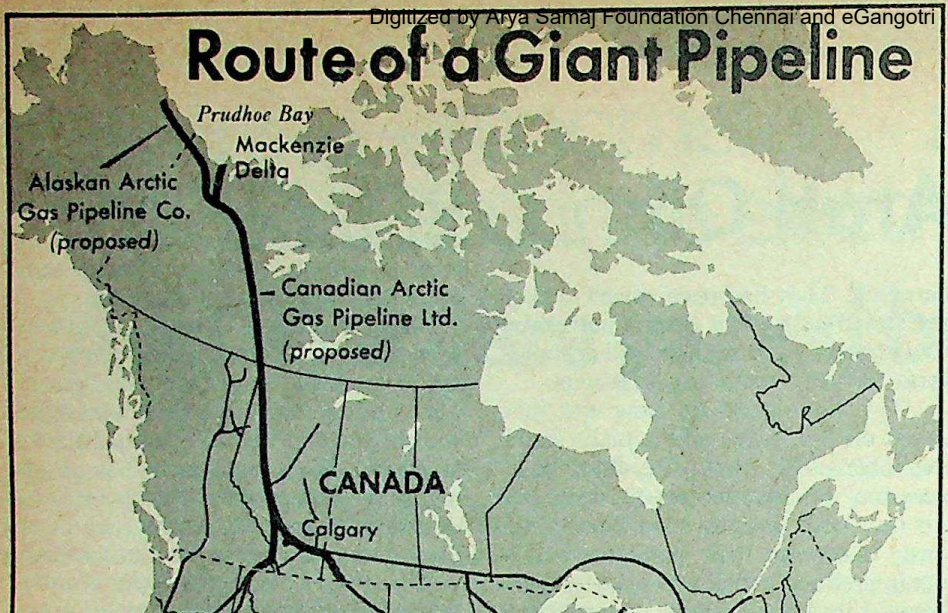
POLICY

Battle over Arctic Gas

After years of debate and controversy, construction on the first stretch of the oil pipeline between Alaska's North Slope and the Lower 48 states is scheduled to begin later this spring. Now a new battle is shaping up over the North Slope's other treasure: natural gas. Corporations, environmentalists and politi-

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cians in the U.S. and Canada have begun jostling for position on the question of how best to transport the gas to market —or whether to bother at all.

The first round began last week when Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline, Ltd., a consortium of 27 American and Canadian energy firms, filed a 7,000-page application in Ottawa and Washington. The group is seeking permission to build a 2,600-mile pipeline from Alaska's Prudhoe Bay and Canada's Mackenzie River Delta, across the barren Mackenzie Valley and into the U.S. *(see map)*. The pipeline could eventually provide some 2.25 billion cu. ft. of gas a day for customers in Midwestern and Pacific Coast states—about 3.6% of present U.S. consumption—and an equal volume for Canadians. Bearing a projected price tag of $5.7 billion, the pipeline would likely be the largest privately financed construction project ever undertaken. Consortium officials say that the gas line could be completed in 1979 if all goes well.

That is hardly likely. The project faces stiff competition from a shorter, all-U.S. pipeline that will be officially proposed this summer by El Paso Natural Gas Corp. Beyond that, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, as last week's proposal is sometimes called, involves complex and perhaps insoluble problems. Unlike the controversy over the Alaska oil pipeline, the battle for Arctic natural gas will be fought mostly over economic and political considerations, not environmental dangers.

Spokesmen for the consortium argue that Canada has only about seven years of proven natural gas reserves left before it may have to rely on the untapped Mackenzie Delta deposits. A pipeline to the delta would be too massive a financial undertaking for Canada alone. But by hooking up with U.S. gas fields in Alaska, the Canadians can share the costs. The consortium has thoughtfully proposed that the 48-in.-wide pipe be buried, the surface above it revegetated, and the gas refrigerated to prevent melting the permafrost that it would traverse.

Joint Venture. But many Canadians do not like the idea of sharing control of the pipeline—and hence, of a precious natural resource—with Americans. Moreover, some U.S. Government officials privately question the political wisdom of a massive joint venture now that Canadian nationalism is on the rise. Some Canadian economists note that the proven Mackenzie Delta gas reserves are not now large enough to justify Canada's proposed 50% share of the program's cost. And settling claims with the Eskimos and Indians whose ancestral lands the pipeline would cross could cost billions of dollars. "This is essentially a project to transport Alaskan gas to American consumers," says McGill University Economist Eric Kierans. "Building a pipeline that will last 50 to 70 years when the total known resource will be exhausted in 25 years is an expensive proposition."

Consortium officials will answer those objections in another application to be filed by next fall. Hearings will probably be held in both countries next year, and neither government is expected to make a decision much before 1976. Just about the only indisputable observation on the future of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline is that the debate now beginning will be as dramatic and complicated as the project itself.

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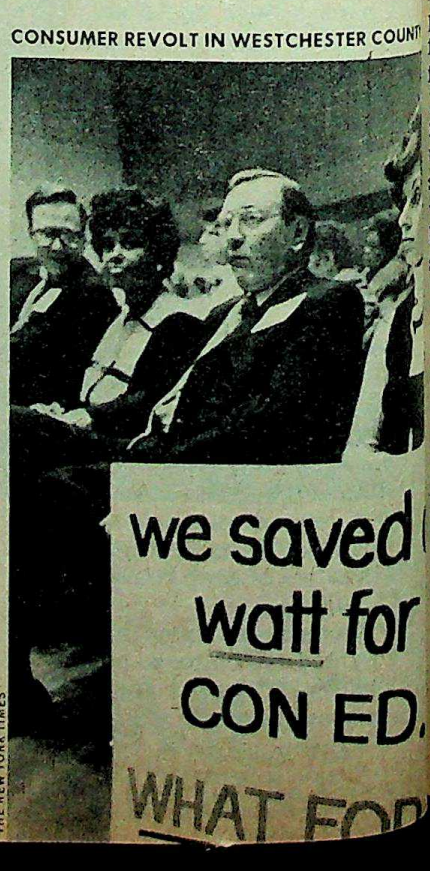
POWER

Electric Catch-22

For owners of all-electric ho —houses that use electricity for h ing, lighting and all major appliar —the energy crisis has been unmitigated financial disaster. Elect ity has become more expensive, pa because power companies have b passing along the increased costs of and fuel oil. The efforts of homeow to conserve electric power during the ergy crisis have had a devastating ca 22 effect: because electricity use clined, the utility companies' reven fell off. To recoup the loss, the com nies have jacked up their rates still ther, in some cases to the highest le since World War II.

Soaring electricity bills are anger homeowners all over the U.S., but situation appears to be most hig charged in the New York area, wh Con Edison's rates are among the hi est in the nation. Several hundred r idents of affluent Westchester Cou which has possibly the largest conc tration of all-electric homes in the U have banded together to protest rate creases that have hiked their mont bills from an average of $136.87 March to $252.52 this month, an crease of 85%. Says Housewife Te Jackson: "My electric bill was $267 February—$98 more over last year 1,500 kilowatts less." The consum contend that Con Ed has a moral ligation to adjust its rates downwa and they are refusing to pay their b until it does so. But Con Ed maintai that the rate hikes are necessary and j tified—and in fact is asking the st public service commission to grant it additional 17.5% increase.

CONSUMER REVOLT IN WESTCHESTER COUNT



Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Sport of Fishing: The Lure of Failure

Fishing: a line with a worm on one end and a fool on the other. That definition seems as good as any. The bait may vary, but at the other end of the line, nothing is altered. At about this time each year, eager anglers pour down to lake shores and riverbanks in search of fresh-water fish. And each year, despite millions of dollars spent on equipment, despite the cleverest lures in history, the fisherfolk are doomed to interminable hours of unsuccessful casts, tangled lines, spurned bait and impaled thumbs.

Theoretically, then, this somnolent sport should appeal to no one over the mental age of twelve. Instead, fishing continues to attract business leaders, politicians, intellectuals and writers to an extraordinary degree. What has hooked them?

In part, of course, it is the season. Fresh-water fishing automatically summons thoughts of lyrical spring days, when minutes, like dragonflies, hover motionless over water. Perhaps more important are the benefits derived from angling's lack of speed. Unlike any other outdoor sport, it allows the mind to unreel and stretch itself. With luck, and time, and endurance, the angler gets the long-awaited result. Out of dark water, the fish flashes to the surface like a new idea—and in that instant the sport justifies its glorious history.

From the very beginning, the appeal of the fin was irresistible. The very word angling derives from the ancient Greek *onkos,* or barbed hook. Circa 200 B.C., Cato the Elder (manifestly a non-angler) was astonished by tales of "a city where fish sold for more than an ox." (To the fisherman, the situation is unsurprising; acquiring the fish called for more ingenuity, greater effort and less tenderizer.)

History's most prominent fisherman was, of course, St. Peter, who later turned to netting souls. In the years A.D., angling was seen as something more than the mere coaxing of cold-blooded vertebrates from water. Consider, for example, Shakespeare's metaphor:

> *Your bait of falsehood takes this carp of truth, and thus do we . . . by indirections find directions out.*

With such distinguished observers and enthusiasts, it was only a question of time before the sport acquired its own philosopher. Izaak Walton, a draper by trade, was a biographer by avocation, but his chronicles have been forgotten. Only the discursive jottings on his favorite hobby have endured. *The Compleat Angler,* published in 1653, remains as fresh today as it was in Oliver Cromwell's time. Through Walton, millions of readers have learned to put as much lead "as will sink the bait to the bottom and keep it still in motion, and not more," and that "when the wind is south, it blows your bait into a fish's mouth." Through Walton's American disciple, Washington Irving, millions more have been apprised of the fact that "there is certainly something in angling . . . that tends to produce a gentleness of spirit, and a pure serenity of mind."

That something persists today, and it remains one of angling's surest lures. Its name is failure. No matter how fine his equipment, no matter how limitless his patience, it is the angler who is cast most often as the poor fish. The odds, as always, still favor the quarry; yet to the true fisherman that very failure is a kind of triumph. His sport lacks the compulsive pursuit of hunting, the dizzying zest of mountain climbing. But it grants something else: a philosophy—an acceptance and ultimately a grudging admiration for unyielding nature. It is that philosophy that lured such beleaguered politicians as Franklin Roosevelt, Hoover, Eisenhower and Kennedy. It is that philosophy that prompted Henry David Thoreau to describe time itself as "the stream I go a-fishing in." And it is that philosophy that underlies great American novels as diverse as *Moby Dick, Huckleberry Finn*—and *The Old Man and the Sea,* in which an angler's prize catch is finally reclaimed by nature.

CULVER PICTURES



IZAAK WALTON'S GENTLE ANGLER

The Old Man and the Sea has a very contemporary resonance. For too long, fishermen have been journeying down to their favorite spots, only to find them defiled. Lake Erie crawls with sludge worms and vegetation that has choked the life out of all game fish. Ohio's Cayahoga River is so oily that it occasionally catches fire; New Jersey's lower Hackensack River is a stream of odiferous waste.

But throughout the U.S., other watering places have begun to regenerate, reversing the processes of civilization. In the Hudson River, Virginia spot have begun to spawn again; trout are slowly returning to the Willimantic River in Connecticut. The destructive activities of that all-purpose villain, man, are not wholly irreversible. A decade ago, Oregon's Willamette River was the most polluted waterway in the Pacific Northwest. Even scavenging fish could not survive its toxic atmosphere. After a concerted drive by environmentalists, government officials and just plain anglers, the river has become so pure that the delicate trout and salmon can be found throughout its reaches.

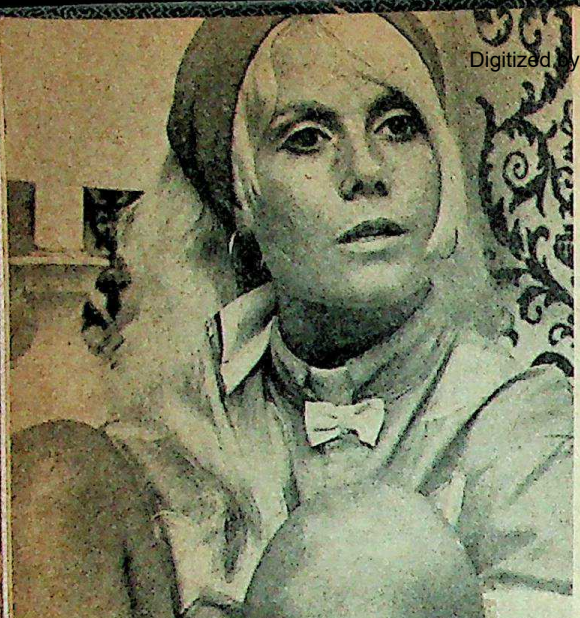
In many parts of the U.S., in fact, nature has begun to reclaim its property—with a necessary assist from concerned people and governments, and at an enormous price. The reclamation is often underwritten by America's 26,022,547 licensed anglers; every penny of the $107 million they pay in license fees is used to support conservation programs.

Yet, even if the streams revive, even if trout, muskellunge and bass thrive tomorrow as they did in Walton's day, a fisherman's luck will remain random and capricious. For most anglers, that will be all right. In the end, they do not gear up for the sole purpose of bringing back a haul of walleyed pike or edible perch. They also go out in the spirit of that great adventure novelist John Buchan *(The Thirty-Nine Steps),* who once peered beneath the surface of the water and caught the essence of the sport: "The charm of fishing is that it is the pursuit of what is elusive but attainable, a perpetual series of occasions for hope." Hope: in 1974 that remains the best bait of the angler, and of the non-participant as well. In the end, they are all in the same boat.

■ Stefan Kanfer

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LOU GOMOLAK

BACON RELAXING IN NEW YORK CITY

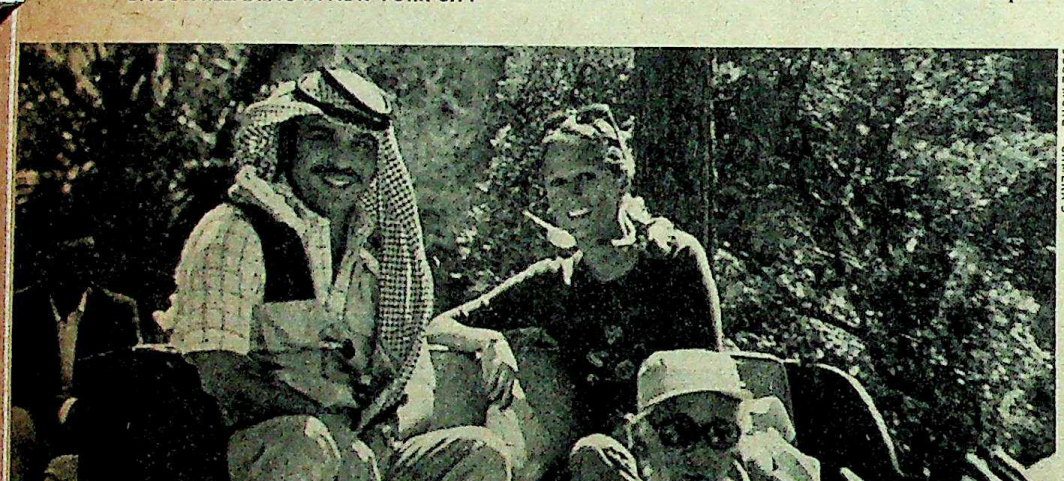
The sport of kings has been cruel to Jockey **Mary Bacon,** 25. In the five years that she has worn silks, Mary has broken her back twice, been kidnaped by a race-track "Johnny" and shot at. When Michigan's Hazel Park ruled in 1972 that Mary and her husband, Jockey Johnny, could not both compete, Mary left Johnny and went on riding. One of the few out-of-saddle distractions she has permitted herself was a nude pose for *Playboy* magazine. But it was all coming together. Two weeks into the spring meeting at New York's Aqueduct, Mary for the first time ranked among the track's top ten jockeys. Only slightly set back by a five-day suspension (for careless riding and interference) last week that interrupted her triumphant career, Mary had a simple explanation for her success: "Women have a better temperament for this work. Getting along with a horse is like winning over a child. You bullshit your way along."

■

For the third year in succession, King **Hussein** of Jordan, 38, elected last week to vacation in Palm Beach. Though unofficial, his visit did not go unnoticed. **President Nixon** provided him with three bulletproof limos, and Hussein was accompanied by his Prime Minister, Zaid al-Rifai, and Armed Forces Chief of Staff Major Zaid bin Shakar. The diminutive monarch put up at the home of Jordan's honorary consul in Palm Beach, Kleenex Heir James Kimberly and his wife Jacquie. Then he set about enjoying himself. A day's shooting on a nearby game preserve bagged 40 quail and an ocean fishing trip in the Atlantic made His Majesty the possessor of a mighty fish: a 130-lb. grouper. A visit to Disney World followed, and finally the mandatory shopping spree, which last year required a special plane to take home the goodies. Asked why Palm Beach had become a popular Hussein holiday spot, Kimberly replied succinctly: "He feels safe here."

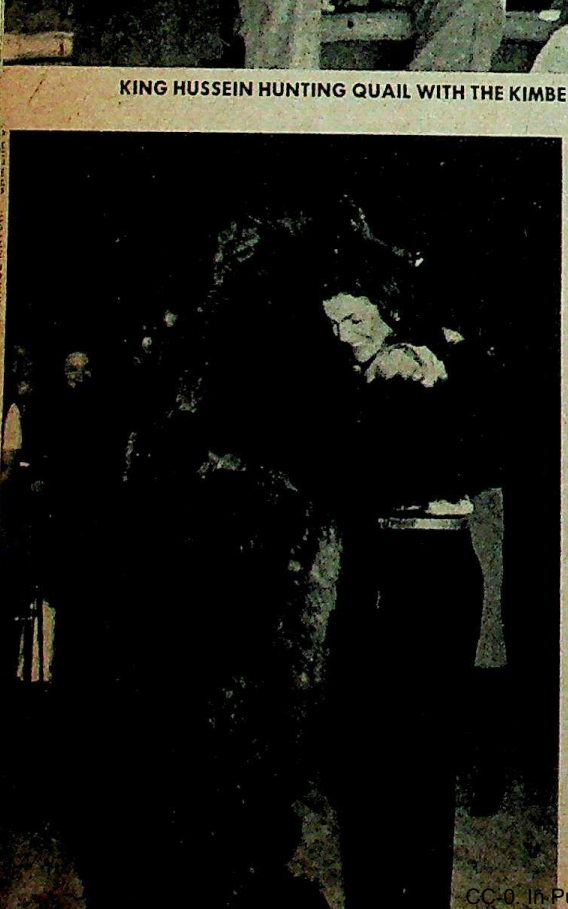
■

On their way to Egypt for a trip up the Nile to see the pyramids, Jackie **Onassis** along with **Caroline** and John **Kennedy** stopped off at Husband Aristo's Paris apartment. One evening they strolled out to the Palais des Congrès to see the visiting Russian folk ballet Berioska and during the intermission went backstage to meet the cast. Jackie was so taken by the great big bear who is a traditional member of the troupe that she asked him to dance. So, with a great



JOSE MORE—CAMERA 5

KING HUSSEIN HUNTING QUAIL WITH THE KIMBERLYS IN FLORIDA





PHOTOREPORTERS

CHARLES & BARBRA CONFERRING IN HOLLYWOOD ON PALACE ENGAGEMENT

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he bear obliged, sweeping a beaming Mrs. Onassis into his furry arms for a uspiciously professional waltz.

■

Movie Director **Sidney Lumet** will eed all his little gray cells, as **Agatha hristie** would put it. Next month he tarts shooting outside London her 40- ear-old thriller *Murder on the Orient Express*. **Albert Finney** will play Chris- ie's eggheaded detective Hercule Poirot. But it is the passenger list that may cause umet the most trouble. **John Gielgud, ngrid Bergman, Vanessa Redgrave, ean Connery, Wendy Hiller, Richard Widmark, Michael York, Jacqueline Bis- et, Lauren Bacall** and **Anthony Perkins** re among those embroiled in the hug- ermugger aboard a train snowbound in he Alps. Lumet has planned the whole peration with military precision and ooks forward to eight weeks of planting lues and feeding egos. Says he: "It's go- ng to be done with gaiety and humor —and the very best fakery."

■

"In case you forget, I'll be the rath- r tall girl in the red hair standing some- where in the middle of things." So- prano **Beverly Sills** was only half teasing New York City Opera Conductor **Jul- us Rudel.** With only hours' notice, no rehearsal, and without ever having seen he production, Sills had gallantly greed to sing *La Traviata* when the company's production of *Medea* was anceled because of Soprano Maralin Niska's illness. Sills had last sung Vi- oletta in New York more than twelve years before, but she winged it superb- ly. Meanwhile, in the orchestra pit, an- other hero was being hailed. Lent to the Metropolitan Opera because he was not needed in *Medea*, Second Percus- sionist Paul Fein had to dash back and forth across Lincoln Center to pick up his cues in both *Traviata* and *Les Troy- ens*. Explained Rudel to Sills: "If you hear a cymbal crash, you'll know he made it."

■

Hollywood was determined that the Royal Navy lieutenant would appreciate its empire. Putting **Prince Charles** into a tramcar, Universal ran him through a routine parting of the Red Sea on the huge back lot, then gave a display of stunt men's skills and special effects that included falls from saloon win- dows, the burning of a bank and a flash flood. When Charles specifically asked to meet **Barbra Streisand,** he was whisked to Columbia, where she was recording songs for her new movie *Fun- ny Lady*. Catching Streisand by sur- prise when she popped out of a re- cording booth, Charles was apologetic: "I hope I'm not interrupting your tea break." Whereupon he and Streisand enjoyed a cuppa, sort of. "I'm afraid it's not English tea," said Barbra. Opined Charles: "It tastes like cinna- mon." Then they disappeared together into a sound mixer's booth and con- ferred privately for 15 minutes. Charles asked Barbra to come and sing for him, and Barbra was overheard to reply: "Oh, I've never played that Palace."

■

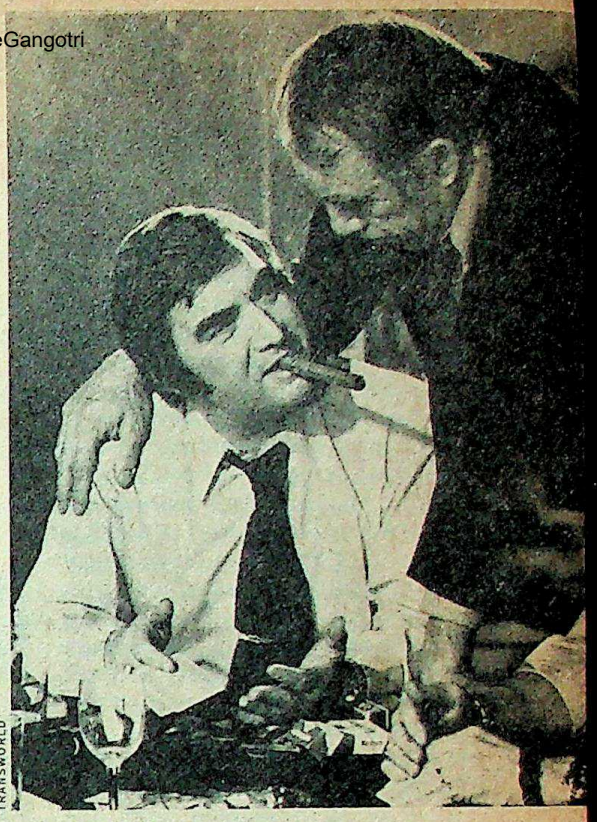
Psyching out a tableful of experi- enced stonewallers, **Pierre Salinger,** 48, came away from the poker table with the pot: $40. Former Presidential Press Secretary Salinger, who is now a "rov- ing editor" for the French newsmaga- zine *L'Express,* was making his movie debut as a cardsharp U.S. embassy of- ficial in *The Marseilles Connection*. At the Paris location, Salinger spent a happy day in his shirtsleeves, wreathed in cigar smoke, outsmarting fellow players for the three-minute scene. As for the professional actors, said Pierre, **Anthony Quinn** "was terribly kind and helpful to the neophyte." Then he added that he was not really a beginner. In 1967 he ap- peared as a shady lawyer, Lucky Pierre, in "The Funny Feline Felonies" seg- ment of *Batman,* from which he still earns an annual $18.21 in residuals.

■

At least three movies have been based on **Eddie** ("Pop- eye") **Egan's** exploits: *The French Connection, Badge 373* and *The Seven-Ups*. Now Ed- die's turning the tables on Hol- lywood. After being bounced by the New York City police department in 1971, some say for his informal working hab- its, and a stint in Hollywood as an actor, Eddie is now play- ing Sam Spade in Florida. He has set up his own detective agency, Security Unlimited, and hired to run it Robert Dan- ner, the New York policeman who caught Jewel Thief Murph the Surf in 1964. Local busi- ness, reports Eddie from his other new enterprise, a restaurant called "The Lauderdale Connection," has been so good that he plans to turn the agency national.

■

"I just want people to hear me sing," said Actress **Diane Keaton,** 28. So, with her acting chores in *The Godfather, Part II* behind her, and another movie with her friend **Woody Allen** scheduled for later this year, Diane has been prepar- ing for another career. For the past few weeks she has appeared on talent night at a Greenwich Village cabaret as a blues singer. Opening with a Bessie Smith favorite, *Oh Daddy,* Diane sings for 15 minutes before yielding the stage to another aspirant. Diane honed her style by listening to Doris Day and Judy Garland records as a child. "I did not like my singers because I couldn't sing along," she says enigmatically.



TRANSWORLD

LUCKY PIERRE WINS THE POT



AL SATTERWHITE—CAMERA 5

EGAN SAMPLING FOOD IN HIS RESTAURANT



KEN REGAN—CAMERA 5

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The Rugged Anchor Man

His grandfather crossed the plains to Montana in a covered wagon, and Chester Robert Huntley's childhood was spent on the raw edge of America's last frontier. The rugged spirit he absorbed from his family and the land prepared him to cultivate the untilled fields of electronic journalism. As co-anchor man of NBC's *Huntley-Brinkley Report* for 14 years, he became one of the country's most recognizable celebrities while earning respect for his skill as a newsman. When he left NBC in 1970, he returned to Montana, and it was there that he died last week of lung cancer, at 62.

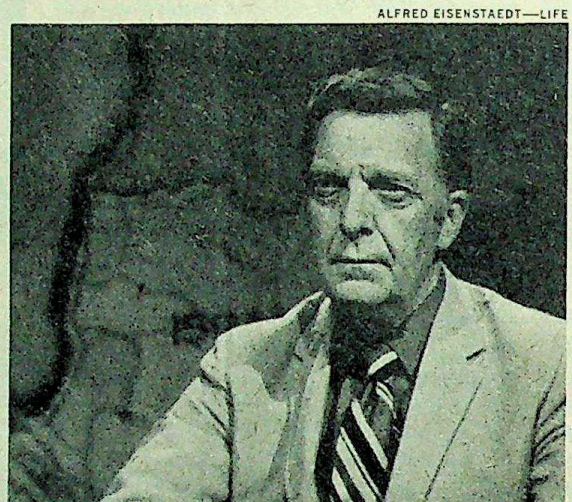
Chance Pairing. Depression hardship and anemic science grades ended Huntley's early hopes of becoming a doctor, but a rich baritone voice and a penchant for oratory led him to his lifetime work. After being graduated from the University of Washington in 1934, Huntley took on a $10-a-month announcing job at a tiny radio station in Seattle. The deal included free meals in return for on-the-air plugs. The station had no news-gathering facilities, so Huntley satisfied his itch to broadcast news by buying a Seattle paper each evening and rewriting stories for use on the air. During later stints with CBS, ABC and NBC outlets in Los Angeles, Huntley insisted that TV news should be more than a dry recitation of bulletins. He expressed opinions when he felt they were called for and drew right-wing fire for advocating minority rights and criticizing Senator Joseph McCarthy.

NBC brought Huntley to New York in 1956, ostensibly to compete with CBS's Edward R. Murrow. But a chance pairing with Washington Correspondent David Brinkley at the 1956 political conventions made television history. Huntley's informed earnestness was the perfect foil for Brinkley's wry wit. Enthusiastic viewer response prompted NBC to reunite the team on the evening news in October. The program's sign-off ("Good night, Chet"—"Good night, David") soon became a slice of Americana. The *Huntley-Brinkley Report* consistently clobbered the opposition networks in ratings and won every major award available to television news.

Huntley's rather glacial TV presence was a mark of his professionalism, not his personality. A large, genial man, he possessed an openness that seemed out of place in Manhattan's canyons. His second wife Tipton, a former TV weathercaster, shared his love of travel and the unspoiled wilderness. He had two daughters by his first marriage, which ended in divorce in 1959.

Despite his amiability, controversy frequently dogged him. His refusal to honor his union's picket lines during a 1967 strike by the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists aroused the ire of many colleagues. (Huntley argued that AFTRA is a union of "singers, actors, jugglers, announcers, entertainers and comedians, whose problems have no relation to ours.") The Nixon White House regarded him as a special thorn, and internal memorandums depicted him as a paradigm of the influential journalists who badgered the Administration. Further criticism followed his decision—after retiring from the program—to lend his anchor man's cachet to airline commercials. As board chairman and promoter of Big Sky, a planned $20 million Montana resort area, Huntley was attacked by conservationists.

ALFRED EISENSTAEDT—LIFE



NBC NEWSCASTER CHET HUNTLEY IN 1970

Cultivating untilled fields.

Huntley might have avoided some of these problems, but sophisticated p.r. maneuvering was not his strength. Stubborn independence was, and that trait communicated itself to his millions of viewers. It made him believable, the essence of success in the medium he helped form and shape.

Indianapolis Cleanup

CITY POLICE CORRUPTION EXPOSED bannered in the Indianapolis *Star* on the last Sunday in February. The steamy series (60 installments are planned) has so far lived up to its billing. Among *Star* allegations: many officers are involved in prostitution, both as paid "protectors" and nonpaying patrons. Police shakedowns of drug pushers and users are "a way of life" in the Indianapolis underworld. Some policemen regularly traffic in stolen goods.

Such findings are the yield of months of hard digging by three *Star* reporters: Bill Anderson, 48, H... Bierce, 32, Dick Cady, 33, assiste... Photographer Jerry Clark, 34. The... tet depended heavily on clande... meetings with over 400 informa... nearly 60 of them policemen. They recorded every scrap of informa... The work had its hazards: the repo... were often trailed by the police, and phoned threats became common.

Public Shock. The story posed other kind of problem for *Star* Publ... Eugene C. Pulliam, 84, and his son ... gene S., 59, assistant publishe... both the *Star* and the Indiana... *News*. For six years their conse... tive papers have firmly backed ... publican Mayor Richard L... and the exposé came just as L... was launching a senatorial c... paign against Democratic In... bent Birch Bayh, a Pulliam fa... The *Star* did hold up publicatio... two months so that the FBI c... look into the evidence for pos... federal violations. Despite the ... barrassment to Lugar, the you... Pulliam decided the story co... wait no longer. "It's more imp... tant," he told *Star* Managing Ed... Bob Early, "to clean up a cor... police department than to w... about winning an election."

As public shock at the s... spread, Lugar defensively poi... out the difference between an a... ymous tipster and a grand-jury ... ness. He said citizens had s... times brought him charges sim... to those running in the *Star*. "W... I've asked them to testify u... oath before the Marion Co... grand jury," he complained, "many ... appear." But Lugar's problem did ... Questions about police corruption b... popping up at speeches given well ... side Indianapolis, and Lugar decided ... deal with the issue at home. He for... a seven-man committee to study the ... lice department, began interview... some policemen himself. Finally, ... fired the chief of police, a deputy ... the city safety director. Then the m... or brought in a former Secret Ser... agent to clean house.

Lugar readily admits that the ... series goaded him into action. De... the police department's success at s... ing homicide cases and curbing vio... crime, corruption in the force has b... an open secret in Indianapolis for y... Lugar says that "in my six years w... removed ten people from the police ... partment, and this is not an easy th... to do." The *Star* has made it easier ... the mayor, and Assistant Publisher ... liam thinks that the series may ... boost Lugar's election chances: "It ... given him name recognition he m... had before."

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Group Sex Therapy

Impotence and frigidity are very private problems that sex therapists usually treat on an individual basis. But they can sometimes best be cured in the company of a group of people with similar problems. That is the opinion of Psychiatrist Herbert Vandervoort, 47, director of the Sex Advisory and Counseling Unit of the University of California Medical School in San Francisco. His clinic in the past two years has been pioneering a program of low-cost sex counseling for mixed groups of as many as 40 people.

Vandervoort and his staff of 24 counselors tackle the full range of sexual woes from premature ejaculation to simple marital boredom. The approach is novel, to say the least. One of the clinic's most controversial innovations is a weekend marathon of sexually explicit education films shown to as many as 20 couples at once. The screening, which includes a few old stag reels (for "historical interest," says Vandervoort), helps reduce anxiety about sexuality while at the same time demonstrating some typical patterns of sexual behavior. Six hours of movies and a lengthy discussion with counselors are enough to help some people. But others find it necessary to continue therapy in smaller groups, usually with a male-female counseling team.

Fantasy Use. Depending on their problems, clients (the word "patient" is never used) have a full curriculum of programs from which to choose. For "pre-orgasmic" women (those who have never achieved orgasm), there is a ten-session course in which they discuss their problems with female counselors, view movies, and receive homework assignments in such subjects as masturbation technique and use of fantasy in sex. Of the 150 women who have taken this program, 90% were eventually able to achieve orgasm.

One of the clinic's most effective innovations is a two-session class for couples. At the initial four-hour meeting, ten to 20 women meet with counselors to discuss female sexuality, history and anatomy; they know that their male counterparts are sitting in a separate room and listening through a closed-circuit television hookup. A week later, the procedure is reversed and the men talk while the women listen.

The economies of group therapy allow Vandervoort's clinic to charge an average of only $30 to $35 for each of the ten visits usually required to complete the treatment. The two-session class for couples costs $20 per person. That cost compares favorably with sex therapy facilities like the famed Masters and Johnson Reproductive Biology Research Foundation in St. Louis, where counseling is private and bills run to $2,500 per couple. There are other benefits as well. While the Masters and Johnson clinic requires a two-week stay in St. Louis, Vandervoort's clients meet just once a week while maintaining their jobs and a normal life-style. More important, says Vandervoort, "people working in groups tend to gain support from the group. The educational process comes not only from what they learn in their sessions but also from discovering that they are not isolated, that others have the same troubles."

An Instant Cure

When the board of trustees of the American Psychiatric Association makes a ruling, it is usually accepted as canon by the association's members. But when the board voted last December to cease classifying homosexuality as a "mental disorder," there was dissension in the psychiatric ranks. Opponents of the ruling circulated petitions, issued angry statements and forced the A.P.A. into unprecedented action: this month, for the first time in the A.P.A.'s 129-year history, a board decision is being put to a vote of the association's entire 21,000 members.

The December ruling, which the National Gay Task Force called an "instant cure," came after intense lobbying by homosexual groups and endorsement of the change by all the A.P.A.'s 68 district branches. In a statement accompanying the announcement of their vote (13 for change; two abstentions and four absent), the trustees declared that many homosexuals show no signs of psychopathology, are satisfied with their sexual preferences, and can function effectively in society. It therefore seemed inappropriate to call them "sick." Those who are troubled by their homosexuality, the board said, would henceforth be described as suffering from a "sexual-orientation disturbance."

New York Psychiatrist Charles Socarides, who circulated the petition demanding the referendum, calls the ruling "the medical hoax of the century." Says Socarides: "It is flying in the face of the one fact we know, which is that male and female are programmed to mate with the opposite sex, and this is the story of 2½ billion years of evolution and any society that hopes to survive."

To the estimated 11 million homosexuals in the U.S., the reclassification is much more than a matter of semantics. They feel that the mental-disorder stigma has long been used to deny them fair housing, employment, child custody and immigration rights. Psychoanalyst Robert Spitzer, author of the board's position paper on homosexuality, supports their view. The new definition, he says, will remove "one of the justifications for the denial of civil rights to individuals whose only crime is that their sexual orientation is to members of the same sex." Many of Spitzer's colleagues concur. "It is unfair to label homosexuality in and of itself a mental illness," says Dr. Judd Marmor, a Los Angeles psychoanalyst and candidate for the American Psychiatric Association presidency. "That is a moral judgment."

Spitzer, Marmor and others have urged the A.P.A. membership to uphold the board's ruling. Though they seem likely to prevail when the votes are counted next month, they are unwilling to predict certain success. "Psychiatrists," warns Marmor, "are not immune to the prejudices of their culture."

FRED MCDARRAH



CELEBRATORS AT A GAY LIBERATION DAY PARADE IN NEW YORK CITY

A question that is more than a matter of semantics

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CHRISTIAN DEVILLE—L'EXPRESS

CATHOLIC LAYMAN DISTRIBUTING COMMUNION DURING PRAYER ASSEMBLY IN FRANCE

Priestless Sundays

The old stone church of St. Michel in the tiny French village of Rodlinghem is full this Sunday morning. A strapping, red-bearded farmer named Gilbert, 22, leads the choir and congregation in the first hymn. As the notes die, 28-year-old Jean-Paul, a wiry, lean-faced legal clerk standing at the sanctuary lectern, launches into a short homily on the meaning of Lent, likening the penitential season to an automobile overhaul. After more songs and the reading of the Gospel, Pierre, 66, a sturdy, gray-haired retired farmer, leaves his pew and walks to the tabernacle. There he removes a ciborium of communion hosts consecrated by the parish priest the week before and distributes them to his fellow congregants. Later, as the worshipers rise to leave, Jean-Paul makes a hasty announcement. "We forgot to take up the first collection, so please be extra generous as you leave."

Scenes like the one at Rodlinghem are becoming more and more common in rural France these days, as parish after parish takes its turn at a "priestless Sunday." The country that anticlericals once thought priest-ridden is now facing a severe shortage of Roman Catholic priests (as are most European nations). In 1965 there were 40,000 French priests; by 1975 there may be as few as 30,000. As one result of the shortage, French bishops, meeting last year in Lourdes, tacitly authorized laymen to hold "prayer assemblies" in churches that cannot offer Sunday Mass.

For some small French communities, depopulated by the rush to the cities, the prayer services have meant a new lease on life. In the Rodlinghem area, for instance, the village of Hocquinghen seemed to be dying. There were only 85 inhabitants left, and the school and café had closed. The Abbé Marius Gobert, dean of the church at the nearby town of Licques, did not have enough help to serve the four parishes in his area and decided to close Hocquinghen's church. But the town's young people, distressed at seeing the parishioners splinter off to other towns for church, asked to hold the new prayer assembly in place of Mass. Soon the district's other three towns—Licques, Rodlinghem and Ecottes—were offering to share their priest by taking one priestless Sunday each month.

The homemade prayer assemblies have ignited an enthusiasm for worship services that is unusual for modern France. "I thought no one was interested in religion any more," says Abbé Gobert. "Now, in my old age, my parishioners are active in the church and really participate. I have volunteers for everything. I let it all come from them." At Rodlinghem, a permanent committee of 20 prepares the service, but rotates some tasks among other parishioners so that as many as 150 can participate each year. The enthusiasm has spilled over into the regular Masses, in which the congregants now take more active part.

So far, the prayer assemblies have been started in eight dioceses in France and will almost certainly spread further. Advocates of the practice, like Bishop Henri Derouet of Sées in Normandy, recognize that people worship best in their own communities. "If the faithful have to go some other place to Mass, they do not feel at home," says Derouet. "Little by little eventually they stop going." There are critics, of course. While lay-led Catholic services are commonplace in mission countries like Africa, and have become popular in priest-short areas such as East Germany, some of the French clergy still see them as dangerously close to Protestantism. Some parishioners reject too, but they are, says one Rodlinghem layman, "the same ones who haven't approved of the Mass since it stopped being said in Latin."

A few scrupulous congregants who like the service have a different problem: they don't feel it fills their Sunday obligation. But Abbé Gobert finds this reluctant enthusiasm a good measure of the assemblies' effectiveness. "Every woman always takes part in the Sunday prayer assembly," he notes. "But the men goes to Mass on the Saturday night before to be on the safe side."

The Towers of Silence

The choicest residential area in Bombay is Malabar Hill, where imposing mansions and apartments house the city's elite. But the crown of the hill remains a jungle, thick with date palms and banyan trees, girded by two concentric walls that protect it from the encroachments of civilization. Inside the walls, amid the trees, are six low, stadium-like enclosures. Residents of Bombay know them as *dokhmas*—the towers of silence." It is to these structures that the city's powerful community of Parsis bring the bodies of their dead, exposing them to the air so that scavenger birds can pick the corpses clean.

The origins of this bizarre practice are ancient. The Parsis, as their name implies, are descendants of Persians who fled the conquering armies of Islam

FUNERAL ATTENDANTS CARRYING CORPSE INTO BOMBAY *DOKHMA* WHILE VULTURES WATCH



EHAN R GAZDAR—WOODFIN CAMP

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e 7th century. Like their Persian an-stors, they are Zoroastrians, followers a myth-enshrouded religious prophet amed Zoroaster who lived some six nturies before Christ. Zoroaster's ex-t teaching is obscure but, as passed own by the Parsis, it is basically a vi-on of life as conflict between a spirit goodness and light—Ahura Mazda -and a spirit of evil and darkness—Ah-man. The Parsis worship Ahura lazda in the form of fire, one of three cred elements. Because the earth is so sacred (as is water), they choose to ury only the bones of their dead—after e flesh has been stripped away in the wers of silence.

Now both the tower ritual and the arsi community itself seem to be on e decline. As high-rise apartments go p around Malabar Hill, it has become asier to catch a glimpse of what was nce forbidden to all but the tower at-ndants—a view of the interior of the wers, where the dead are left as car-on. Visiting one of the new buildings, horrified Parsi was able to see shrunk-n corpses stacked in grotesque piles in-de one tower. After he complained, a all was quickly built to screen the tow-. But Parsis now realize the shortcom-gs of the ancient method. The vultures ill come, along with other birds, but r some unexplained reason scarcely uch the corpses these days. Many Par-s want the old custom changed.

First Cousins. Other traditions may ave to change if the Parsi community is survive. Indian Parsis number only out 100,000 worldwide; 65,000 of them e concentrated in Bombay. They are n uncommonly talented community: arsis started twelve of India's 15 major odern industries; others helped lead dia's independence struggle. But the mmunity is in danger of dying out. Be-ween 1966 and 1970 in Bombay, 5,195 arsis died; only 3,828 were born. The eligion does not accept converts. The ith is inherited, and Parsis marry late, roducing few children. Moreover, only man may pass on the faith to his chil-ren if he marries an outsider. A woman annot. To wed within the faith, Parsis ten marry first cousins. Generations of breeding have caused a high incidence such hereditary illnesses as diabetes, ilepsy and certain heart diseases.

India's Parsi community has been rther diminished by emigration to oth-countries, but that could possibly be e religion's salvation. In New York st week, when Parsis from the East-n seaboard gathered to mark the ring equinox with a New Year's fes-val, many of the couples present were ixed marriages in which the Parsi fa-er raises his children in the old re-gion. The Parsis of the New World (as ell as a few in India) have also hit on resolution of the burial problem—ap-arently without breaking the tenets of eir faith—by cremating bodies. As ey see it, the use of electric cremation vens instead of flame does not violate e purity of the sacred element of fire.



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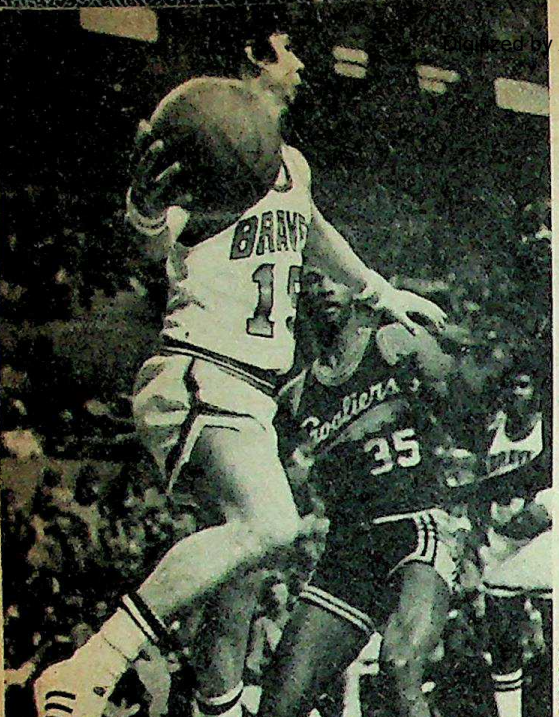
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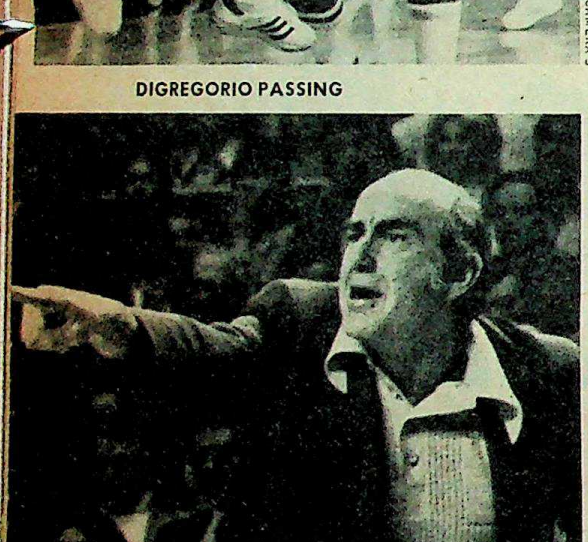
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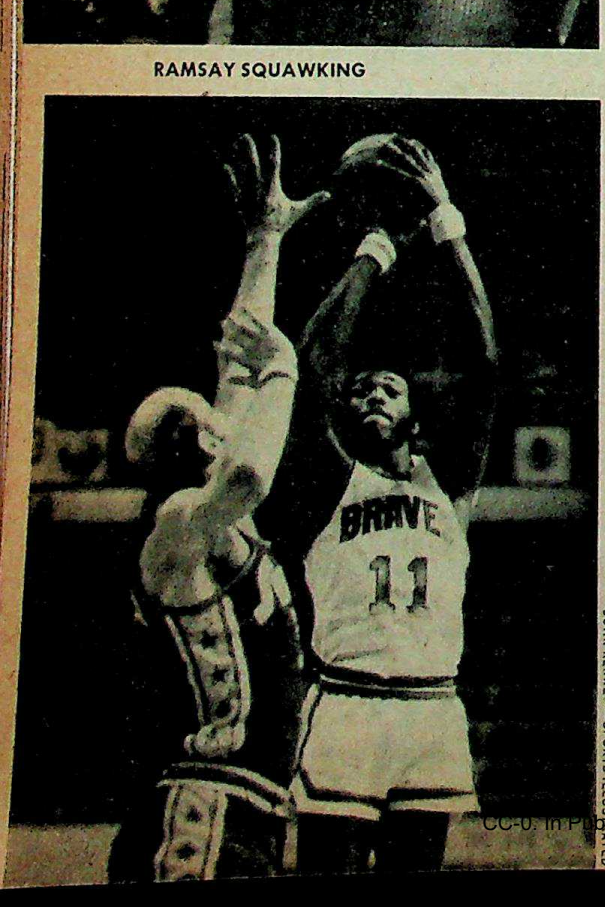


DOUG BRUCE—CAMERA 5

DIGREGORIO PASSING



RAMSAY SQUAWKING



JOHN KENNEY—SPORTS ILLUSTRATED

Braves' New World

Buffalo Braves Coach Jack Ramsay is an incorrigible optimist. At the beginning of this season, following three years of famine for his expansion team, Ramsay had hopes for a veritable feast: nothing less than 42 victories, double last year's total. With Rookie Ernie DiGregorio the best-known player on the team, Ramsay's goal seemed laughable. By last week no one in the National Basketball Association was laughing. The Braves won their 42nd game, and they had already locked up a spot in the play-offs.

The Braves are not the only N.B.A. surprise. With Wilt Chamberlain departed to coach in the A.B.A. and Jerry West sidelined by injuries most of the year, the Los Angeles Lakers went into the final days of the regular season dangerously close to missing the play-offs for the first time since 1958. The Detroit Pistons, meanwhile, were qualifying for postseason play for the first time since 1968.

Neither the Braves nor the Pistons would have made the play-offs without an assist from a newly amended rule book. Beginning this year, play-off berths no longer go to the first two teams in each of the four N.B.A. divisions. Instead, only divisional winners automatically qualify; a third-place team like the Pistons (behind Milwaukee and Chicago in the Midwest) can beat out a second-place team in the Pacific division if the third-place finisher has the better record. Buffalo, trailing Boston and New York in the Atlantic division, displaced second-ranking Atlanta in the Central division.

Italian Leprechaun. The Braves are the most improbable club in many years to make the play-offs. Their star center, Bob McAdoo, is a fingernail-biting acrophobiac who played with erratic brilliance in his first year but is leading the N.B.A. in scoring in his second. Guard Ernie DiGregorio, barely 6 ft., looks like an Italian leprechaun more suited to racking balls in a pool hall than leading the league in assists. Forward Jim McMillian, the guiding spirit of the team, is a thoughtful graduate from Columbia University, hardly a major source of basketball talent. Two other steady performers, Forward Garfield Heard and Guard Randy Smith, are virtual unknowns.

On the court, however, they can weld into a formidable force. With Ernie D. directing traffic and starting plays with pinpoint passes behind his back and through his legs, McMillian and McAdoo dropping in soft 15-ft. jump shots, Smith darting through the defense to score on lay-ups and Heard outmuscling opponents to grab rebounds, the Braves are averaging 111.6 points a game—the best offensive record in the league. (Statistically, they rank ne bottom of the league, allowing points.) Jack Marin, one of the shooters in the game, can come o bench to pour a dozen points th the hoop before the opposition re that he's on the court.

The Braves, of course, did no quire all this talent by accident. G Manager Eddie Donovan is one shrewdest traders and drafters i basketball. Before coming to B Donovan built the Knicks into a c pionship team by drafting the li Bill Bradley, Walt Frazier and Reed, and trading for Dave De schere and Dick Barnett. In B Donovan found in Owner Paul Sny man who was eager to underwrite ilar maneuvering with a philosophy "good players deserve high salaries

The Basketball Robber. Do wasted little time putting Snyder zen-food fortune (Freezer Queen Inc.) to work. During his first three he drafted, and quickly signed to tracts each worth $2 million plus more Smith, McAdoo and DiGre With McAdoo out of position his year as a forward, Donovan t Smith to the Lakers in exchange fo Millian. Subsequently, McAdoo somed into a top-flight, mobile c Heard, also picked up in a trade, the Braves the third member of a pet-quick front line. Yet Donovan still not satisfied. In January, "the ketball robber," as Donovan is call envious competitors, traded for and Matt Goukas.

Jack Ramsay turned Donovan material into a contender. The offe firepower of the Braves persuaded say to set aside any notions of tu his team into a top defensive club. had to alter my theories on def he says. "To be defensive, you n physically tough center and toug at other positions. We can't be with DiGregorio at guard and Mc at center. Instead, we outrun and shoot our opponents." When that working, Ramsay outyells them. the champion head rubber and tan thrower in the N.B.A., collecting average of one technical foul every er game.

In the first round of the play the Braves will face the best run team in basketball, the Boston Ce Until last month, Buffalo had lo straight games to Boston. But that before the pivotal trade for Marin Goukas. Since then the Braves ha feated the Celtics two out of three taken two of three from New York stunned Milwaukee 145-109. "We play anybody," boasts the bullish say, "and beat anybody." Besides Braves fail this year, there is no whom Eddie Donovan will add lineup next fall.

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Along Pinball Way

It is a familiar mix—the gaunt but unmarked face and the insinuating nasal rasp. He slouches buzzing over his guitar, his voice dry as locusts. Then, without warning, Bruce Springsteen rears back and uncorks a geyser of white hot sound. Cataracts of electrically charged fragments of sound lacerate the air, scattering intimations of Dylan and Presley colliding with the fierce rhythms of Springsteen's own wild fusion of rock, jazz and folk rock.

"The best thing anyone can do for me is not to mention Bob Dylan," said Springsteen last week at Gertie's in Dallas. "I've been influenced by everybody from Benny Goodman on: Sam Cooke, Wilson Pickett, Fats Domino. When I was nine and saw Elvis Presley on TV, I knew that was where it was at."

Musically as well as physically, however, Springsteen's striking resemblance to Dylan invites comparison. Both men forged a style of electrified folk demanding powerful back-up bands. Like rock musicians of the '60s, Springsteen dips back to the '50s for the blazing chord colors and nagging syncopations inside his walls of throbbing sound. Yet he has invented no personal mystique, he entertains no holy illusions about himself, he avoids social commentary. "I like to write songs you can dance to," he says.

The intense personal warmth permeating Springsteen's songs is rooted not in social anger but in the pure passion to make music. His first two records—*Greetings from Asbury Park, N.J.*, and *The Wild, the Innocent & the E Street Shuffle*—have been the subject of vaulting claims of the discovery of a 1970s successor to Dylan.

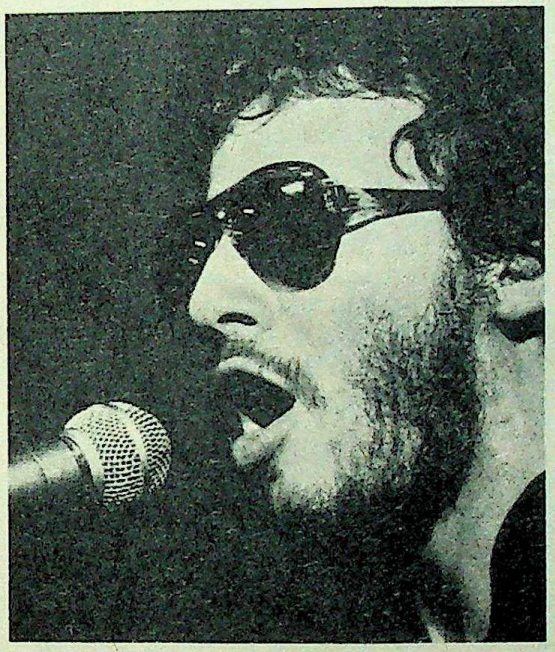
Spanish Johnny drove in from the
underworld last night
With bruised arms and broken
rhythm and a beat-up old Buick
but dressed just like dynamite,
He tried sellin' his heart to the hard
girls over on Easy Street,
But they said, "Johnny, it falls apart
so easy and you know hearts these
days are cheap."

While other songwriters are heading for country creeks and watermelon vines, Springsteen celebrates urban low-life. His songs are ambitious mini-operas populated by punk saints and Go-Kart Mozarts in scenarios laced with schmalz and violence. His territory: the streets of Harlem, tenements, the funky world of the boardwalk's pinball way with its dusty arcades and machines. Bursting with words, images rush along in cinematic streams of consciousness:

Well the runway lies ahead like a
great false dawn,
Fat lady, big mama, Missy Bimbo
sits in her chair and yawns,
And the man-beast lies in his cage
sniffin' popcorn
And the midget licks his fingers and
suffers Missy Bimbo's scorn
Circus town's been born.

Offstage Springsteen's lyric virtuosity reduced to a mumble in hip, tough dude tones. "We had a bathroom with a big gaping hole in it that looked right out into this convent. I used to tell kids that during the war an airplane crashed into it. To save face, y'know?" Thus he describes the Freehold, N.J., home where he was born in 1949. Home life

LEVITON—ATLANTA



FOLK-ROCK MUSICIAN BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN
Punk saints and Go-Kart Mozarts.

was not easy, and when his folks went West prospecting for better jobs, Springsteen remained behind. At 16 he was commuting to Greenwich Village to play guitar in cafés. Self-taught, Springsteen also became proficient on the piano and harmonica—"If a guy can fix a radio, he can find his way around a TV, y'know?"—and soon he was forming bands of his own. He was "discovered" for recordings by John Hammond, the archetypal artists-and-repertory man whose finds include Benny Goodman, Billie Holiday and Bob Dylan.

A loner, Springsteen's lifestyle is music. "I love traveling and performing, love being on the road. The thing I don't like is the business side." Home is a rented apartment in Bradley Beach, N.J. If the commotion over his music has sometimes flattered, sometimes irritated him, he shows no ill effects. He remembers calling his mother in California to tell her he had signed a big record contract. "Oh, yeah?" she said. "What did you change your name to?"

Callas Comes Back

"I believe I must be just a little American kid at the back of my mind because I wanted someone, Prince Charming, to come in and take me away."

She might have been happy as only a wife and mother, claims Soprano Maria Callas, 50. "There have been two great loves in my life," she told a Miami *Herald* interviewer. "My husband and another man." But fate had other plans. The plump twelve-year-old who belted out *Caro Nome* on the Original Amateur Hour grew up to be the most famous opera singer of her generation, a tempestuous diva whose emotional pyrotechnics and lengthy affair with Aristotle Onassis often attracted as much attention as her vocal virtuosity.

Last October, emerging from an eight-year, self-imposed exile—she had got into some bad singing habits and the voice was threadbare—Callas embarked on a nine-month international concert tour, given with her old friend, Tenor Giuseppe di Stefano.

She admitted that her voice is no longer what it was: "Does anything stay the same for 20 years?" Nevertheless, she was convinced that the audiences still wanted her, that her artistry and talent would prevail. "I am a diva," she explains. "A diva's achievement depends on the strength of her will when she knows what she must do."

Docile Diva. Though she began the tour by postponing two concerts, Callas is a more docile diva now. "I don't know how it will go; I hope I sing well," she admitted before singing in Philadelphia. Visibly frightened, she stayed within the protective circle of Di Stefano's arm. In Washington, D.C., her voice was muted. Nearing any high note, she would look down. She bridled at suggestions that she had been tamed. "Mellowed," she snapped, "what is that? To mellow is to decay."

The turning point came in Boston. With Di Stefano felled by bronchitis, Callas summoned the courage to go on alone. The response was so warm that she sailed proudly into Manhattan's Carnegie Hall. "You are opera!" yelled a fan from the balcony. Across the footlights Callas confided that under the proper conditions, she would be willing to return to the Met. Critics reminisce about past glories and compliment the singer on her youthful beauty. Audiences have been outwardly enthusiastic, but in the lobby, complaints are heard: "I'm disappointed. We work harder than she does." Occasionally, with one ringing B, Callas can still excite concertgoers to ecstasy, casting a spell that momentarily deafens listeners to her vocal flaws. But in truth the voice is sadly diminished, and what remains is more a performer's than a musician's art.

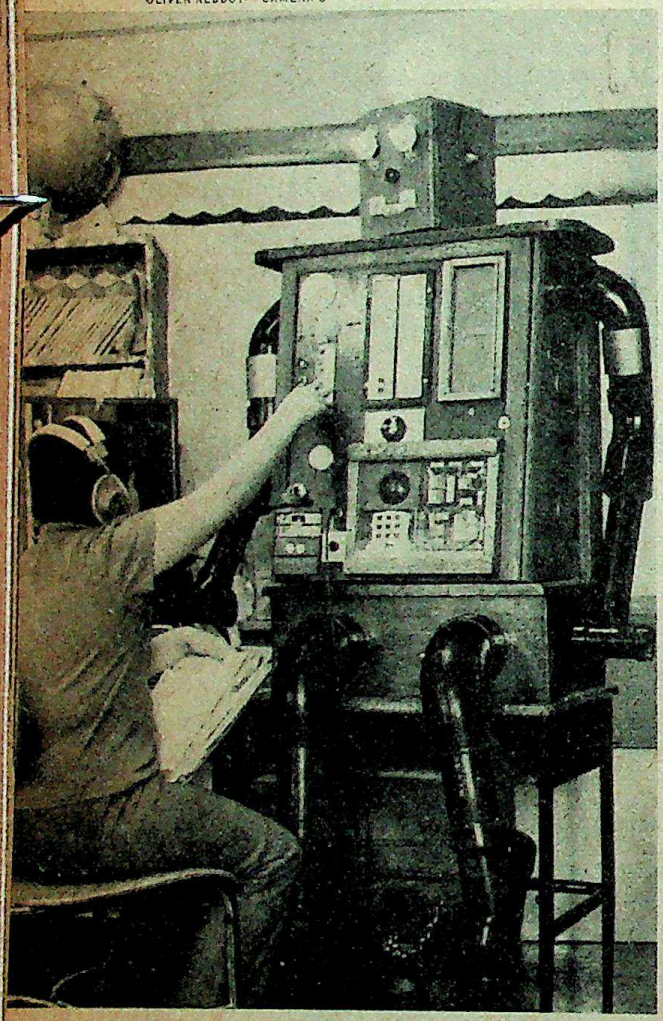
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Marvel of The Bronx

The 29 fourth-graders in Room 317 at P.S. 106 in The Bronx are pretty much in agreement about their assistant teacher, Leachim. They all think he is very smart and has a remarkable memory for their individual habits, failings and hobbies. They like most of his jokes and the way he sings, "even though he has a bad voice," and they have learned to put up with his occasional cross moods. Most important of all, the children think of Leachim as their friend, as well as a good teacher. All of which is quite an achievement for a robot with an oaken body and head, a meter-like mouth and blue light-bulb ears.

OLIVER REBBOT—CAMERA 5



FOURTH-GRADE STUDENT LEARNS FROM LEACHIM
Joe Namath and the national anthem.

Leachim was created for Teacher Gail Freeman by her husband Michael after she complained repeatedly about the time she had to spend with her students on drill and review. A doctoral candidate and professor of management sciences at Bernard Baruch College, Michael spent 18 months and $1,000 to design, build and program Leachim (Michael spelled backward, more or less), a 5-ft. 5-in., 200-lb. humanoid with black plastic arms and legs. Although his legs are motorized, he is chained and bolted to a table for security. The robot's brain is a computer, made partly from components cannibalized from an RCA Spectra 70. Plugged in and turned on, he can lecture to the entire class. He can also recognize students by their voices and, in his own peevish-sounding tones, can simultaneously question five different students wearing earphones and take their pushbutton replies.

Leachim's brain is packed with a fund of information that includes the contents of Compton's *Encyclopaedia*, Webster's *New World Dictionary*, a Ginn science book, a thesaurus and a Macmillan reading series. He has also been programmed with biographical information on the 29 students, including their reading levels, math scores and hobbies. As he works with the students, Leachim keeps track of their progress and changing scores, sometimes asking extra questions of the faster learners and drilling slower ones on older material. After about six months, he will have to be reprogrammed to keep up with the class.

Last week Leachim addressed Lisa Ilario, 9, as she sat down in front of him and put on her earphones. "My name is Leachim," said the robot. "You are doing Segment 10. Try to follow my directions carefully. If a classmate drops a pin on the floor, what would you pick it up with? Answer A: a screwdriver. Answer B: pliers. Answer C: a wrench." Lisa punched button B on Leachim's chest. "You are correct," said the robot. "Pliers will help you lift and squeeze things." "He's very polite," says Lisa. "He says 'thank you' and 'please.' "

Ultimate Gesture. After Sports Fan Warner Brown, 10, correctly selected from a list that lit up on Leachim's visual panel the word barometer as the one associated with weather forecasting, the robot rewarded him with brief observations about New York basketball and football teams. "You did very well," Leachim added. "I hope you enjoyed working with me. I like Joe Namath. I'm sure you do too." But if pupils take too long to answer, Warner explains, "Leachim says, 'You are not listening. Choose an answer now.' If you still don't, he'll say, 'I'm getting annoyed.' " Leachim's repertory includes the national anthem, the Pledge of Allegiance (during which he stops and asks what "indivisible" means), the fable of the boy who cried "Wolf!", a few words of Spanish and a joke: "You are thinking so hard I can see smoke coming out of your ears."

Both Leachim's humor and his moments of testiness are deliberate. He is geared to Gail's understanding of the children's tolerance levels at this age what should be expected of them, Michael. The robot's ultimate gesture impatience is one many teachers envy: he just turns himself off.

A Senseless Siege

Opened in 1925, the Univers Tokyo's Earthquake Research Ins is widely regarded as one of the bes mology centers in the world. Its st 200 includes specialists in a wide r of fields relating to earthquakes, chemical volcanology and crustal d mation to structural geology and magnetism. Its six-story quake- building houses a seismological lib and a radio telemetry system that the institute with some of its 20 field mographs. Despite quake-prone Ja urgent need for seismological rese however, the institute has been standstill since the summer of 197 14 professors and nine associate p sors have been barred from enteri a handful of employees and radica dents who man a sentry box by the round the clock, ready to form a hu barricade at a moment's notice.

The bizarre lockout stems fr brawl that erupted in 1970 over th quest of a temporary employee for manent status. The employees' u and the students banded togeth close down the institute, and since time, the banished professors have to hold meetings off campus. No ne search projects have been initiated, the institute's earthquake-predi work is hopelessly behind schedule.

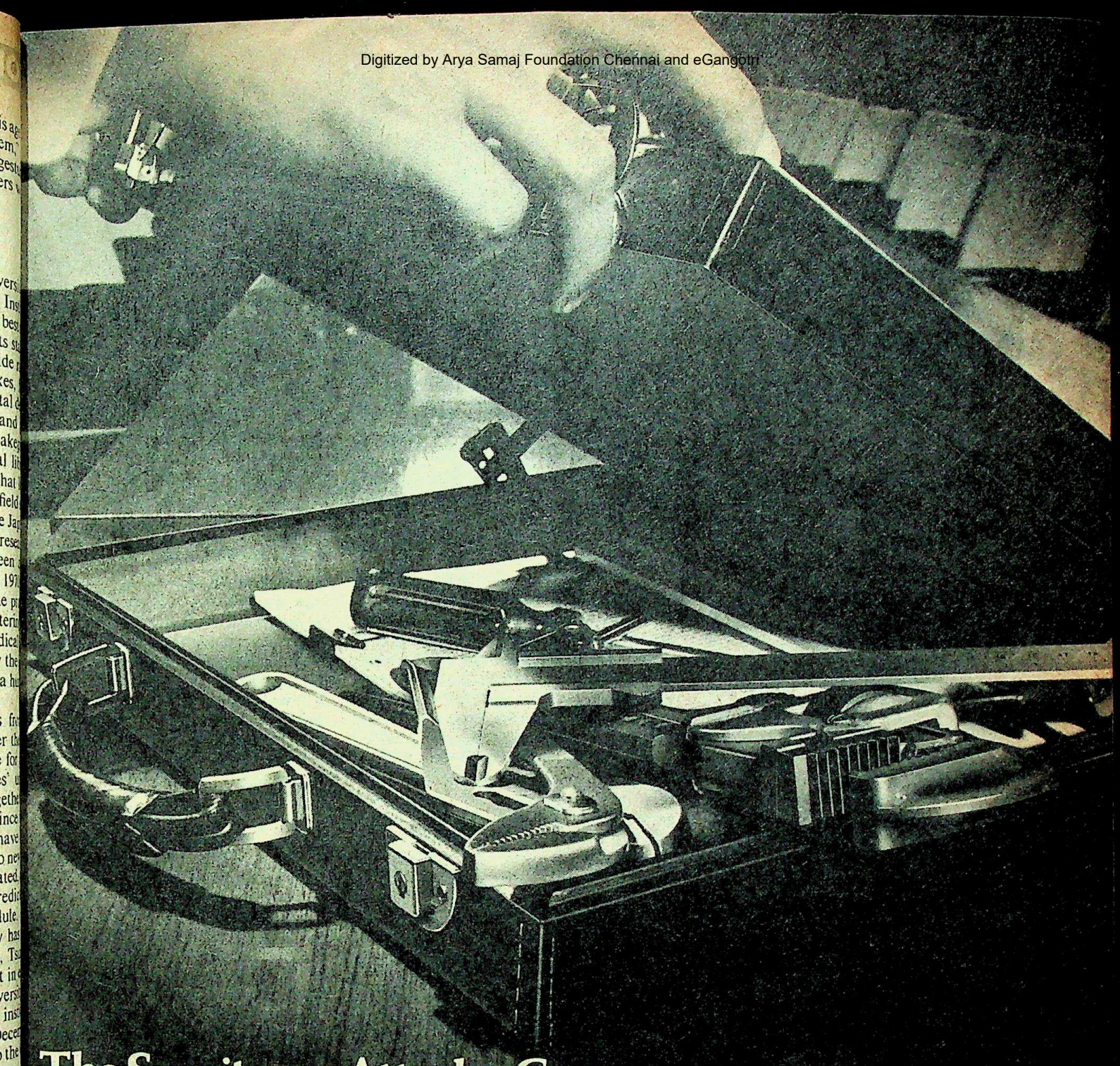
The patience of the faculty has gun to wear thin. In February, Ts Rikitake, a renowned specialist in tromagnetism, left for the Univers Colorado. He is the second inst scholar to flee to the U.S.: in Dece 1972 Hiroo Kanamori moved to the ifornia Institute of Technology.

The 50th anniversary of the des tive 1923 Tokyo-Yokohama quak September brought on new earthq jitters in Japan and spurred a go ment effort to end the impasse. W threats from the Ministry of Educ that it might set up a new earthquak stitute elsewhere finally led to neg tions, and six weeks ago, the union v to end the strife. But the intransigent dents, demanding "sweeping refo tion" of the institute, vowed to con their siege.

Last week, determined to bring issue to a head, the institute's dire Iyetsune Tsubokawa, showed up a gate with several professors. Police summoned, and removed the ho students, permitting the faculty to e But their triumph was short-lived soon as the police left, the stu rushed in, evicted the professors an sumed their senseless lockout.

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Big Brother's Big Eye

An elderly Albuquerque couple, lounging in the backyard one cool New Mexico evening, heard a roar from above. Then a light appeared, focusing with terrifying intensity on the man and woman. A UFO? Hallucination? Not at all. The source was the Albuquerque police department's "spy in the sky" plane on a routine patrol. "It scared the world out of us," the man said later. "It reminded us of George Orwell's *1984*." The low-flying craft operates by daylight too. A woman complained that she could no longer sunbathe on her roof because the plane kept circling overhead.

More than 100 complaints about assorted varieties of snooping have been filed by Albuquerque-area residents in response to an unusual month-long educational campaign by the New Mexico Civil Liberties Union. If any area resident was unaware of Big Brother when the $50,000 publicity effort began, he was saturated with the image by last week. Along the freeways, billboards were filled with an eerily staring human eye. Similar eyes glared balefully from a dozen small ads in a single day's newspaper. Television spots showed a grade-school girl playing unconcernedly, then frozen into a prisoner-like pose with a Social Security number on a placard hung from her neck. A "Mission Control" sequence depicted the launching of a pyramid with a staring eye on top, like that on the reverse of a dollar bill.

The idea was first promoted by a group of self-styled "alternative culture" activists, then endorsed by no less a conservative than Congressman Barry Goldwater Jr. Designed as a pilot program, the campaign and its response have provided a representative sample of what—and who—is bugging citizens all over the U.S. The most common complaints concerned the difficulty of penetrating the bureaucratic labyrinth, only to find a Minotaur at the end. Almost as numerous have been insoluble hassles with billing computers and instances in which a would-be buyer was turned down because a credit bureau provided a report based on unfavorable but unchecked information. (Some credit-bureau employees admitted that investigators are afraid of losing their jobs if they fail to turn in any unfavorable material about a subject; they occasionally fabricate negative information.) Many complaints involved the improper release of military records—in most cases, from cryptic, numbered coding on supposedly honorable discharges—and the illegal disclosure of bank data.

The project directors were determined to go beyond invasions of privacy, however serious, to the broad area of "control by technology, whether king or a computer or a bureaucr An especially chilling example of control came from a woman who she had worked all her life to be sur daughter could go to college. The found that the high school girl had suddenly transferred from a college paratory curriculum to vocational es. The school refused all informa and officials of the federally funde cational program to which the dau was assigned would give no reaso explanation. Their response amo to: "This was devised by experts know what's in the best interests of daughter." From such cases the Liberties Union will choose which Brother's practices will be the targe court action.

NUMBERED CHILD IN TV CAMPAIGN



CIVIL LIBERTIES "EYE" BILLBOARD ON NEW MEXICO HIGHWAY



Order in Court

In Detroit, the nation's fifth la city, womb of the supercharged, fu jected future, the first bar of justice f leged lawbreakers is quaintly called reminiscence of 14th century En Recorder's Court. Little beyond its is Chaucerian. Until recently it paradigm of judicial systems crum under the burden of civic decay. Ravitz, now a judge of Recorder's once described it as "the cesspool legal world."

Until 1966 there were only te corders, or judges; they rated a higher and exercised slightly mor thority than the average metropo police magistrate. Some of them sat four hours a day, leaving plenty of for drinking. Collectively, they bur through a mere 130 felony trials a plus uncounted misdemeanor c With the crime explosion of the '60s, the backlog grew to 5,422 fel A person charged with a felony w an average of 4½ months to enter a and the average time from arraign to judgment was 13½ months.

As a result of the courtroom o Wayne County Jail, built to house prisoners, was packed with 1,500 recorder's courtroom held an infa bullpen into which each morning 40 wretched drunks were herded, ded before the judge and out again or the streets. The black commu which was soon to top 50% of Det population, supplied most of the d dants, and black leaders often plained that Recorder's Court was far from color-blind.

Today there are still comp about the quality of its justice, but of them are of a totally different And they come from the opposite s the color line. It took a crash pro begun in 1969 and as many as 40 v judges to cut the backlog down to ageable proportions. Now the num permanent judges has been increa

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PAMELA ANDRIOTAKIS

JUDGE JAMES DEL RIO

JUDGE JUSTIN RAVITZ

omplaints from the opposite side of the color line.

0. And eight of them, including one oman, are black.

Court practices have changed rad- ally. Drunks are no longer run through e mill at a one-a-minute rate but are iven a choice between standing trial ith a jail term possible and going to detoxification center. This program as eliminated about 75% of alcoholic cidivism. No longer are suspects held s long as three days for investigation; ach afternoon the police must give a recinct-by-precinct report on the dis- osition of suspects. Arraignments now sually come within 24 hours, a trial ate is set within five or six days, and ial begins in 60 to 90 days on the av- rage. Jail population has sunk well elow 1,000. Court is held 365 days a ear. A Jewish judge takes the duty on hristmas Day.

The trials themselves have a differ- nt complexion, with juries approximat- g the city's racial makeup. And juries irtually never vote to convict if there is ny suspicion of police brutality. This, erhaps more than any other change, as brought court reformers into head- n collision with the police. A columnist rote in the Detroit Police Officers' As- ociation newspaper: "If a person ac- used of a crime appears before Judge ames Del Rio and says he was beaten y the police, Del Rio calls the police- an a liar, and dismisses the case." Gary ee, the association's president, de- ares: "The police know they are wast- g their time at that court. The streets re loaded with people that any decent dicial system would have in jail."

Del Rio has ample company among e recorders under police attack. High the list is George W. Crockett Jr., 64, black attorney who once served four onths for contempt following a Smith ct trial in which he defended eleven ac- used Communists. Elected to the bench 1966, he set up court in police head- arters following a 1969 shootout at a black church and immediately began releasing prisoners who were being held without counsel. Now presiding judge for a term of one year, Crockett is still tough on the cops, but has come to appear conservative by comparison with newer, still more outspoken judges.

Del Rio, 49, was literally salvaged from a trash can as a newborn, and was adopted and raised by a Jewish father and a black mother. A high-pressure businessman since the age of 15, he ran a successful real estate firm, won election to the state legislature, crammed his way through law school and passed the bar. Explosive enough on the bench, Del Rio once called Norman L. Lippitt, attorney for the police association, into his chambers and, in his own words, told Lippitt: "Don't give me that smart-ass Jewish attitude, because I've been a smart-ass Jew for 16 years of my life." The police newspaper has called him "Bozo the Clown"; for this and other insults, he has filed a $200,000 libel suit.

No "Oyez." The last vestiges of court formality disappeared with the installation in 1972 of Justin Ravitz, 33, an avowed Marxist. When he was sworn in, with cowboy boots projecting from under his robe, Ravitz remained seated during the Pledge of Allegiance. It was, he said, a farce, because there is no "liberty and justice for all." When Ravitz enters court there is no cry of "Oyez, oyez, oyez!" and the assemblage does not rise. Critics concede that Ravitz's dress and politics do not color his decisions.

Recorder's Court still has its problems. Police critics are at least partly correct in charging that suspects are sometimes released too readily; one man had to be arrested for burglary three times in four days before bail was set high enough to take him out of circulation. Some of the judges—like low-level jurists elsewhere—lack judicial polish and expertise. But the court has at least climbed out of the cesspool.

MARKET WEEK

On a volume of 64,664,630 shares, the New York Stock Exchange Composite closed at 52.03, down 1.15 for the week ending March 22. The Dow Jones 30 stock industrial average was 878.13, down 9.70; Standard & Poor's 500 stock index was 97.27, down 2.01. Among significant N.Y.S.E. stocks:

Stock	High	Low	Close	Net Change
Allied Chem..	45⅜..	44 ..	44⅞..	None
Alum Co Am..	47¾..	46⅝..	47½..	— ⅜
Am Airlines...	12½..	11½..	12 ..	— ⅜
Am Brands...	38¾..	37¾..	38¼..	+ ⅜
Am Can.....	29⅛..	27⅞..	28¼..	— ¾
Am Motors...	10½..	9⅞..	10 ..	— ¼
AT&T.....	52½..	50¾..	50⅞..	—1½
Anac Cop....	26⅞..	26 ..	26½..	— ¼
Avon Prod....	58½..	54⅞..	54⅞..	—2
Beth Steel....	34⅛..	33⅛..	33⅜..	— ⅞
Boeing.....	15⅜..	14⅛..	14⅝..	— ⅝
Burling Ind...	26½..	25 ..	25⅝..	+ ⅜
Burroughs....	215¼..	208⅝..	211¼..	—2⅜
Cater Trac...	61⅛..	59⅛..	60 ..	— ⅜
Champ Intl...	20 ..	18⅞..	19¾..	+ ½
Chrysler.....	19⅞..	18½..	19 ..	— ⅞
Clark Equip...	39⅜..	37½..	39 ..	None
Control Data..	37¼..	33½..	33¾..	—2⅜
Corn Gl Wks.	84¾..	80 ..	80¼..	—4½
Dow Chem...	64 ..	62½..	63 ..	None
DuPont.....	172½..	167 ..	169½..	— ½
Eastern Air...	8½..	7⅝..	8⅛	None
East Kodak...	114¼..	107⅛..	113¾..	+4⅛
El Paso N G..	15⅝..	15¼..	15¼..	None
Exxon.....	87⅞..	81⅞..	82¼..	—5⅞
Ford Motor...	52⅛..	50¾..	51 ..	— ⅞
Gen Dynam..	27¼..	26⅛..	26¾..	— ½
Gen Elec.....	55⅝..	50¾..	55 ..	+2⅛
Gen Foods...	28⅜..	27¾..	28⅛..	+ ¼
Gen Motors..	53⅞..	51⅞..	52¾..	—1⅛
Gen Tel & El..	25¾..	24¾..	25¼..	— ⅛
Ga Pac.....	44⅞..	43⅜..	44½..	+ ⅛
Goodyear...	18¼..	17¼..	18 ..	+ ⅜
Great A & P..	14⅞..	14½..	14½..	— ⅛
Greyhound...	17⅛..	16⅜..	16⅝..	— ¼
Gulf Oil.....	23⅝..	22⅝..	22¾..	— ¾
IBM.....	250¾..	241½..	243½..	—5¾
Int Harv.....	29 ..	27⅞..	28¼..	— ½
Int Nickel....	37¾..	36 ..	36½..	—1¼
Int Paper....	53 ..	49 ..	53 ..	+2½
Int Tel & Tel..	25½..	23⅜..	23¾..	—1¾
Johns Man....	22⅜..	21 ..	21 ..	—1⅜
Kraftco.....	44⅜..	42¼..	44¼..	— ⅛
Kresge SS....	34¼..	32½..	33 ..	— ¼
Litton Ind.....	9⅝..	9⅛..	9½..	— ¼
Lockheed....	5⅜..	5⅛..	5⅛..	— ⅛
LTV Corp....	11⅜..	10¾..	11⅜..	+ ½
McD Doug....	17⅛..	15⅝..	16 ..	—1
Merck Co....	84¾..	83 ..	84¼..	— ⅝
3M.....	79 ..	76¼..	76¾..	—1¾
Mobil Oil....	49⅜..	47 ..	47¾..	—1⅜
NCR.....	39⅝..	37½..	38¼..	—1¼
Occid Pet....	10⅞..	10 ..	10⅛..	— ¼
Owens Ill.....	37⅝..	36⅛..	37⅜..	— ⅛
Pac Gas & El.	24¼..	23⅜..	23½..	— ½
Pan Am.....	5¼..	5 ..	5 ..	— ⅛
Penn Cen....	2⅞..	2¾..	2¾..	None
Penney J. C...	74⅞..	70½..	70¾..	—3⅞
Philip Morris..	107½..	103 ..	103 ..	—3
Polaroid.....	82⅞..	66⅛..	69 ..	—14⅜
Proc Gam....	94¾..	91 ..	92⅛..	—2⅜
RCA.....	21¼..	19¾..	20⅛..	— ¾
Reyn Ind.....	46¾..	45⅝..	46¼..	— ¼
Rockwell Intl..	28¼..	27½..	27⅝..	— ¼
Sears Roe....	88⅝..	86¼..	87 ..	—1
Shell Oil.....	62⅜..	60⅝..	60¾..	— ¾
Sou Cal Ed...	19¾..	19¼..	19¾..	+ ⅛
Std Oil Cal...	31⅞..	29½..	30¼..	—1⅝
Tenneco.....	24⅛..	23¼..	24 ..	+ ¼
Texaco Inc...	30¼..	28¼..	28¼..	—1½
Textron.....	22⅜..	21⅝..	22 ..	— ¼
Time Inc.....	39⅝..	37¾..	38 ..	—1⅝
TWA.....	17⅞..	16 ..	16½..	—1⅛
UAL Inc.....	28¼..	26⅛..	28 ..	+ ⅜
Union Car....	39 ..	36⅝..	38¾..	+ ⅜
Utd Aircraft..	29¼..	27⅜..	28 ..	— ⅞
US Steel.....	43⅞..	42⅜..	43 ..	— ¾
Westinghouse.	22½..	21⅝..	21⅝..	— ⅝
Woolworth...	18⅞..	17⅜..	17⅝..	—1
Xerox.....	124¼..	115½..	116½..	—7¾

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Life Saver

In the tropical and subtropical countries where leprosy is prevalent, superstition and fear about it are as crippling as the disease itself. But this Nigerian boy was lucky. An experienced health worker observed the early symptoms of leprosy on him and arranged to have him treated by a government doctor who was sponsored by a UNICEF-supported project to combat and control leprosy in West Africa.

Support UNICEF



CLOUD-COVERED VENUS AS SEEN BY MARINER 10 FROM 450,000 MILES AWAY

SCIEN

Exploring the Planets

Astronauts will not return to space until the joint U.S.-Russian venture in 1975. But last week unmanned robot craft were ranging far and wide across the solar system on missions of planetary exploration. NASA announced that Pioneer 11, already three-quarters of the way to Jupiter, will proceed to Saturn and provide the first close-up look at the ringed planet. From Mars, an orbiting Soviet spacecraft sent back new, detailed views of the Martian surface. At week's end, fresh from its reconnaissance of cloud-shrouded Venus, Mariner 10, now nearing Mercury, began transmitting its first pictures of the small planet that is closest to the sun.

The space agency's approval of a mission to Saturn will require a course change that will send the craft whipping by Jupiter at a distance of only 26,000 miles. Accelerated by Jovian gravity, Pioneer 11 will then be flung across the solar system for a rendezvous with Saturn in September 1979. The new flight plan was decided upon only after careful analysis of Pioneer 10's performance last December; it came within 81,000 miles of Jupiter's cloudtops and was subjected to an intense bombardment of charged particles from Jupiter's radiation belts. Pioneer's instruments behaved splendidly, sending back pictures and a wealth of data. When the ship finally reaches the vicinity of Saturn, where it will shoot close-up color pictures, it faces still another challenge; it may be sent close enough to Saturn's outermost ring to run the risk of being damaged or destroyed by its debris.

The Soviets, too, had someth show from their massive, but gen disappointing assault on Mars week they released pictures of Ma en by one of the four spacecraf launched toward the red planet la summer. The shots compared fav with the spectacular photos tak Mariner 9 in 1972. But the other Mars probes did not fare so well. A er intended orbiter went shooting planet, apparently because of t with its braking rocket. A third ejec landing capsule that missed the completely. Another lander, fired the fourth spacecraft, entered the tian atmosphere but myster stopped sending signals as it desce (One theory: it may have been dest by the planet's high winds.) Befor signals ceased, Soviet scientists mined that the Martian atmos contains "several times" more than expected. That finding was p ularly interesting to NASA, which to send off two Viking landers, wit detecting gear, to Mars next year.

More Secrets. Even as Mari approached Mercury (it was onl million miles away at week's end scientists were examining the 3,50 tures of Venus transmitted to ea the spacecraft in February. Amon er things, the computer-clarified graphs showed that 1) the thick sian clouds move 60 times as fast rotational velocity of the planet; Venusian poles are ringed by most likely cooler regions; and 3) "eye"—a break in the thick cloud —seems to have opened in the e rial region, probably because

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lation effects from the sun's heat. Mariner 10 may uncover even more crets. The 1,108-lb., bug-shaped space-aft will make its closest approach to ercury on March 29—when it will me within 620 miles of the surface. Be-re it leaves the vicinity of Mercury, it ould produce 2,000 photographs of the anet's surface and a flood of other data. llowing Mercury's path around the n, Mariner will again pass by its tar-t next Sept. 22. If the spacecraft's sys-ms are still working, it will send back en more information.

Lopsided Orbit. Usually obscured the bright glare of the sun, Mercury mains almost as much a mystery as e most distant planet, Pluto. Half ain as large as the moon, Mercury may almost twice as dense. Traveling in lopsided orbit, it comes as close to the n as 29 million miles, then sweeps as r away as 43 million miles. To any-he standing on Mercury's surface, the n would seem to stand still at times, en move backward briefly, in the Mer-rian sky. Another oddity: Mercury's ip around the sun takes 88 earth days; t it rotates on its axis only once every 6 earth days—a fact first discovered 1965 by earth-based radar. Thus Mer-ry's "day" is twice as long as its year.

Like the moon, Mercury apparently as no appreciable atmosphere or mag-tic field. Its surface, bombarded by in-nse solar radiation, may be quite dusty. ecently, radar astronomers suggested at Mercury has mountains as high as 000 ft., rolling hills and valleys, and me lunar-like craters, some of them erhaps of volcanic origin. Surface tem-eratures are far more extreme than ose on either the moon or Mars. At e height of the Mercurian day, they ay reach 940° F., more than enough melt lead. At night they plunge to 350° F. No living things could be ex-cted to endure such a harsh climate; t scientists do not entirely dismiss the ssibility of some day finding evidence at water—or even life—once existed Mercury.

ower from Gravity

Scientists have suggested any num-r of exotic solutions to the energy crisis from harnessing ocean currents to ing the earth's magnetic field. Now re-archers at the Atomic Energy Com-ission's Lawrence Livermore Labora-ry have conceived perhaps the most aginative scheme of all. They propose pping what might well be the ultimate ergy source: a "black hole"—a small lestial object that is trillions of times nser than ordinary matter.

Predicted by relativity theory and parently recently detected in space IME, Dec. 10), a black hole is formed ring the death throes of a giant star. the nuclear fires go out, the stellar ses begin falling inward, finally crush-g together into a ball less than three iles in diameter. Tiny as it is, the dense be has such tremendous gravity that no even light can escape from it. Its gravitational force is so great, in fact, that a black hole could swallow up a nearby planet or even a small star.

In 1971 a young British theorist, Stephen Hawking, speculated that mini-black holes may also exist. According to his theory, during the first chaotic moments of the Big Bang (the great explosion that is believed to have created the universe 10 to 15 billion years ago), some pockets of matter may have been forced to contract rather than expand. They could have crushed together into tiny black holes—some of them even smaller than a virus. These black holes would have relatively strong gravitational fields, but observers could approach within several hundred feet without being drawn into them. According to AEC Astrophysicists Lowell Wood, Thomas Weaver and John Nuckolls, if such bizarre little objects do indeed exist near the earth, their gravity might well be put to work.

Hungry Pet. For starters, the scientists recently told the New York Academy of Sciences, one of the black holes would have to be located. For example, a small, unaccountable gravitational tug on a spacecraft might be a good indication that one was near by. The ship could take it in tow by simply feeding it matter: like a hungry pet following its master, the black hole would be tugged along by mutual gravitational attraction as it gulped the material.

Once the black hole was positioned in a permanent orbit around the earth, its gravity could be tapped. From a distance of 100 yds. or so—far enough away to avoid being drawn into the black hole—an automatic firing mechanism on a spacecraft orbiting near by would aim tiny pellets of matter at it. Almost any material would do. As each pellet plunged toward the black hole, it would be squeezed and heated by the gravitational field to tremendously high temperatures, perhaps 100 million degrees. That would be hot enough to start fusion, the same energy-releasing reaction that fires the sun or an H-bomb. Some of the material would be consumed by the black hole, but most of it would be explosively blown away as extremely hot electrified gases. By letting these gases pass through a magnetic field created by a generator aboard the spacecraft, a powerful electric current could be induced in wires rigged outside the craft. To get the energy to earth, the current would be converted into microwaves, which would be beamed at huge ground-based antennas and then transformed into ordinary household current.

Science fiction? Wood and his colleagues concede that scientists may never be able to find—or tame—mini-black holes. But they feel that the potential payoff surely justifies the attempt. Harnessed high above the earth, where it would produce no thermal, chemical or radioactive pollution, a single mini-black hole could fulfill all of mankind's power needs for the foreseeable future.

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Each minute,
each day
something
happens
somewhere
that makes
news.
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happenings,**
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from what
merely
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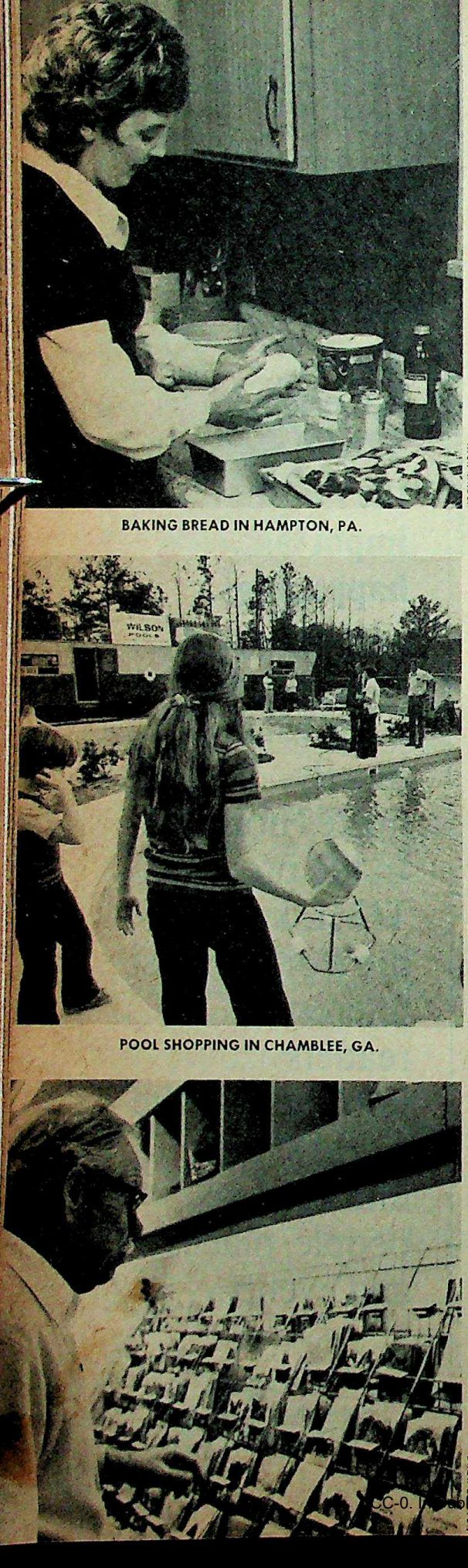
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RICK KIRSCH

BAKING BREAD IN HAMPTON, PA.

LEVITON—ATLANTA

POOL SHOPPING IN CHAMBLEE, GA.



DREW LEWTON

CONSUMERS

A Recession of Hope

If economists were poets, they would pay more attention to spring. That season of hope and expectation is normally a time for Americans to shake off their winter torpor, get out of the house and spend. Yet when spring began officially last week, consumers were in one of their chilliest moods in many a season.

Despite strength in other economic indicators, nearly every thermometer of national consumer sentiment has plunged. For the first time since 1971, a majority of Americans—54%, to be exact—consider the nation to be in a recession, according to the Harris poll. The consumer confidence index maintained by the University of Michigan's respected Survey Research Center hit its alltime low late last year, and researchers say that it has probably fallen even further since then. A similar index maintained by the Conference Board has dropped 40 points since last autumn, to less than 60 today. Albert Sindlinger, whose Swarthmore, Pa., telephone polling organization takes weekly readings of consumer sentiment, has recorded what he calls the sharpest drop in confidence in 25 years.

Morbid Epidemic. The reasons are clear enough: prices were rising at a compound annual rate of 16.8% in February, much faster than most families' incomes; spot shortages and high prices of gasoline continue to bedevil shoppers despite last week's lifting of the Arab oil embargo; and Watergate has produced a morbid epidemic of doubt about the country's future. "Inflation is no longer the sole reason for pessimistic expectations," says University of Michigan Economist Jay Schmiedeskamp. "At least half of the gloom comes from Watergate and the energy crisis. The Government plays a large role in the economy, and the people have lost faith in the Government's ability."

That sinking in morale is becoming painfully apparent to the nation's merchants. Retail sales in dollars are running only 3.3% ahead of last year's pace, marking an actual substantial decline in the quantity of goods sold because prices have risen 10% since then. Deliveries of new U.S. automobiles are down a shuddering 27%. Consumer loan demand in January was growing less than half as fast as it was last summer, and the savings rate has inched up from about 6% to more than 7% as people start banking more of their paycheck instead of spending it. "The energy shortage should lessen the popularity of shopping as a sport," laments Sumner Feldberg, chairman of Massachusetts-based Zayre discount stores. "We're in for a period of tough retailing." Dick Balch, a suburban Seattle Chevrolet-Fiat dealer: "It looks to me the economy has just plain stopped

For many consumers inflati prompting a reluctant renaissance oneer frugality. Mrs. F. Dale L Hampton township, Pa., has begun ing her own bread with store-bough zen dough and getting by with ch cuts of meat by applying more mea derizers. "I used to go into a super ket and buy any brand I wanted now I take the one with the coup she says. Nessa Forman, arts edi the Philadelphia *Bulletin,* has be a paragon of self-control. "I us think nothing of going into a stor buying a pair of shoes without lo at the price," she says. "Now I lo the price, and I likely walk out the way I came in—in my old shoes. S shopping? Don't make me laugh. to buy a couple of steaks a week it's hamburger all the way."

A stay-home mood also is spre Passport applications in January down 16% from a year ago, and reservations in Massachusetts a 25%. In Atlanta, Jerry and Ma Sullins have forsworn restaurant and invite friends over for home-co dinners instead. "That way we don closed in, and it's cheaper than out," says Margaret.

Hot Items. That trend is not a for retailers. Mail-order sales of Roebuck, Montgomery Ward and er catalogue houses are surging as energy-conscious shoppers let the gers do the traveling. Some store report that their long-languishing town branches are jammed with cu ers unwilling to motor to far-flung urban shopping centers. Depar stores report strong sales of games, television sets and other a quiet evening at home. Other ho include furniture, household hard seeds and garden supplies, and bac swimming pools. "People are p more attention to their homes," ex G. John Doces, president of Se Doces furniture chain. "Home, Home is back."

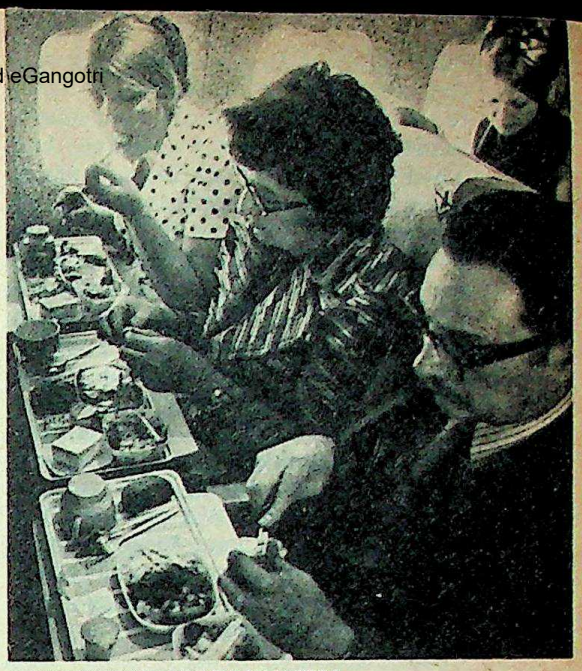
The new consumer austerity go out of fashion very suddenly, cially if gasoline flows as freely pected with the Arab embargo o the other hand, high gasoline price continue to inhibit driving, and economists do not expect inflation unemployment to abate much unt in the year. So the unseasonable on retail sales could last well int hot-weather months.

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ST-CLASS PASSENGERS DINE IN SUBSIDIZED SOLITUDE ON NEWARK-DENVER RUN . . .



AT THE EXPENSE OF COACH FLYERS

RLINES

he Skies Are Friendlier

Just a few months ago, the domestic-rline industry was bracing itself for a olonged period of rough flying. Pas-nger traffic was dwindling as the rest the economy began to slow down. The ergy shortage was sending fuel costs rough the ionosphere. And many air-ne men were worried that the Civil eronautics Board, which was winding a four-year study of the industry's re structure, was about to order dis-ptive changes in ticket prices.

The turbulence never came. Traffic arted climbing in January, partly be-use the gasoline squeeze forced many otorists to take to the skies for long ips. Airlines have used the energy cri-s as an excuse to drop hundreds of un-ofitable flights, and have been allowed raise fares 5% to help cover higher sts. Last week the CAB put the fin-ing touch on that pleasant scenario: ordered its long-awaited restructuring fares, but the net effect for most lines ould be a slight gain in revenue.

Dearer Luxury. Under the CAB an, which will take effect July 16, ach fares for long-haul flights (more an 750 miles) will be cut by as much 5%, and short-haul coach fares will raised by as much as 30%. As a re-lt, the price of a one-way coach ticket r the 2,585-mile flight from Miami to n Francisco will drop from $167.59 $158.33, and the fare for the 91-mile ght from Boston to Hartford will rise m $15.74 to $18.92. In addition, the ard ordered an increase over the next o years in all first-class fares, from e present 130% of coach fare to 163%. first-class ticket from Dallas to Chi-go, for example, will rise from $90.64 $112.47.

The agency's motive is to make tick-prices reflect operating costs more osely. At present, the carriers subsi-ze short hops by taking a smaller prof-it on them than they do on long flights. That pattern emerged in the late 1950s when the industry shifted from propeller-driven planes to jets, which operate much more efficiently over long distances. Even before the advent of jets, first-class passengers enjoyed extra leg room and fancier treatment literally at the expense of coach passengers, whose fares in effect subsidized the money-losing luxury service.

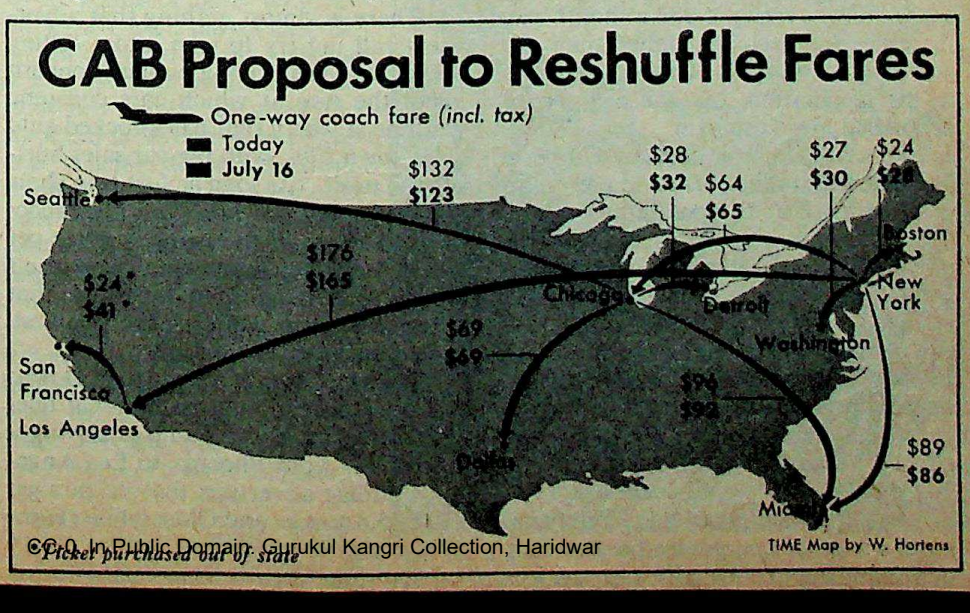
The fare overhaul ordered by the CAB should raise industry revenues a bit more than 1% above last year's levels. Reason: most coach passengers take the short-haul trips that will become more expensive. Braniff International appears to be the biggest winner; its web of short routes across the Southwest will bring in a projected 3½% more revenue. National and TWA, both mostly long-haul carriers, will each lose about ½ of 1% in revenues. The nation's seven other domestic trunk lines will fall somewhere in between.

The impact of the first-class-fare rise on demand for that service is less certain. Much first-class travel is done by businessmen, and many companies are cutting back on that frill to help weather a possible recession. Some airline officials would like to eliminate first-class service because costs for the extra food, champagne and stewardesses involved are rising sharply. Still, many airline men expect that as long as first-class seats are sold people will pay top dollar to be pampered. "The first-class passenger is a funny animal," says Continental Airlines Vice President Joe Daley. "He just may go ahead and pay more."

Back to Cars. There are a few clouds on the industry's horizon. Traffic may level off when airborne ex-motorists find it easy to buy gasoline again, and the general economic slowdown may eventually catch up with air travel. Yet most airlines have already made enough energy-related flight cutbacks to weather such a storm. And the CAB is expected to rule favorably on the industry's request for yet another fare increase, this time 6% effective April 16, to cover the rising cost of fuel.

■ ■ ■

The two biggest U.S. international airlines, Pan American and TWA, have not been flying quite so high as their domestic counterparts. Fuel costs have risen far faster outside the U.S. than at

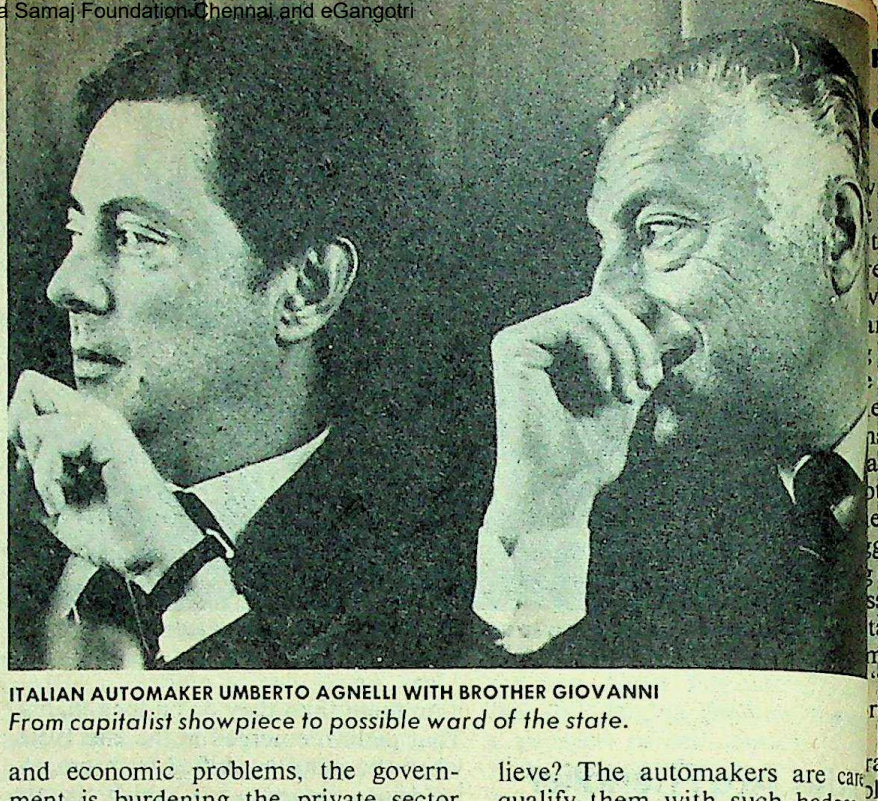


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home, and the two American flag carriers are finding it increasingly difficult to compete with government-subsidized foreign airlines. Last week Pan Am, which lost $7.6 million in January alone, asked the CAB for permission to discuss combining a number of its routes with TWA, which lost $21 million in January. The request raises antitrust complications and will have to be cleared by the Justice Department. If approved, the partial merger likely would allow Pan Am to abandon some foreign cities now served by both lines—London, Paris, Rome, Frankfurt and Lisbon—and pool its revenues with TWA on other international routes. TWA professes "interest" in the idea, and Vice President George Burns raises the possibility that TWA planes might fly someday with Pan Am stewardesses.

DUFOTO



ITALIAN AUTOMAKER UMBERTO AGNELLI WITH BROTHER GIOVANNI

From capitalist showpiece to possible ward of the state.

ITALY

Fiat on the Skids

Italy's auto mammoth, Fiat, the second largest in Europe and sixth largest in the world, was considered until recently the private-enterprise showpiece of the Italian economy. Today, racked by labor troubles, declining sales, and most of all government interference in its affairs, it is being mentioned as a possible candidate for partial state ownership. The company's leaders, 53-year-old Chairman Giovanni Agnelli and his 39-year-old brother, Managing Director Umberto, are deeply committed to keeping the company in the private sector, but they face conditions that Umberto has publicly labeled impossible.

Two weeks ago, indeed, a fed-up Umberto tried to quit in protest against a government-imposed labor contract that he considered the last straw. Umberto himself had asked Italy's Socialist Labor Minister Luigi Bertoldi to mediate a three-month-old strike and slowdown among Fiat's 200,000 workers. Acting out of political considerations, as he freely conceded, Bertoldi granted the unions a $150 million settlement containing practically everything they asked for, including a $32 a month pay increase that was $8 higher than the company's final offer. Umberto handed in his resignation, but the Fiat board persuaded him to stay on.

To what effect is unclear: Umberto has stated that the contract makes it impossible for Fiat to operate at a profit. The award will raise labor costs 11.5%, on top of a 17% hike last year. Meanwhile, government regulations have clamped a lid on the prices that Fiat can charge, and its auto sales are down by as much as 45% because of apprehension over the energy situation. Even before the award, the company had slipped about $30 million into the red last year, its first loss in recent history.

The troubles point to a trend ominous for other companies besides Fiat: in attempting to cope with Italy's social and economic problems, the government is burdening the private sector with more responsibilities than it can handle. Fiat has tried to help by building big new plants in the depressed southern Mezzogiorno and worker housing in its home city of Turin. Umberto Agnelli criticizes the unions for not taking these expenditures into account when pressing for wage increases to catch up with the cost of living, spiraling at the rate of 15.6% annually; but his greatest scorn is reserved for the government. "There is no economic plan," he says acidly, "no consistent framework within which to operate. It would be possible to run the company like a civil servant, but that certainly is not what I want." Unless the government can find some way to alleviate the effects of the contract it has imposed, however, that is what may happen.

ADVERTISING

The Hard Sell on M.P.G.

There is almost nothing that advertisers will not try to turn into a selling point. Take the driving public's concern about the rate at which cars consume gasoline, a worry that has knocked auto sales down 27%, with big-car sales hurting the most. "As long as fuel is in short supply," says Ford President Lee Iacocca, "the name of the game is miles per gallon." Result: automakers and their dealers are rushing to advertise that their cars, even some of the heaviest, get astonishing gas mileage.

For some months now, Hugh Downs has been proclaiming on national television that he got 19.7 m.p.g. driving a Ford LTD from Phoenix to Los Angeles. Cadillac advertises that its cars get up to 15.8 m.p.g., and Oldsmobile claims 17.6 m.p.g. for its Cutlass.

Do these claims sound hard to believe? The automakers are careful to qualify them with such hedges as the one voiced by Downs: "Of course, mileage depends on maintenance, driving habits, total weight, road and traffic conditions. And you may not get the same results." Indeed, most of the published mileage figures were set under special conditions. Downs, for example, never drove over 50 m.p.h., and his route was mostly downhill (the average altitude of Los Angeles is around 1,000 feet lower than Phoenix).

Both the Cadillac and Cutlass m.p.g. figures, like many others the automakers proclaim, were achieved on proving grounds, scarcely much of a guide to what motorists can expect in normal driving. One indication: Chrysler —which commendably has stayed out of the race to advertise mileage figures —found last year that four of its Valiants got 18 m.p.g. on proving ground runs. The same cars got 14 m.p.g. in typical freeway runs, 12 m.p.g. in suburban driving, and 10 m.p.g. in heavy city traffic. Moreover, automakers themselves have complained to Washington that the cost, because of safety and antipollution equipment they have had to add, has cut the average gas mileage achieved by the industry has dropped 20% in the past five years —a figure they do not put in the ads.

The automakers and parts suppliers are also promoting a whole range of gadgets products supposed to save gasoline in a more acceptable form of gas-mileage salesmanship. Ford, for example, is selling for $20.95 an instrument-panel "fuel sentry" that warns a driver when he should decelerate because he is burning too much gas. Chrysler will soon be selling for $10 to $12 a "fuel pacer system," a red light mounted on the fender that flashes when a driver is wasting fuel by accelerating too fast. Such devices may be useful, but most drivers are likely to find that the ultimate fuel-saving gadget is a small car.

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PAN

ealing a TV March

A mountainous island nation with natural resources, Japan depends on world economy to make its living. the past, it has relied on trade to se- e enough foreign money to buy the v materials it needs, but in recent rs it has swung increasingly to mak- sizable foreign investments. One of biggest of these took shape last week, en Matsushita, a $4 billion giant in nsumer electronics and household ap- ances, signed an agreement to buy otorola Inc.'s U.S. television business. e deal will make Matsushita the third gest seller of TV sets in the U.S., trail- only Zenith and RCA and easily sur- ssing its two Japanese rivals, Sony and tachi. One executive of a Japanese mpetitor exclaimed that the news was "sensational" as "Toyota buying out rd" would be.

The analogy is considerably exag- rated, but the transaction is indispu- bly major. Motorola's TV sets last year n up sales of about $240 million, or to 7% of the U.S. total. Added to Ma- shita's sales of Panasonic products, hich will continue through a separate stribution network, they will give Ma- shita about 15% of the American TV arket, *v.* about 23% each for Zenith d RCA. Matsushita is also stealing a arch on its archrival Sony, both in the S. and Japan. It will acquire three Mo- ola plants in the U.S. and one in Can- a, giving it a North American man- facturing base far larger than that of ny, which became the first Japanese company to manufacture in the U.S. building a plant in 1972 in San Di- o. Further, the buy-out nullifies a deal at Motorola had made to market ge-screen Quasar color TVs in Japan rough a Sony subsidiary (TIME, Sept.). Luxury color-TV sets have begun show signs of catching on with the panese consumer, and the benefits of otorola's technological expertise in aking them will now go to Matsushi- rather than Sony.

New Coach. Motorola will rid it- of a division that had piled up loss- in the past five years—partly because Japanese competition. Those losses d begun to threaten the profits of Mo- ola's billion-dollar-a-year business in niconductors and radio and auto com- nications equipment. Wishing to con- ntrate on those products, Motorola gan sniffing around for possible buy- for the TV business early this year. atsushita snapped at the chance for eral reasons. Faced with rising labor sts, crowded land space and a pollut- environment at home, it could not y profitably expand its facilities in pan to serve the American or world rkets. Also, manufacturing inside the S. will enable it to insulate part of its nerican sales from the uncertainties foreign-exchange trading.

In the past three years Matsushita has broadly hiked U.S. prices on its Panasonic products as much as 15% because of increases in the value of the Japanese yen on world money markets. Similar price raises on Quasar sets made in the U.S. will be unnecessary, whatever happens to the yen. Motorola Chairman Robert W. Galvin says that Matsushita will be able to put more money, effort and energy into the TV business than Motorola could have, and adds: "It will be able to turn our people on as a new coach does."

INDUSTRY

Space-Age Pinball

In the make-believe world of the penny arcade, pinball was once a game without peer. For a teen-ager with a pocketful of dimes, there was no better way to while away idle hours than maneuvering a steel ball through a maze of obstacles, while lights blinked and a noisy digital scoreboard recorded points with a distinctive bong. But pinball, alas, lost some of its cachet in high-speed modern life—until 18 months ago when there appeared a new breed of coin-operated games that use sophisticated electronic technology to simulate everything from playing table tennis to driving a race car. Besides giving birth to a nationwide fad, the games have also revived the sagging coin-game industry, boosting its revenues and ushering in a new era of cutthroat competition between manufacturers.

Typical of the new games is Pong,* a popular version of electronic table tennis manufactured by two-year-old Atari, Inc. (estimated fiscal 1974 revenue: $14 million) of Los Gatos, Calif. Atari sold some 8,500 games to U.S. amusement parlors and other businesses last year, in addition to a substantial overseas trade. Pong is played on a standard television to which a simple circuit board has been added. This device projects images representing a "ball," two "paddles"—four for doubles—and a "net" onto the screen (actually, all are beams of light). By turning knobs, each player can use his paddle to strike the ball and send it back across the net. The rules are similar to those for standard table tennis, but have one crucial difference from standard pinball: players soon learn how to manipulate their paddles so that the ball travels faster or veers off in unpredictable directions.

Other screen games use different means to add to the challenge. A race driving game now being test-marketed by Atari projects the view from the cockpit of a Grand Prix car negotiating the hairpin curves of the track at Le Mans. Manning a phony steering wheel, accelerator and gear shift, the player tries to complete the circuit as many times as possible without "spinning out" before the time limit expires. The simulation, complete with the sounds of squealing brakes and revving engines, is so realistic, Atari executives report, that "we've watched guys leaving the wheel with sweat pouring down their faces."

Video games seem to have caught on fastest with college students. On some campuses, playing them is the second most popular pastime after streaking. They are popular, too, at bowling alleys, skating rinks and the like. But they also appeal to the proprietors of staid businesses that would never have permitted a standard pinball machine through the door, including some high-class restaurants and hotels. The reasons: despite a high purchase price (about $1,100), the machines are cheaper and easier to maintain than mechanical games. They are also more profitable. Atari executives report that Pong games frequently take in $200 to $300 per week. Each game costs a quarter, *v.* only a dime for most pinball machines; the total take from all the machines now in play is estimated at more than $900 million annually.

At least 18 U.S. firms and 23 European companies are fighting for a share of the more than $60 million that industry sources expect to rack up this year from selling electronic games. This hunt for profits could wind up in court. Atari, whose Pong machines were the first to show up in penny arcades, has secured a patent on the electronic circuitry that makes the games possible. Its management contends that other manufacturers should therefore be paying Atari a royalty on each game they produce. To the true pinball *aficionado,* of course, all this is beside the point; what the industry lacks is a sophisticated electronic game that it is possible to tilt.

DIRCK HALSTEAD



PLAYING VIDEO GAME IN NEW YORK
Needed: a tiltable machine.

*Odyssey, a similar game manufactured by the Magnavox Co., is linked to home television sets. It sells for $99.95.

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The New B Movies

It may be that 1974 will enter such television annals as there are as the year made-for-TV movies came of age. Already, three of them have imposed themselves with unusual if mixed force on audience and industry decision makers alike. *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman,* which used a fictional character to dramatize a huge chunk of black history, has been the season's critical success. *A Case of Rape* attracted a record-breaking audience for a realistic, if dramatically ill-resolved, study of the one crime in which the victim can almost count on being further punished by the legal system. Finally, with *The Execution of Private Slovik,* NBC managed to flack its way into the mightiest flop of the year. Mistaking sober intentions for genuine achievement, the network promoted the film heavily. It turned out to be a long, soggy script about a pathetically masochistic G.I. who became the only American to be shot for desertion in World War II.

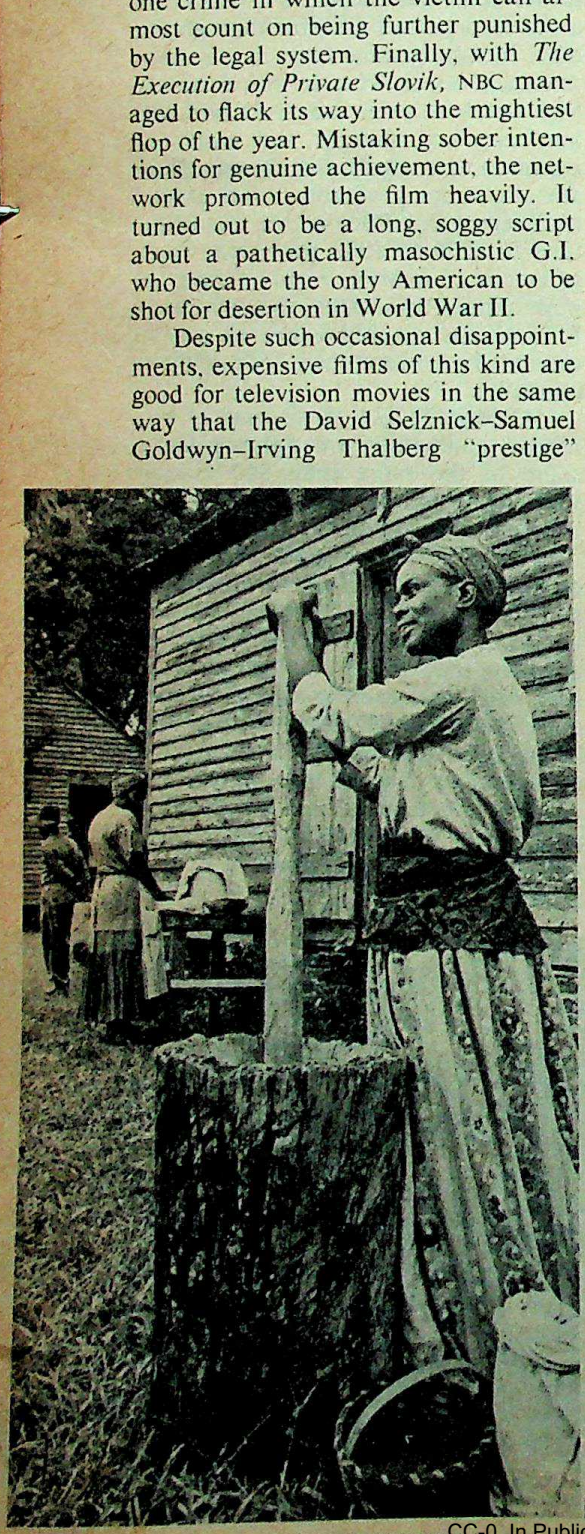
Despite such occasional disappointments, expensive films of this kind are good for television movies in the same way that the David Selznick–Samuel Goldwyn–Irving Thalberg "prestige" productions were good for the movie industry in the '30s. They cause people who would not otherwise pay attention to the form to do so. But as with the old films, so with TV movies: the quick, deft westerns, mysteries and action melodramas that depend on well-established conventions may in the end exert a larger claim on our attention than their more pretentiously publicized rivals.

Indeed, made-for-TV films are already performing a cultural service by keeping alive the traditional commercial genres that, aside from the cop dramas, are seldom available now in movie houses. Across from *Private Slovik,* for example, ABC ran *The Hanged Man.* It was a tidy western—like many of these films a pilot for a possible series—about a sometime hired gun trying to reform himself by helping out the widows and orphans he had formerly oppressed. The picture's highlight was a hellishly ingenious finale in which the hero walked down the heavy into a steamy, bubbling silver smelter.

Golden-Oldies. On ABC in recent months, a viewer could renew acquaintance with all kinds of golden-oldie situations. There was Kirk Douglas playing a worm turned psychopathic killer in *Mousey;* Robert Culp as a bourgeois daddy forced to defend suburban hearth and home from a predatory adolescent gang in *Outrage;* Culp again as one of a group of men who must work while their women anxiously wait in *Houston, We've Got a Problem* (namely a space shot gone awry); Gloria Swanson doing a dotty old lady thing with her friends the *Killer Bees;* Natalie Wood and Robert Wagner in a *Love Story* with wheelchair called *The Affair.* There were also obvious borrowings from Hollywood hits—among the recent ones: several mini-*Poseidon* adventures with oddly assorted casts trapped in runaway trains and stalled elevators and even an elegiac western whose gimmick was readily apparent from the title, *Mrs. Sundance.*

None of these movies approach the tense excellence of what may be the all-time best-of-breed: Director Steven Spielberg's *Duel* (1971), in which Dennis Weaver plays a peaceable salesman hurrying to a meeting through rugged desert country and incurring the psychopathic rage of a truck driver by passing him on a hill. His desperate efforts to avoid murder by collision with a relentless foe, whose face neither he nor the audience ever glimpses, is an unforgettable exercise in the action-suspense category.

It is also an object lesson in what can be achieved by talented people who make a virtue of the pressures imposed by tight budgets and shooting schedules. TV movies are mostly made by old companies, in particular giant Universal Studios, the only company left in Hollywood with its own working back lot.



CBS

CICELY TYSON AS JANE PITTMAN
Dramatizing black history

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NBC

ELIZABETH MONTGOMERY IN *RAPE*
Making a virtue of pressure.

There is no margin for artistic d
or experiment. Producers have
known to come on the set to dism
rectors who fall behind the cust
ten-day shooting schedule.

This kind of taut traditional
tainment feeds a steady freshet
terest in TV movies. They are not
in with overly familiar characte
way series shows are; and, given th
less need for new product, pro
cannot help but try an occasiona
elty, just as the studios did sever
ades ago when they were obliga
provide a weekly change of bill fo
theater chains. Sometimes TV's
ideas do not quite come off.
Shirts/Skins, in which no one
whether the intense rivalries gen
in a pickup basketball game were
ny or sad commentary on the
competitive spirit. But sometime
do, as in *I Love You ... Good*
which Hope Lange gave a sensiti
pealing performance as a fed-up
wife running away from a middl
marriage gone stale.

The main thing, however, is t
TV movies offer variety, but
much of it—a nice overall blend
miliar faces and situations with
personalities and original twists
venient to turn on, easy to flick o
ies made for TV approximate th
ditions under which all movies
be chanced by audiences years ag
are a small but genuine blessing
sistently optimistic people who
member when at least half the
sure of moviegoing derived
from the fact that no sense of
occasion was attached to that
inexpensive act. ■ Richard

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...e Crack-Up

...GREAT GATSBY
...ected by JACK CLAYTON
...eenplay by FRANCIS FORD COPPOLA

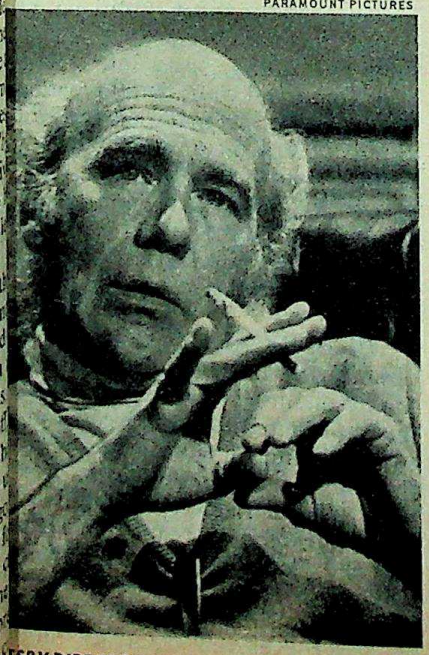
It was said about Jay Gatsby that never went to his own parties. He certainly passed this one by. A great deal time, money and promotion have ...n concentrated here, but Gatsby's ... and curious history has resulted in ...ull, dreadful movie.

The film is faithful to the letter of Scott Fitzgerald's novel but entirely ...sses its spirit. Much of Fitzgerald's ...se has been preserved, especially in ...ck Carraway's narration, but it only ...es the film a stilted, stuffy tone that ...einforced by the dialogue. Fitzgerald ...te dialogue to be read, not said; and ... Coppola screenplay (much rejuggled ... Director Clayton) treats Fitzgerald's ...es with untoward reverence. When ...isy sighs, "We were so close in our ...nth of love," she sounds like a kid in ...creative-writing course reading her ...st short story aloud.

That at least implies a certain zeal ...d commitment, only two of the qual...s lacking in Mia Farrow's Daisy. Her ...aracterization—on which so much of ... movie depends—is a catastrophe. ... works up a mannered creature with ...ging eyes and squeaking voice who ...ver suggests Daisy's strength, her ...ed, or even her gaiety and charm.

Stubborn Caprice. Robert Red...d's Gatsby is rather more successful. ...dford does not have the mystery or ... rough edge required for the role, but ... is surprisingly good at conveying ...tsby's uneasiness. The social graces ... not natural to him. He has a ten...us poise, a mask that falls away when ...

PARAMOUNT PICTURES



...TSBY DIRECTOR JACK CLAYTON
...ged in delirium.

he is introduced to Daisy's small daughter or when Nick pays him a sincere compliment that makes him, for the first time, smile genuinely. Redford also has a sense of Gatsby's obsession. His look of longing, fulfillment and hopelessness when he sees Daisy for the first time has, momentarily, the depth of passion that the movie never achieves again.

Here, however, the object of the obsession is so thoroughly without mystery that it comes to look like little more than a stubborn caprice. With a Gatsby crippled by such a dismal Daisy, the movie must be sustained by its secondary characters. There is little enough strength there. As Daisy's friend Jordan Baker, Lois Chiles seems to be fighting off unsuccessfully the effects of a massive dose of Novocain. George Wilson, the poor garage man who kills Gatsby, and his wife Myrtle are impersonated by Scott Wilson and Karen Black in little bursts of lunatic melodrama.

Sam Waterston makes a gentle, intelligent Nick, but the role is largely passive. The movie's sharpest characterization is Bruce Dern's Tom Buchanan, a figure of imperiousness, steeped in contempt that comes from too much ease, too much money. When he and Gatsby confront Daisy in a hotel room one afternoon, the film catches the intensity that Fitzgerald conveyed in the sculpted contours of his prose.

It is also one of the few moments that survive the delirium of Clayton's staging. He shoots the love scenes in gauzy soft focus. Everything gleams: bracelets, sunlight on glasses, leaves on trees, even eyeballs. This is at best. At worst, when Clayton photographs the lovers dancing together in a vast, empty ballroom or kissing, their images reflected in a goldfish pond, he seems to have lapsed into some middle ground between self-parody and self-flagellation.

Clayton makes his most deadly error by transforming *Gatsby* into a dandified elegy. The novel was tough-minded, hard-edged in its social insights. Clayton does take a shot at a little easy irony now and again—like using the song *Ain't We Got Fun* as counterpoint to the drawing-room tragedy. But he is as captivated by the bounties of wealth as Gatsby was, and spends endless minutes gliding his camera around expensive rooms or across the crowded floor of Gatsby's galas, all staged with a certain lavish clumsiness. This gives the film a numbing, punishing quality, as if everyone were trapped at some purgatorial party that will never end. At a running time of close to 2½ hours, it frequently seems that indeed it will not. The length just prolongs the film's already extravagant failures. "You can't repeat the past," Nick tells Gatsby, who disagrees. Nearly everything about *The Great Gatsby*, though, supports Nick. At least, no one here can. ■ Jay Cocks

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WHY PAY FOR ASIA IF YOU ONLY WANT THE PHILIPPINES?

Companies doing business just in the Philippines want to advertise—logically enough—in the country they sell in, not where they don't.

TIME's local advertising edition is designed for them. It permits an advertiser to appear just in those copies of the magazine that circulate in the Philippines. Comparable editions do the same for businessmen in Japan and Singapore-Malaysia. However, if a company has interests that are continent-wide, it can use the edition of TIME that covers all of Asia ... or Southeast Asia or East Asia, for something in between.

In fact, wherever an advertiser sells, there is a TIME to match his market. After all, why should anyone pay for more of the world than he needs?

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Her father gave her away when she was three years old.

He had to. Her mother was dead. He was incurably ill and could no longer give Angelina food and shelter.

So like thousands of other destitute boys and girls she was brought to one of our CI homes for care.

For $12 a month, you can help us save such a child.

Through our "adoption" program, you can help provide a child with medical attention, adequate food, education, warm clothes. And hope.

But please hurry. Write to Mrs. Jeanne Clarke Wood, Children, Incorporated, Box 5381, Dept. TI-73, Richmond, Virginia, U.S.A. 23220.

I wish to "adopt" a boy ☐ girl ☐ in _____.
Name of Country.

I will pay $12 a month ($144 a year, U.S. dollars). Enclosed is my gift for ☐ a full year ☐ the first month. Please send me the child's name, story, address and picture. I understand that I can correspond with my child. Also, I may discontinue the "adoption" at any time.

☐ I cannot "adopt" a child, but want to help with $_____.

☐ I am interested and would like more details.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

You can "adopt" a child from Africa, Asia, Latin America, Middle East, U.S.A.—Appalachian or American Indian children. (Or any child of greatest need.) Gifts are U.S. income tax deductible.

Children, Incorporated

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Died. Peter Jeffrey Revs American international road while test driving his Formula Shadow at the Kyalami circuit hannesburg, South Africa. A playboy—he was recently link Marjorie Wallace, the dethron World titleholder—Revson wa than a dilettante motorist. He w ner-up at the Indianapolis 500 and won the British Grand Pri same year. His most recent ma tories were the British and C Grand Prix in 1973.

Died. Anne Klein, 51, trend designer of women's fashions fa bringing sophistication to casual of pneumonia following a viru tion; in Manhattan. Petite and Klein rose to prominence by inj new elegance into the traditiona sie junior-size dresses. She later ened her scope to include eve from sweaters to shoes.

Died. Chet Huntley, 62, for co–anchor man of NBC's immens ular *Huntley-Brinkley Report* PRESS).

Died. Louis I. Kahn, 73 (TI 15, 1973), a seminal architect for two decades; of a heart attack; hattan. Kahn was a relatively teacher until the early 1950s, w first major design, the Yale Art was constructed. After that, hi ence—as seen in the designs of ciples as Charles Moore and Pop tect Robert Venturi—became mous. Kahn was primarily co with principles of order and lig work featured the use of stark, ric shapes and an emphasis on light and the moods created by also incorporated such traditiona cealed "servant" elements as pipes and storage space into vis sign. Slight and white-haired, w etic regard for his materials ("A happy when it is an arch"), K best known for the Salk Institu plex in La Jolla, Calif., and for cently completed Kimbell Art in Fort Worth. He also designed ital buildings in Dacca, Bangla

Died. Dr. Alan F. Guttmac obstetrician and leading apost family-planning movement; mia; in Manhattan. A respected sor and clinician, Guttmacher that birth control information vices must be made available one. In 1962 he became pres Planned Parenthood–World P and began jetting the globe his message. He urged the use in underdeveloped countries, that imperfect contraception than none at all.

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uo Vadis

INQUIRY INTO THE HUMAN PROSPECT
ROBERT L. HEILBRONER
) pages. Norton. $5.95.

This short, urgent essay on the world's chances for survival has all the erfulness of a medical warning de- ered to a middle-aged man after a bad ckup. "Slow down," Doc Heilbroner ffect says to the human race. "You're the kid you once were. You can't n the candle at both ends any more naybe not even at one end, the way r energy resources are going. And 'll have to trim down that popula- bulge. Keep on doing what you're ng, boy, and you'll kill yourself."

The scolding is surely familiar these s, coming not only from economists Heilbroner is chairman of the depart- nt of economics at the New School Social Research—but from politi- ns and editorial writers, to say noth- of gasoline-station attendants. By the poor patient knows Doc Heil- ner's gloomy figures practically by rt. Every ten years mankind's ener- demands double. And even if they met by extractions from granite or water or God knows what, thermal lution will increase by 100% in the t couple of centuries, driving atmo- eric temperatures up an intolerable degrees Centigrade. The population be doubling in Latin America ev- 24 years, in Africa every 27 years, Southeast Asia every 30 years.

As if this is not standard bad news ugh, Heilbroner has a few private monitions to share. For instance, en the underdeveloped nations get lear weapons ("within the next few ades and perhaps much sooner"), he icipates that they will blackmail the eloped nations into "a massive trans- of wealth"—or else.

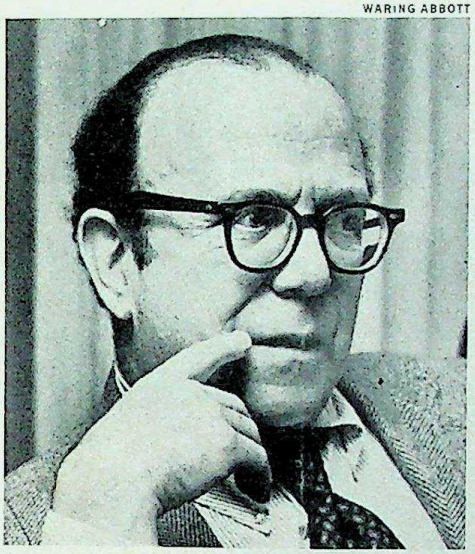
Human Nature. But what takes lbroner beyond 1974's gloom-as-usu- is his rediscovery of and pessimism ut human nature. Old-style progres- s, if they accepted the concept of man nature at all, used to regard it as er essentially good or infinitely cor- tible. But Heilbroner now doubts that nkind can be brought to care enough ut the future to do what is necessary save the present—especially as re- ds self-denial. Can 20th century civ- ation give up the "ethos of 'science' " to mention the work ethic) and for- e the now monstrous ideal of growth the ideal of stability? Heilbroner sees e reason to expect that either of the main socioeconomic systems will nage such self-abnegation. Both cap- ism and socialism, he argues, share values of technology—production efficiency—with small regard for pillage of nature.

What can save homo not-so-sapiens from himself? Not calls for "moral awakening" and "social action." Perhaps, just perhaps, the aggressive competitive instincts of modern man can be transferred from products to services, to education, to health care, to the arts. But Heilbroner cannot imagine these things being done voluntarily or without the "payment of a fearful price," particularly in freedom. Democracy, he suspects, is not up to the job, only " 'iron' governments" that are "capable of rallying obedience." Does this mean that an authoritarian state, the worst alternative only a few years ago, has become the best alternative today?

The spectacle that Heilbroner's thesis represents is almost as distressing as his prospect for the race. Here is no Spengler taking a sardonic pleasure in declines and falls. Here is a man of practical intelligence and good will, a man equipped by temperament and upbringing to hope. Yet his book is an epitaph on liberalism written with conspicuous pain by an author who includes himself in the epitaph. Heilbroner fits his own description of Promethean man, full of "driving energy," "nervous will": a problem solver. Now, he grimly concludes, that gift of fire may burn up the world. For the sake of the race Prometheus must go. To be replaced by whom? Atlas, Heilbroner proposes, the burden bearer rather than the problem solver: the man who plays life not to win but to survive. Before a reader is carried away by this bleak neomythology, he should ask: Just what are Heilbroner's deep apprehensions based upon? A few data (mostly projected) and a lot of intuition. Futurology, as Heilbroner is the first to admit, is a game that takes place in its own outer space.

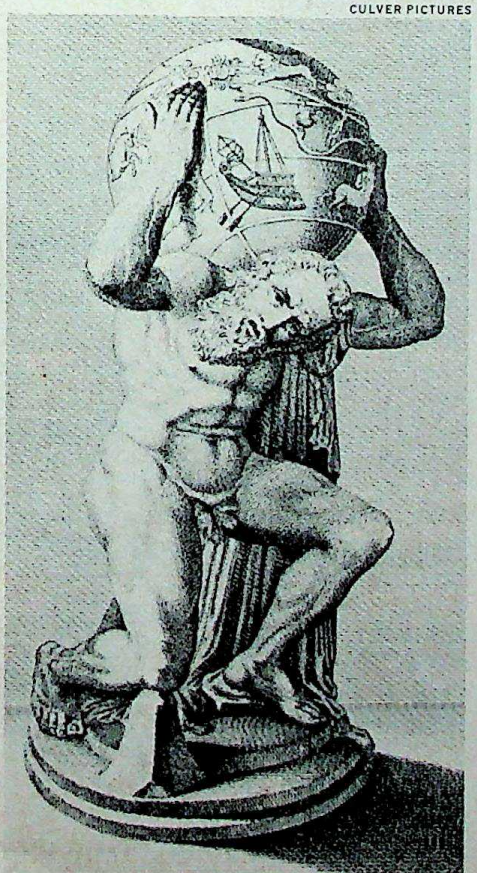
What Heilbroner may express most clearly in this essay is the present fatigued mood of a generation of intellectuals who began, like good Americans, by believing that they had nearly all the answers and have come to despair that they have any. In the absence of proof, a reader can only hope that Heilbroner and his fellow sentries, as he calls them, are now as wrong about sighting the end-of-practically-everything as they were in their youth when, with Marxist or "managerial" revolutions in their heads, a lot of them thought they saw quite another kind of future. ■ Melvin Maddocks

WARING ABBOTT



ROBERT HEILBRONER

CULVER PICTURES



ATLAS AT WORK
Epitaph for liberalism.

Clubmen at Play

THE GOLF OMNIBUS
by P.G. WODEHOUSE
467 pages. Simon & Schuster. $7.95.

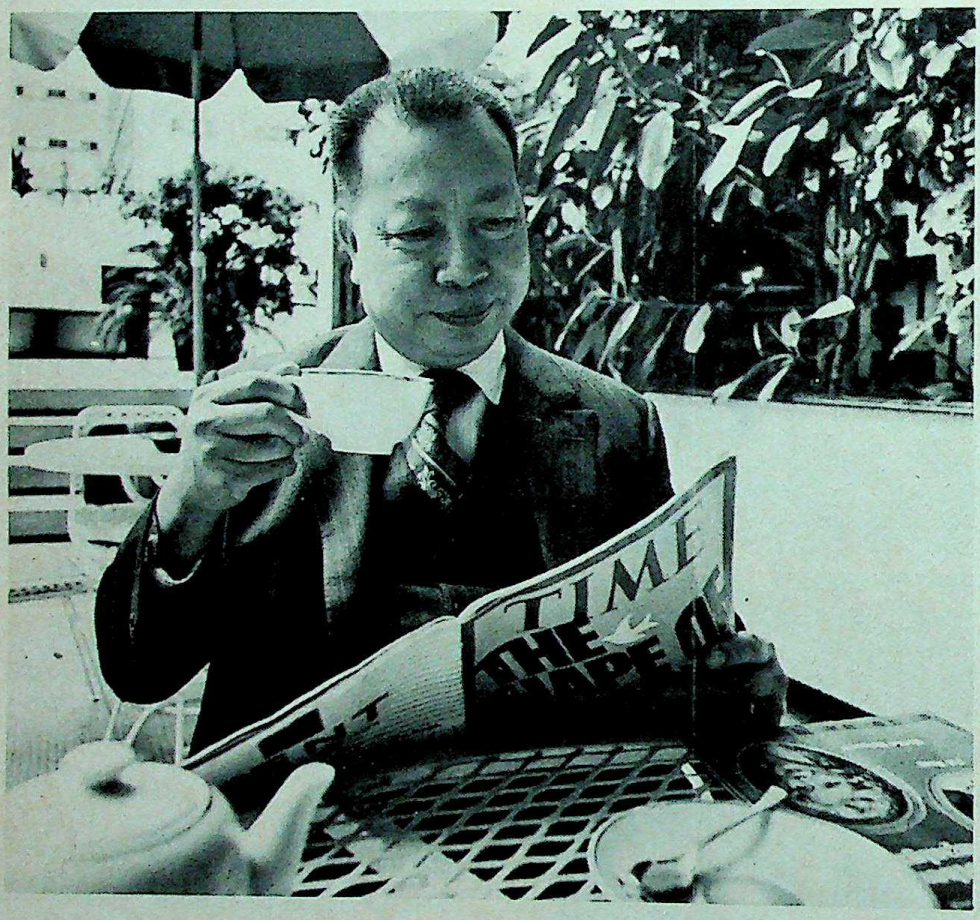
There is one thing to be said for golf. It gave the Oldest Member (alias P.G. Wodehouse, 92 and still spinning yarns on the clubhouse terrace) an excuse to look up from his lemonade and variously celebrate valor at the ninth-hole water hazard and the triumph of love over a fifteen handicap. These 31 stories, a Masters tournament of golfing tales, stretch gloriously from *The Clicking of Cuthbert* (1916) to *Sleepy Time* (1968) and pass such milestones as *The Heart of a Goof* and *The Awakening of Rollo Podmarsh* on the way.

Wodehouse characters, Waugh once said, "have never tasted the forbidden fruit. They are still in Eden." Indeed, a wonderful, innocent foolishness makes them all irresistible: Wallace Chesney, Rodney Spelvin, Blizzard the butler, and the Wrecking Crew (four retired businessmen whose progress over the course resembles "one of those great race mi-

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grations of the Middle Ages"). A
an idyl, the weather is routinely g
("butterflies loafed languidly
panted in the shady recesses
trees"), and the sun shines gently

Even non-golfers, that quiet
minority group, stretch and bask
sheepishly, in the Wodehouse p
self-justification they cite his stor
powers. Faced with an importan
tion like "Who was Legs Mor
only Wodehouse could reply, "T
precisely what Angus McTavish
to know when he saw him blowi
es at Evangeline Brackett from th
house canteen," thereby ensuring
and docile audience. Gloom
down to the essential minimum a
anced by modest quantities of sex
olence, as in *The Salvation of
Mackintosh,* in which the beauti
lia attempts to murder him (
with, of all things, her niblick. (H
after all, addressed her while she
dressing her ball.)

The book also offers cau
tales, on subjects ranging from
adventure through *golf, success a*
ing to deterioration of the charac
golf, failure at, caused by think
hard about your backswing.

Other sorts of trouble are co
paradise, it appears. Those
Scottish names, the cleek, and the
the baffy and of course that old
by the mashie niblick, says Wod
are about to become as rare—no
mythological—as Scottish golfing
pions themselves. It is rumored th
is less "a thing of the spirit" than
was. Given such commercial-cal
times, golfers and non-golfers alik
swiftly turn for solace to *The
Member.* Who better than Wod
can guard against creeping gre
gallopping solemnity, on the pag
the fairway? ■ Hele

Left-Hand Man

ENGELS, MANCHESTER, AND THE WORKING CLASS
by STEVEN MARCUS
271 pages. Random House. $8.95

The English factory town o
chester might be called the cradle
Industrial Revolution were it
more than half the working-cla
dren born there a century ago
fore the age of five. Under Manc
pall of smoke, pale families
away their lives between cotton
hovel. Bad air, bad food, bad la
notony and danger were the
common lot. The din of machin
a ceaseless taunt that whatever
mained in their hands was irrele

The city, then, was a must
the mid-19th century thinking
tour. Charles Dickens, himself
by his celebrated childhood sti
blacking factory, put his observa
Manchester misery into *Hard
Alexis de Tocqueville took a l
with a philosophical shrug scoop

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Have a little sanuk on your way to London.

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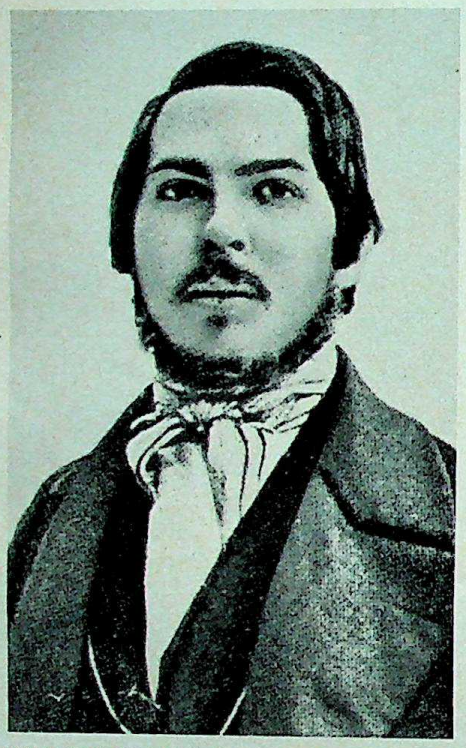
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Thai International. Get into it.

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man O. Brown with what may be the first excremental view of modern capitalism. "From this foul drain," he said, "the greatest stream of human industry flows out to fertilize the whole world."

By far the most important visitor Manchester ever had was the son of a German textile manufacturer named Friedrich Engels. He arrived in the city at the age of 22 to complete his business education at a plant partly owned by his father. Instead, he spent most of his time gathering a mountain of facts, figures, impressions and personal experiences for his book, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844.* It synthesized the studies of history, economics and political institutions and drew conclusions that helped lay the foundations of modern socialism.



FRIEDRICH ENGELS CIRCA 1850
Human evidence and money.

The rest is familiar history. Engels used his capitalist lucre to support the firm of Marx & Engels, tireless designers of revolutions, tailors of socialist theory, collaborators on scholarly books and pamphlets, including a long-term bestseller called *The Communist Manifesto.* The sullen, tobacco-stained genius Karl Marx and the buoyant, optimistic and modest Engels combined to make one of the most influential partnerships of all time. Marx supplied the creative thought, and Engels produced the human evidence, provided the money, and cleaned up Marx's turgid prose for the world to read. Although he was hesitant to admit it, Engels wrote most of the second and third volumes of *Das Kapital* from Marx's notes.

Needless to say, Engels made a major contribution to one of history's most hair-raising political adventure stories. Cast of millions. Final scenes yet to be written. Were he an American phenomenon, Engels would undoubtedly already have co-starred with Marx in a socialist version of a musical like *1776.* Instead, he remains largely in the hands of ideologues, well-intentioned academics like Steven Marcus, professor of English at Columbia and author of a study of Victorian sexuality, *The Other Victorians.* In the first half of his *Engels, Manchester, and the Working Class,* Marcus does an excellent job describing the rise of industrialism in England. Yet the book is a kind of Jekyll and Hyde. When it is good, it is very good. When it is bad, it is horrid.

One of Marcus' avowed aims is to apply the formal techniques of textual analysis to Engels' *Condition of the Working Class,* "to ascertain how far literary criticism can help us understand history and society." The answer seems to be not very far at all. The half of his book that analyzes Engels' writing bogs down in the sort of overexplication of the obvious that has so often given literary criticism a bad name. Even when he develops a good point —the influence of Hegelian philosophy in Engels' thoughts and methods, for example—it is offered in unnecessarily academic jargon. The ironic effect is to transform the hard-eyed yet heartfelt observations in Engels' book into anemic abstractions. ■ R.Z. Sheppard

Reptile of the Month

COGAN'S TRADE
by GEORGE V. HIGGINS
216 pages. Knopf. $5.95.

"Mark Trattman's game got hit a couple nights ago."

"Somewhere around fifty-three thousand they got?"

"Two kids. They had long hair and they smelled like *animals.* Trattman said."

"Trattman said."

"The last time, I gather, the man who did it actually was Trattman himself."

"We start with Trattman and we start real good."

The conversation takes place in a silver Toronado parked on Tremont Street in South Boston. The man in the driver's seat is a lawyer representing a family the Cabots do not speak to. The man next to him is named Cogan, and Cogan is the man to keep your eye on in George V. Higgins' third novel about the Boston underworld. In *The Friends of Eddie Coyle* and *The Digger's Game,* drawing on his drastic experience as Assistant U.S. Attorney for Massachusetts, Higgins followed a couple of very small cockroaches as they skittered every which way to elude the extermination man. In *Cogan's Trade* he sees the action from the other end of the gun.

In the police state of organized crime, Cogan is a top cop—the man behind the hit man, a professional enforcer who solves the crime before he hires the punishment. As an investigator, Cogan favors the direct approach. He sends two of the boys around to "talk about things" with Trattman. When t talking, Trattman's nose, jaw eral ribs are broken, but his sto in one piece.

Cogan asks around and soon skinny: Squirrel Amato set up and two small-time hoods Frankie and Russell pulled it. B man has to die anyway. His cu think he is guilty, Cogan explai won't come back to the game u "whacked out." The whacking with shuddery efficiency. Cog up beside Trattman's Coupe de pumps five shots through a side The people who actually brough original stickup suffer assorte Russell, for example, gets off e gan tips the narcs, who bust him ing. For Amato and Frankie, Co contracts a well-known torped the torpedo proves unreliable "does a double" that compares literary killings as an IBM 360 c to chicken tracks.

Higgins is a miniaturist, an best a Fragonard of the nefari in *Cogan's Trade* he is not qui best. He spends too much tim from his strongest character a ters four-letter words until som read like excerpts from a w wall. Talk is his forte, and the this book is uninspired. But th is sharp, and Higgins provides s larious glimpses of the home li North American gorilla—one on cortisone for colitis, another contract because his wife nee root-canal work. Cogan hims memorable meanie, easily the of the month. ■ Brad

Best Sellers

FICTION

1—Burr, *Vidal (1 last week)*
2—Jaws, *Benchley (2)*
3—The Snare of the Hunter, *MacInnes (4)*
4—Come Nineveh, Come Tyre *Drury (3)*
5—Tuesday the Rabbi Saw Re *Kemelman (5)*
6—The Partners, *Auchincloss*
7—The Honorary Consul, *Greene (6)*
8—The Turquoise Mask, *Whitney (10)*
9—The First Deadly Sin, *Sand*
10—The Eye of the Storm, *Wh*

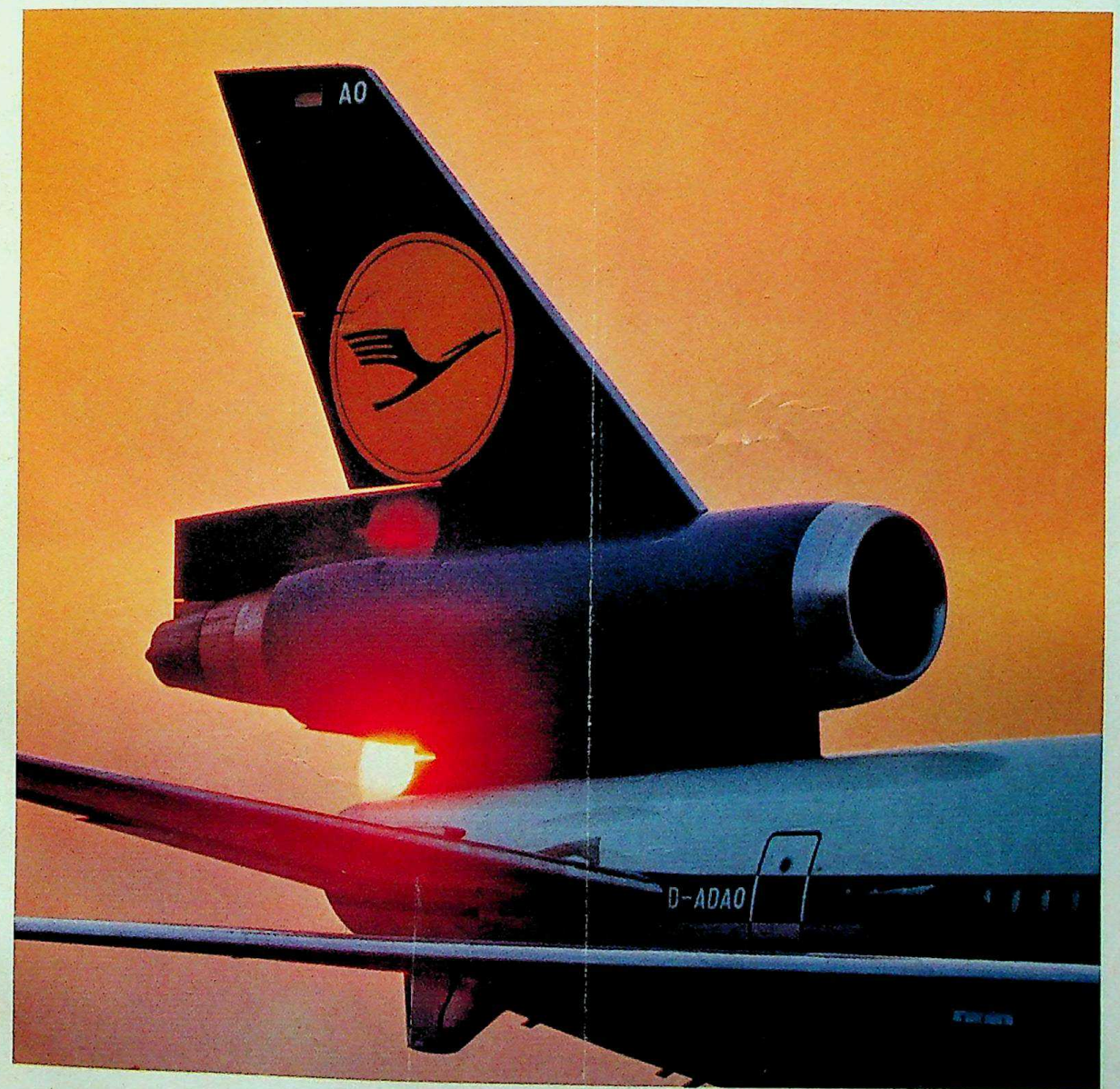
NONFICTION

1—Plain Speaking: An Oral Biography of Harry S. Tr *Miller (1)*
2—You Can Profit from a Mo Crisis, *Browne (2)*
3—The Joy of Sex, *Comfort (3*
4—How to Be Your Own Best *Newman & Berkowitz (4)*
5—The Secret Life of Plants, *Tomkins & Bird (5)*
6—KGB, *Barron (8)*
7—Management, *Drucker (7)*
8—Alistair Cooke's America *Cooke (9)*
9—Creative Divorce, *Krantzl*
10—Show Business Laid Bare *Wilson (10)*

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The more you fly, the less you want us to change.



Lufthansa
German Airlines

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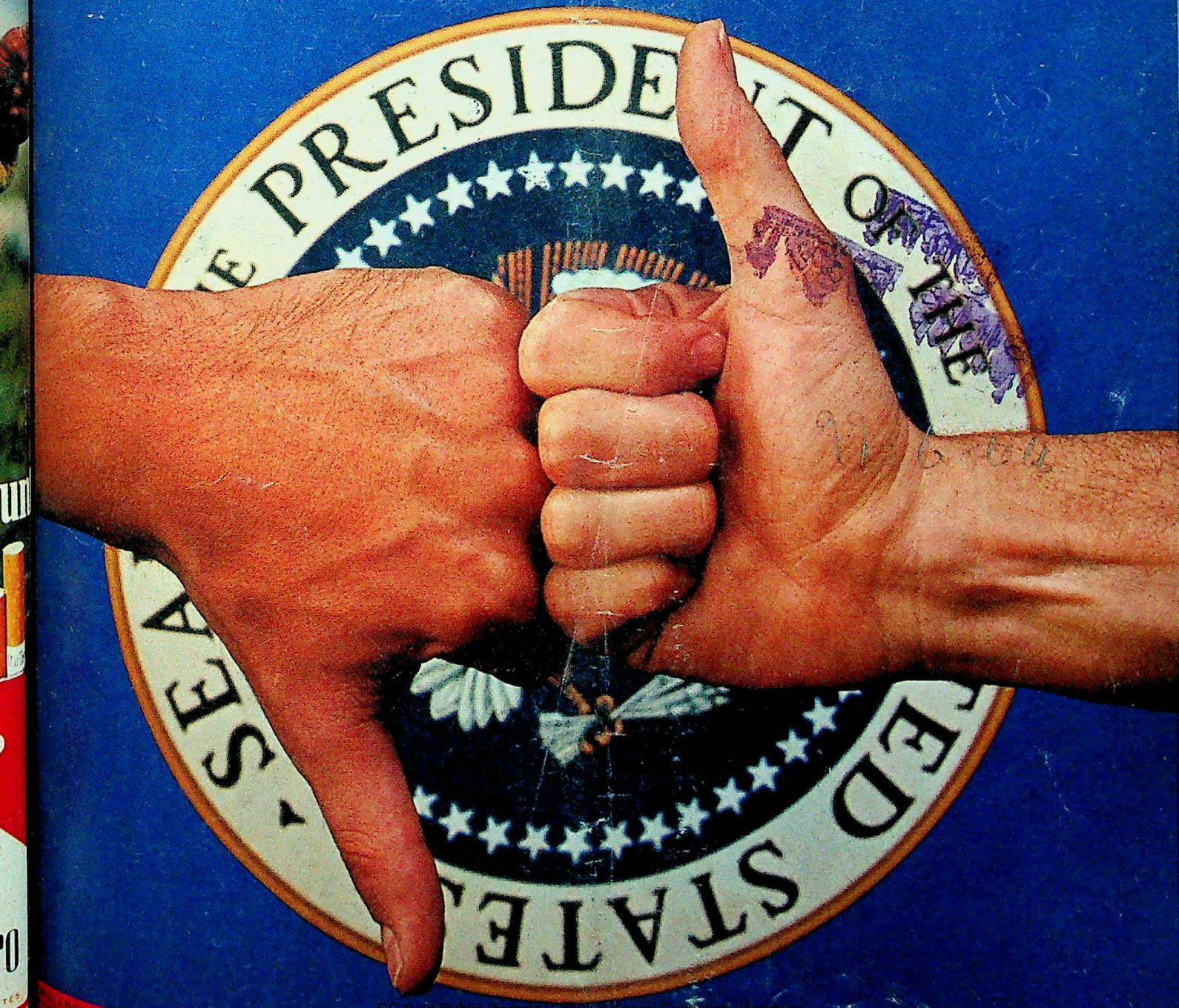
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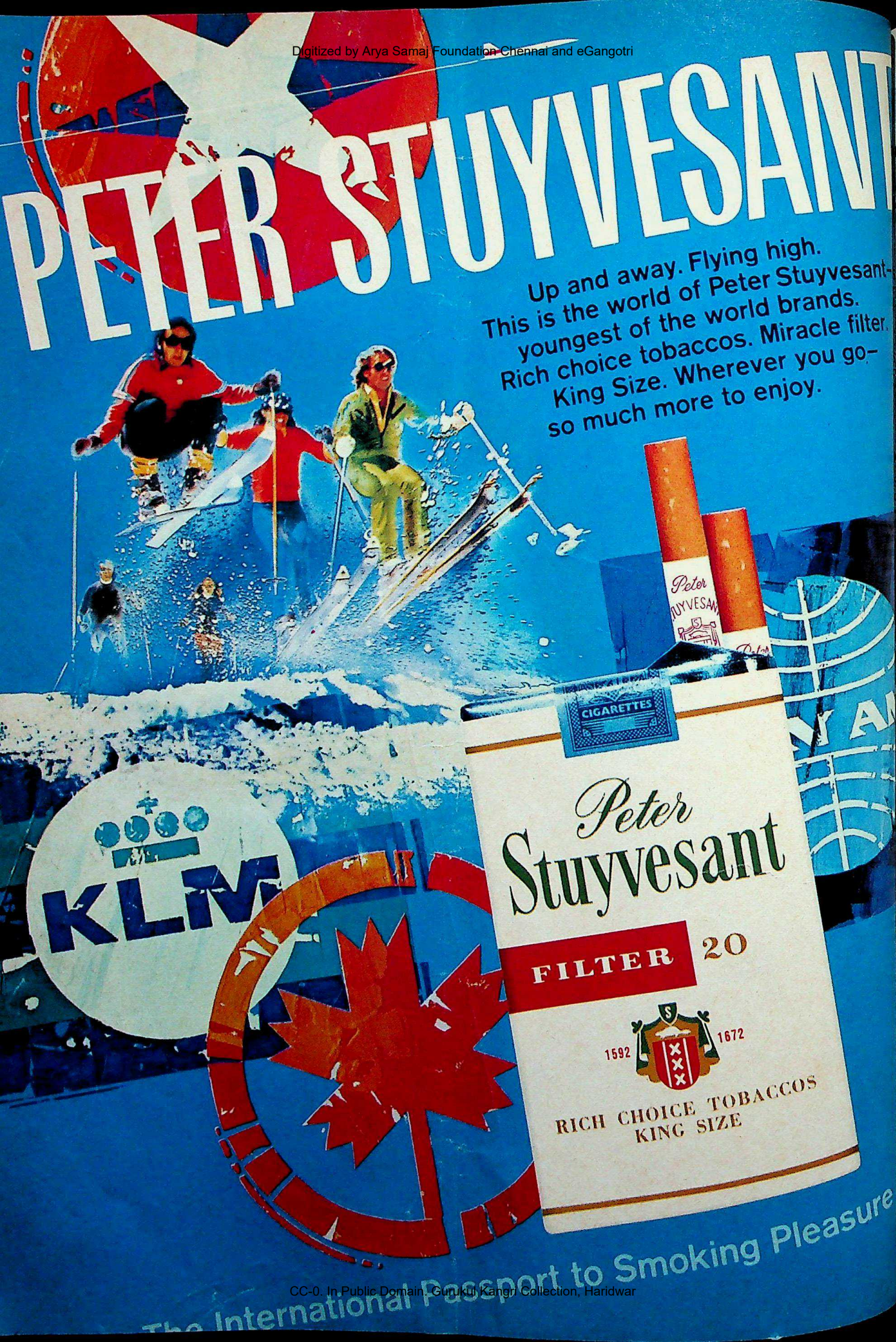
TIME

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ixon in Egypt

ir / The Egyptian people have recognized esident Nixon for what he is: the greatest eacemaker in the history of the world une 24].

JAMES STORRS
Deer Park, Texas

ir / No wonder the Egyptians turned out n masse for Nixon: Sadat told them Santa laus was coming.

FRED L. O'KEEFE
Eagle River, Wis.

ir / In view of the very warm Egyptian re- eption afforded Nixon, dare we hope he ill seek asylum?

ED WACHSMAN
Columbus

issinger's Pique

ir / In his infantile and unseemly display f pique, Henry Kissinger would be well ad- ised to remember [June 24] that U.S. for- gn policy was carried out for almost 200 ears before he made the scene and will be arried out for 200 years after he disappears rom view.

JOAN BARTLETT
Ormond Beach, Fla.

ir / Let us not forget that we need Kissin- er more than he needs us. He is the only idely respected, farsighted and truly able iplomat who can bring about some under- tanding and cooperation in these times of orldwide political turmoil. Can we pride urselves on having so many internationally uccessful statesmen that we can do with- ut him?

(MRS.) ILONA ROHONYI
South Orange, N.J.

ajority Rule in Rhodesia

ir / Your article on Rhodesia [June 3] says hat Black Bishop Muzorewa wants major- y rule in Rhodesia in ten years. White rime Minister Smith wants to hold off lack rule for 60 to 75 years.

With majority rule in ten years, Rho- esian blacks would be condemned to the ankruptcy, lawlessness, corruption and loodshed that have become the hallmark f independence throughout Black Africa. he white minority on whom the country elies so completely for its industrial, ad- inistrative and intellectual energy and kills would soon be dead or would have aken its culture elsewhere.

If Black Rhodesians are to have any hance of running their country intelligent- , of protecting themselves from disorder, f maintaining any sort of economy, of be- g better off in any way with majority rule han they are now, they must be prepared. It is hoping for quite a lot that the white minority could prepare them for this responsibility within 60 to 75 years. Then it is possible that Rhodesia could be a showpiece —the first decent, stable, competent, respectable, happy country in Black Africa.

E.M. ARNOT
Johannesburg

It Takes Moral Leadership

Sir / I am not "distraught" [June 17] but deeply concerned about the collapse of moral leadership, not only in the Executive Branch but in all segments of our society. If Watergate will bring us all to the "waters of repentance," our laundered attitudes will be the beginning of a better people, worthy of the greatness of this nation.

This takes leadership, not only from the governmental community, but from other thought molders, including the communications media. The sin has been exposed and acknowledged, and that is the first step toward restoration of national integrity. How about equal time given to the creative energies implicit in justice and mercy? If the current spirit of anarchy goes too far, we will all be crying for both.

(THE REV.) T. EUGENE COFFIN
East Whittier Friends Church
Whittier, Calif.

Sir / This beleaguered nation certainly needs new moral and ethical leadership. Senator Harold Hughes can provide it. It is unfortunate that he is leaving politics, for while lay religious work is honorable and rewarding, now is the time this nation needs men with his moral and religious convictions the most. Senator Hughes may serve God in a greater capacity by staying in Government.

DAVID C. RAKER
Liberty, Pa.

Subject to Audit

Sir / It seems to me that when we elect a President, he is our employee and not we his stooges and dupes. Therefore he should be subject to "audit" for financial, ethical and legal performance. Like the manager of any business, he should be obliged to open his books for the scrutiny of the taxpayers or their representatives, in the present situation the House Judiciary Committee [June 17].

If at the present time there is no clear legal means of getting needed information from the President for the good of the country or its citizens, then before another President is chosen an amendment should be added to the Constitution providing for a proper procedure.

(MRS.) GLADYS SHERMAN
Binghamton, N.Y.

Transcending the Therapy

Sir / Despite the implication in your story on sex surrogates [June 17], the men whom I treat need to talk about much more than just sexual likes and dislikes.

Beneath a veneer of social, financial and even marital success, most of these men are lonely. They feel hopeless about ever making contact with anyone. Much of the therapy is devoted to analyzing the relationship between myself and my patients as they learn to express their feelings of isolation, come able to respond sexually, many for the first time in their lives. The discoveries they make about the emotional states essential to sexual arousal transcend the therapeutic situation.

SUSAN GREENE
Sex Therapist
Berkeley Sex Therapy Group
Berkeley, Calif.

The Watergate Cast

Sir / You don't have to resurrect Humphrey Bogart to play President Nixon in a Watergate film [June 17]. I spotted the perfect actor months ago, in reruns of a once popular TV series.

Like Nixon, this actor never appears without coat and tie. He has the President's vehement and moralistic speaking style, his facial structure is similar and he holds his shoulders in the same manner as the President, as if framed by two-by-fours.

He is Jack Webb, *Dragnet's* Sergeant Joe Friday.

FRANK R. BLACKFORD
Virginia Beach, Va.

Sir / Finding little humor in my situation, I appreciate yours.

But I feel that Bob Hope or Ronald Reagan would be miscast. I strongly urge you to try for Elmer Fudd or Mr. Magoo —in the national interest of course.

GUNNAR A. SPRINGIS, #102679
Iowa State Penitentiary
Fort Madison, Iowa

Sir / It's obvious. Charlton Heston's our man to play the role of Richard Nixon. After all, look at his experience: Moses, El Cid, Ben-Hur, John the Baptist, *et al.*

VICKI MOLL
Salt Lake City

Sir / In your casting of "Watergate," you have omitted the name of the person most qualified to play the parts of Sirica, Baker, Ervin, Cox, Rodino and Jaworski—Emmett Kelly.

LEE A. YOUNG
Fort Myers, Fla.

Sir / We suggest for the role of the Watergate burglars the Marx Brothers.

STEPHEN MCCARTHY
WILLIAM MITCHELL
Mill Valley, Calif.

Sir / And Anthony Ulasewicz plays himself, and steals the show!

BUELL R. SNYDER
Beachwood, N.J.

Jesuit Spirit

Sir / Your article "The Presidential Priest" [June 3] missed the spirit that has governed the Society of Jesus for centuries.

This spirit can be illustrated by an old Florentine joke. It goes like this: The light went off suddenly in a chapel where three religious were praying. The Capuchin immediately started a prayer to God to send back the light. The Carmelite engaged himself in a theological explanation of the might of God upon this earthly misery. When the Jesuit rose to walk out, the other two asked him, "Brother, aren't you going to join us to pray to God?" "In a moment," said the Jesuit. "Let me first go to change the fuse."

G.S. MAZZANTI
Utrecht, The Netherlands

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Remember Kim Phuc?

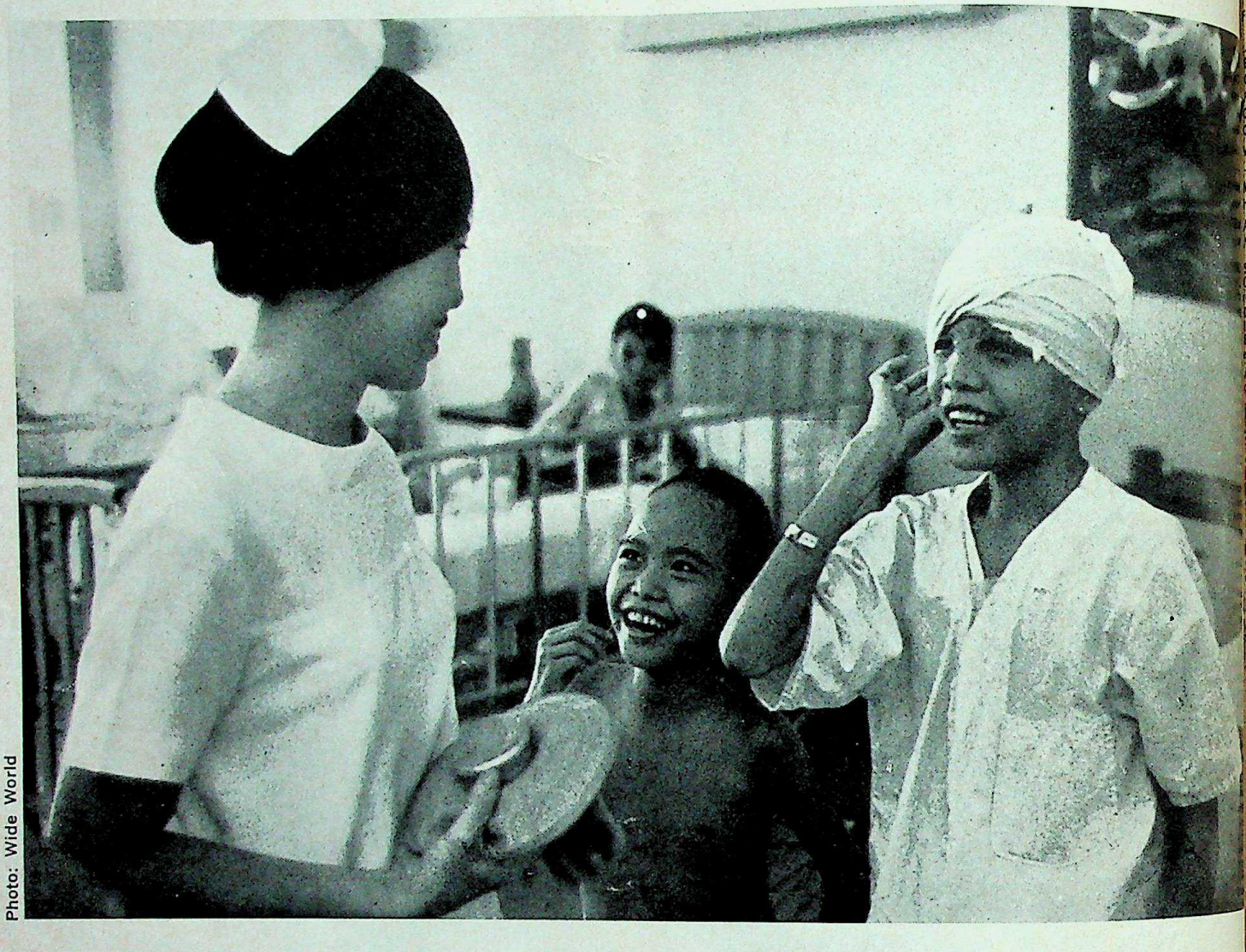


Photo: Wide World

You'd probably recognize her immediately in another photograph, the one where she is running down South Vietnam's Highway One. In that famous picture she is terrified and she is naked. She has torn off her clothes and is fleeing from the napalm which, seconds before, had burned her.

This is Kim Phuc at the Children's Medical Relief Hospital in Saigon. Her pain is gone and this happy smile has replaced the terror of that day on Highway One. Her burned back has healed thanks to the skill of the surgeons at the hospital, the only one of its kind in the country. After several operations, Kim Phuc is back home, completely recovered from her wounds.

It costs $U S 15 a day to maintain a child in the hospital. The average stay is twenty days. It costs $U S 300 to treat the average patient. In the United States comparable care would cost ten times as much.

The hospital has already treated 5,000 children like Kim Phuc but thousands more need care. Won't you help us today. We need to build a modern burns treatment unit; we need to establish clinics in outlying areas; we must guarantee that we will never have to turn away a single child who needs us.

Please send your gift today to:

Children's Medical Relief Emergency Fund
Box 555 FDR Station New York, N.Y. 10022

☐ **$U S 150,000 will construct a modern burns treatment u**

☐ **$U S 1,000 will save the life of a critically burned child**

☐ **$U S 300 is the average cost for a child's stay in the hos**

Anything you can send will help

Here is my contribution of $U S _____

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY .....

Thank you for remembering Kim Ph

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TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

No profession finds self-analysis easy. This is particularly true of journalism, whose practitioners regularly evaluate the performance of others. We have been scrutinizing our colleagues—and sometimes ourselves—in our Press section since our first issue in 1923. This week in our cover story, we undertake the admittedly difficult task of examining the role of the press in the Watergate affair, a topic that arouses considerable passion among readers as well as journalists. In an accompanying Essay, we further consider the moral problems faced by the press, its future tasks and its role in the American system. It is a subject about which TIME, as a participant, can scarcely claim neutrality. But with the help of TIME correspondents across the U.S., who reported their own assessments as well as the views of editors, news executives and fellow reporters, we have attempted a serious and dispassionate accounting of both the shortcomings and the accomplishments of our craft.

The senior editor of the Press section, Laurence I. Barrett, put aside his editing pencil to write the cover story, his 26th since joining TIME in 1965. For him, it represents a return to his earliest professional concerns. After graduation from New York University and the Columbia School of Journalism, Barrett went to the New York *Herald Tribune* as a political reporter in 1958. He wrote a weekly column on New York's city hall (accumulating grist for his 1965 novel, *The Mayor of New York*), then moved to Washington to cover the Pentagon and national politics. When the *Trib*, with Barrett on the story, was among the few papers to expose the Billie Sol Estes scandal, President Kennedy angrily canceled his subscription. He felt that the *Herald Tribune*, a Republican paper, was giving undue coverage to a Democratic scandal. "Covering public affairs at all levels," recalls Barrett, "I saw myself as kind of an honest cop trying to keep public officials straight. Now I'm trying to do this with my own kind in the cover story, and it poses certain conceptual difficulties. You almost have to step outside yourself."

TED THAI



EISEN & BARRETT

The story presented a different sort of problem for Gail Eisen, who spent several weeks sifting through mountains of Watergate reportage. She was especially interested in locating White House denials of specific Watergate stories and then ascertaining whether the stories or the denials had been correct. "It was often frustrating," she says, "but having begun digging on any one of them, I couldn't give up. It turned out that the press had committed precious few errors."

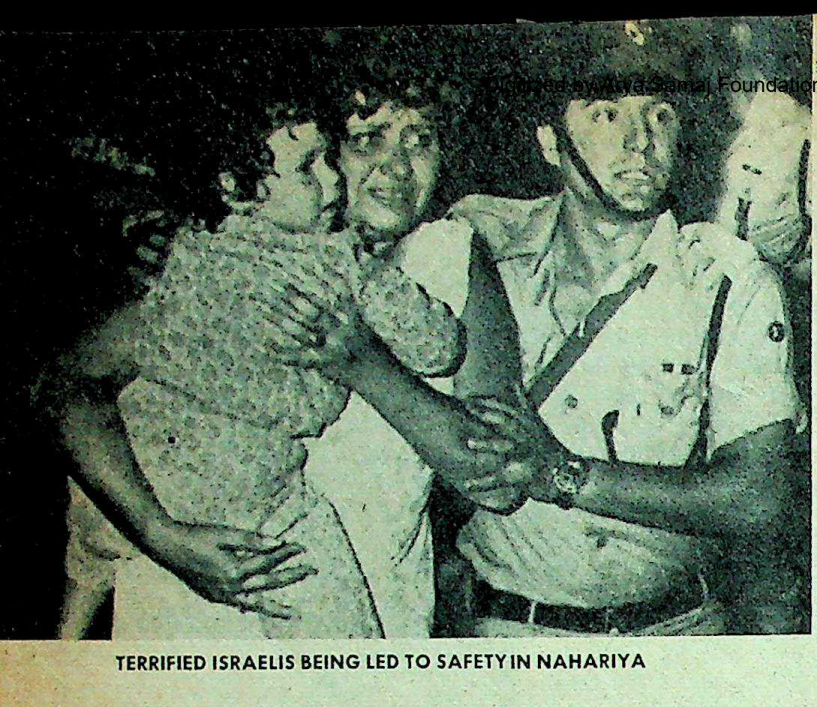
Ralph P. Davidson

INDEX

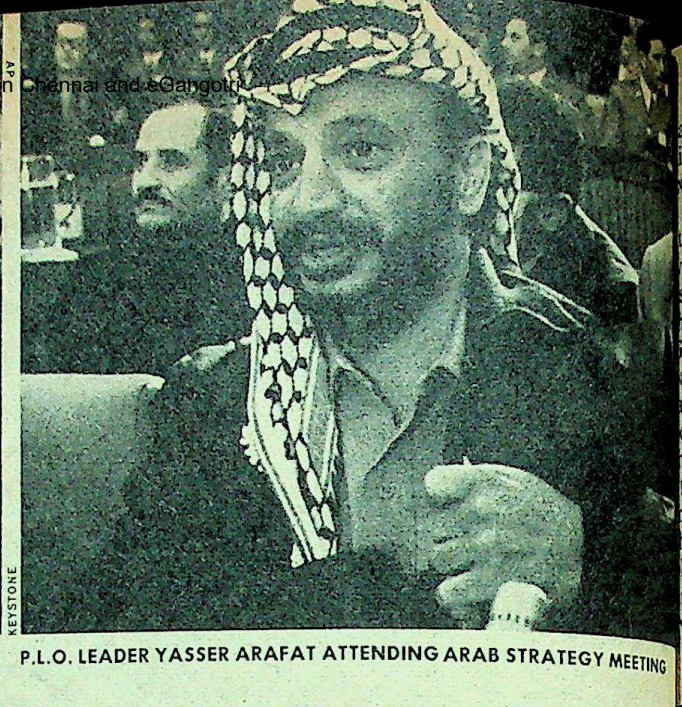
Cover Story 32	Economy & Business 44	People 26
Essay 38	Law 41	Press 32
Art 40	Letters 1	Religion 28
Books 49	Market Week 31	Sport 42
Cinema 30	Milestones 31	U.S. 17
		World 6

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TERRIFIED ISRAELIS BEING LED TO SAFETY IN NAHARIYA

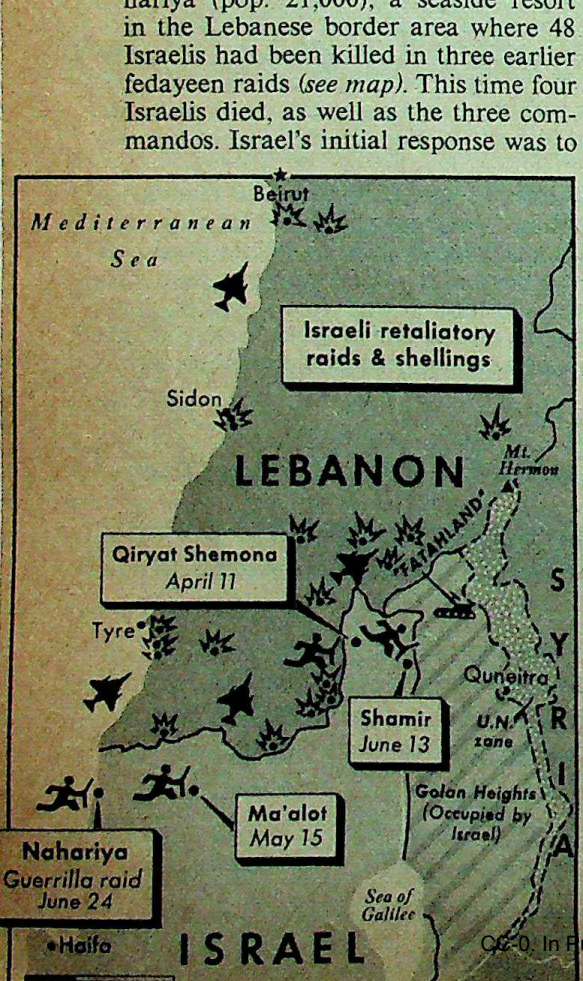


P.L.O. LEADER YASSER ARAFAT ATTENDING ARAB STRATEGY MEETING

MIDDLE EAST

Again, the Palestinians

The Middle East peace settlement that U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had been stitching together suddenly threatened to unravel last week. In a horribly familiar sequence, three Palestinian fedayeen slipped into Nahariya (pop. 21,000), a seaside resort in the Lebanese border area where 48 Israelis had been killed in three earlier fedayeen raids *(see map)*. This time four Israelis died, as well as the three commandos. Israel's initial response was to shell selected targets in southern Lebanon. The raid and the reprisal touched off charges and countercharges, threats and anti-threats around the Middle East that for the first time seriously weakened the Kissinger peace.



In last week's night attack on Nahariya, the Palestinians landed on the municipal beach in a small dinghy and sneaked into town in civilian clothes. They were soon discovered by one of the civilian patrols that have been organized in border settlements as a result of the recent fedayeen raids on Qiryat Shemona, Ma'alot and Shamir kibbutz. Shooting started, and the Palestinians ducked into an apartment house for protection.

Aroused by the gunfire, terrified residents barricaded their doors with furniture. A 38-year-old woman and her two children tried to slip out of the building but were gunned down by the Arabs. The children, aged 10 and 4, were killed instantly; the mother died a few hours later in a hospital. By then Israeli soldiers had ringed the building and had killed all three intruders; one Israeli trooper died in the fighting. In the wake of the Israeli retaliatory attacks following Nahariya, there was strong Arab reaction. Military leaders scheduled a meeting in Cairo this week to plan joint aid for Lebanon. Egypt and Syria threatened to send planes if Israel continued to hit the Palestinian camps, and Syria reportedly dispatched ground-to-air missiles. General Mordechai Gur, Israel's Chief of Staff, warned that "if Lebanon gets serious military aid, the country will become a battlefield," and threatened a pre-emptive attack. Even as the second round of Kissinger's engagement was calmly ending on Golan Heights *(see following story)* Middle East was buffeted by new jitters.

The latest round of raids demonstrated that the status of 3.5 million Palestinians must be decided, as President Nixon had been warned in his recent tour of the area, before peace would be possible. Last week's events also showed that the Palestinian issue had become so overriding that moderate Arab leaders were wary about even appearing to be against the fedayeen cause. Sudanese President Jaafar Numeiry announced that he was commuting the life sentences passed on the eight fedayeen who killed U.S. Diplomats George C. Moore and Cleo A. Noel Jr. and Belgian [illegible] Eid in a raid on Khartoum (TIME, March 12, 1973). The men are now to serve seven years in the "custody" of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Virtual Release. Numeiry [illegible] sent the eight terrorists to Cairo, where they are now said to be in jail, awaiting transfer to another Arab country. In protest against Numeiry's move, Washington angrily withdrew its present ambassador, William Brewer, from Khartoum, citing dismay over "the virtual release of these confessed murderers." Despite Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's recent demonstration of friendship toward the U.S., the Cairo newspaper *Al Ahram*, which frequently prints his views, hailed Numeiry for "understanding the motives that led the Palestinians to appear before Sudanese courts."

Even so-called moderate Palestinian organizations are feeling the backlash of frustration. The Nahariya raid was carried out by members of Yasser Arafat's Fatah, the largest and lately the most reasonable fedayeen group. At a Cairo meeting last month of the Palestine National Council—a kind of

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ament in exile—Arafat had to modify his views somewhat to please fedayeen xtremists.

Along with other relatively moder- te leaders of the P.L.O., Arafat leans to- ard an interim settlement that would stablish a mini-Palestine out of Gaza, he Hemmeh region beside the Sea of alilee, and the West Bank, formerly art of Jordan, where 700,000 Palestin- ans live fairly peacefully under Israeli ccupation. But fedayeen extremists de- anded that such a government be a fighting authority" and that establish- ng a mini-Palestine be considered only he first step toward recovery of all of ld Palestine. As a result, Arafat appar- ntly shifted Fatah to the attack at Nahariya.

For the moment at least, Israel is steadfastly opposing any conciliatory overtures to the P.L.O. Visiting Naha- riya last week, Premier Yitzhak Rabin pledged "an epoch of perpetual war against terrorism." Israel's government so far refuses to deal with any Pales- tinians except those who live in Gaza or on the West Bank, and then only as Jordanian citizens. The Israeli govern- ment will not accept the concept of a Palestinian state except as a demilita- rized area under Jordanian control.

Obvious Party. This impasse will have to be resolved before disengage- ment talks with Jordan can begin or full- scale peace talks involving Egypt and Syria can succeed. The problem is that no way to break the deadlock has yet been figured out. The obvious party to do it is the U.S., in the person of Henry Kissinger. At present, the kind of crisis situation that Kissinger needs to start a fruitful dialogue does not exist. Wash- ington's relations with the Palestini- ans are even worse than its relations with Damascus were when the Israeli- Syrian disengagement talks began. Equally important, neither Israel's frag- ile new coalition government nor Jor- dan's harassed King Hussein is in any position to make territorial or political concessions.

U.S. officials are now talking about the "legitimate interests" of the Pales- tinians, but major breakthroughs are still a long way off. Meanwhile the feda- yeen organizations are likely to become even more unsettling in the Middle East —particularly by means of armed as- saults—than they have been up till now.

srael's Peres: Of Stones and Bombs

Whoever holds the Defense portfolio n Israel's Cabinet must plan the defen- ive and offensive postures of a state with erhaps the most insecure borders in the world. In support of that awesome man- date, he must also make periodic shop- ping trips to Washington to buy the American weapons that account for most of Israel's military strength. Last week Moshe Dayan's successor as De- fense Minister, Shimon Peres, 51, made his first shopping trip to Washington.

Dynamic and eloquent, Peres seems well suited for the job. In the last Cab- inet of Premier Golda Meir, he served as Transport Minister. Before that, Peres had been director general in the Defense Ministry, as a protégé of Premier David Ben-Gurion, then became Deputy Min- ister of Defense to Dayan.

On his first U.S. visit as Defense Minister, Peres assaulted the Pentagon with a massive five-year $7.5 billion plan for U.S. military aid to Israel. After meetings with Defense Secretary James Schlesinger and Secretary of State Hen- ry Kissinger, Peres described himself as encouraged" over getting the bulk of his requests. Before returning home he talked with TIME Diplomatic Editor Gerrold Schecter about Middle East de- velopments that bear on his requests. Excerpts of his views:

ON MIDDLE EAST NUCLEAR WEAP- ONS. Israel does not possess tactical nu- clear weapons, and Israel has always ob- jected to the introduction of nuclear weapons in the Middle East. There is enough tension with conventional weap- ons. Adding nuclear weapons is simply too dangerous, and any responsible par- ty must be against that.

ON A U.S. REACTOR FOR EGYPT. Un- der normal conditions, safeguards are good enough, but the problem is what would happen if the Egyptians should decide to expel the Americans in the way that they expelled the Russians? Then they would have the radioactive materials and no control. This is a glob- al problem, and a world answer must be found.

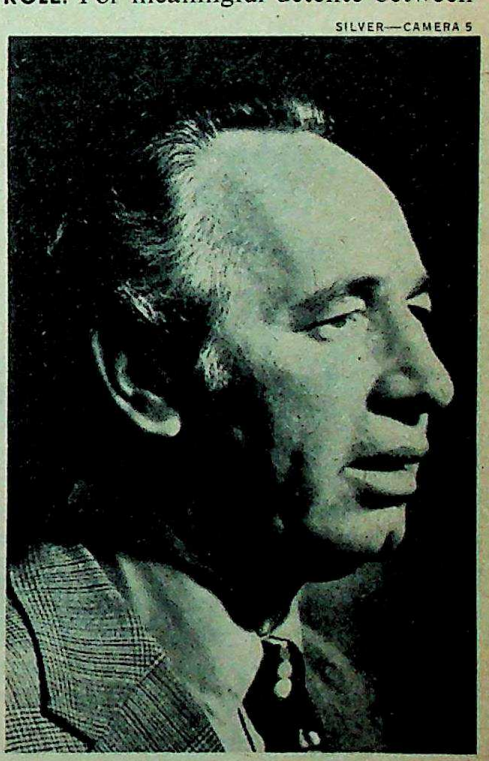
ON THE PALESTINIANS. The Pales- tinians are represented in three ways: by the Jordanians, by the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza, and by the Palestine Liberation Organization. We refuse to talk to the P.L.O. because they are not necessarily representative of the Palestinian people. They are a small group of armed terrorists who im- pose themselves on the rest of the pop- ulation. There is an African saying that if you put a stone in a basket of eggs, you had better worry. We consider the P.L.O. a stone in a basket of eggs. They are basically against a compromise by the Palestinians. They see a Palestinian state as the first step in a long road to overthrow Israel. Yasser Arafat, leader of the P.L.O., is heavily oriented toward the Soviet Union. I cannot think of any Israeli who will agree to have Russian experts and Russian missiles at the gates of Jerusalem or the entrance to Tel Aviv.

ON PALESTINIANS AT GENEVA. The Jordanians can and will represent the Palestinians at Geneva. I think in Ge- neva the only way to negotiate mean- ingfully is if the participants are coun- tries, not organizations. More than 50% of the Jordanians are Palestinians. If we can reach an agreement with the Jor- danians, that is all right. The other op- tion is for the people who are living in Israel and experiencing a social trans- formation to have their expectations ex- pressed in democratic institutions. An agreement on federal rights along Ca- nadian and Swiss lines—a confederation —might be possible.

ON CONDITIONS FOR GENEVA. We have given up real estate and moved on the geographic map. Now the time has come for the Arabs to move on the po- litical map. Egypt is a key and test for the diplomatic option in the Middle East. We would like to see an end to bel- ligerency as a policy that includes boy- cotts and threats. We would like to see an inward turn, the development of Egyptian cities along the canal and the opening of the canal.

ON DÉTENTE AND THE SOVIET ROLE. For meaningful détente between the superpowers, the Soviet Union must agree to détente in the Middle East. On the local level, this means seeing in ne- gotiation a philosophy of compromise and not an addition to the military op- tion. The Soviets are increasing the mil- itary option all the time. I think the So- viet Union would gain by taking a moderate position and having relations with both sides, but we have not reached that point. The Soviet Union is taking the most radical views and supporting the most radical organizations. Nor have they given up in Egypt.

SILVER—CAMERA 5



DEFENSE MINISTER PERES

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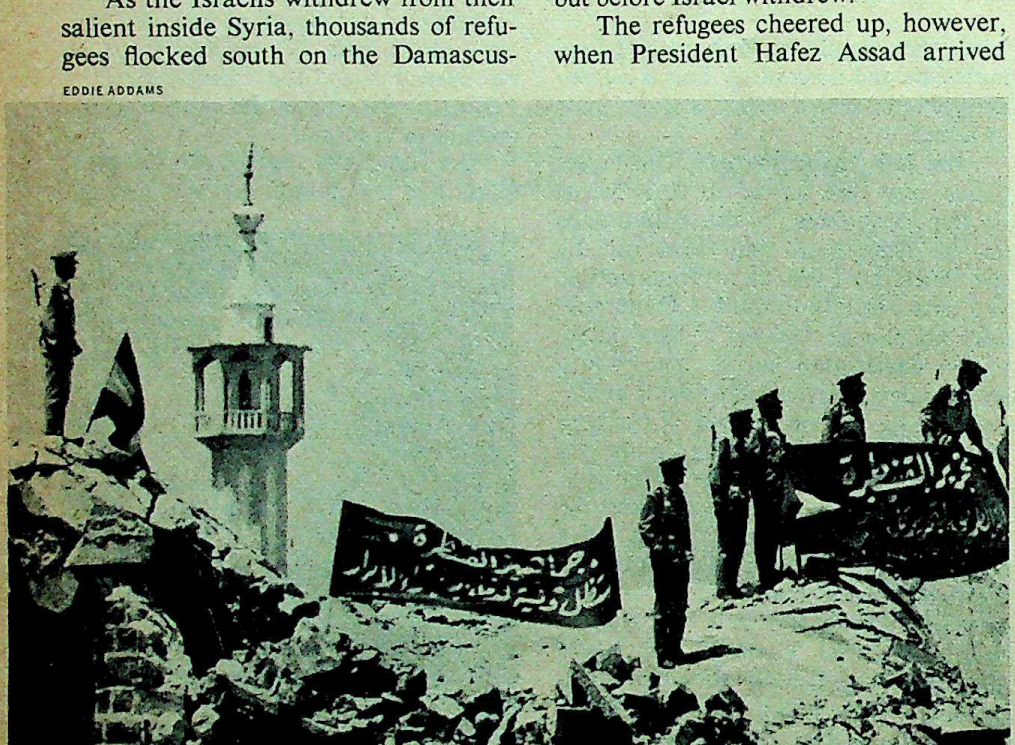
SYRIA

Returning to Quneitra

On schedule, and with only a single tragic incident—four Austrian soldiers of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force were killed when their Land Rover exploded a mine—Syria and Israel last week completed the separation of forces specified by their cease-fire agreement. Syria recovered not only all the territory it lost in the October fighting, but also Quneitra, the Golan Heights provincial capital that Israel has held since '67. The recovery of the ruined city —a symbol of Damascus' determination to win back all the land it lost to Israel in the Six-Day War—touched off a day of emotional national celebration. TIME *Correspondent Karsten Prager accompanied the exuberant Syrians into Quneitra and cabled this account:*

As the Israelis withdrew from their salient inside Syria, thousands of refugees flocked south on the Damascus-Quneitra road to return to their land. When the day finally arrived for the takeover of the capital itself, thousands were packed along the dusty highway, waiting for the barriers to open.

EDDIE ADDAMS



SYRIAN SOLDIERS AT FLAG-RAISING CEREMONIES IN THE RUBBLE OF QUNEITRA
A symbolic celebration of future hopes.

Damascus' understandable determination to celebrate "the liberation of Quneitra" added more confusion to an already massive logistical problem. Thousands of Baath party faithful, as well as plain sightseers, trucked and bused toward Quneitra, their vehicles festooned with Syrian flags and homemade banners. A traffic jam several miles long stalled hundreds of official limousines, military vehicles, donkey carts and trucks piled with returning refugees, stoves, bedrolls and furniture. Red-bereted military police struggled to bring order out of chaos, occasionally shooting their AK-47 automatic rifles into the air to get attention. Reminders of the October fighting were plentiful. Occasionally across the fertile plain came the echoing thump of detonating mines. A prairie fire, ignited by exploding ordnance, cast a gray pall over the land.

The holiday atmosphere cooled when the crowd got a look at what it was regaining. Once a community of 70,000 and the relatively prosperous center of a rich agricultural area, Quneitra lies shattered. Most of its buildings are knocked flat, as though by dynamite, or pockmarked by shellfire. Surrounded by rubble and flying dust, Syrian Prime Minister Mahmoud Ayoubi called the destruction "barbaric"—without referring to Syria's part in the fighting—and charged that much of the damage had occurred "not in war, but before Israel withdrew."

The refugees cheered up, however, when President Hafez Assad arrived dressed in military uniform. Surrounded by excited crowds who tossed flowers, cheered and chanted, "Welcome Assad, the liberator!", the President kissed the Syrian flag and raised it to the top of a makeshift flagpole.

Buffer Zone. Quneitra's importance for the moment is primarily symbolic. The new buffer zone that runs through the territory from north to south has deprived the town of its old strategic position as a major crossroads and access point to both northern Israel and the Damascus plain. Economically, the city will be a burden on the Syrian government for some time to come, although in the long run the agricultural potential of a fertile, well-watered area —good land for growing fruit, wheat, barley and beans—should contribute significantly to Syria's economy.

Quneitra—"an amputated city," in the words of its governor—is in no condition to house the refugees until water and power are restored and the ruins are certified as disease-free. For the moment, only inhabitants of less damaged surrounding villages are being allowed back to live. Even so, some determined Quneitrans have made it into town to look over their destroyed homes and figure out how to rebuild. Says Issa Ibrahim, 24, an electrician who set up camp in the shell of a ruined building with his wife and four children: "I've waited seven years for this day. This time I'm here to stay."

PORTUGAL

I'm Spínola—Defy Me

General António de Spínola, who assumed the presidency of Portugal after the military coup last April, would like to be regarded as the liberator of his country. Unfortunately, Portugal has been drifting rapidly toward chaos ever since the revolt. The question now is whether fear of anarchy may force Spínola—like so many generals before him—to impose dictatorship on the country in the name of law and order.

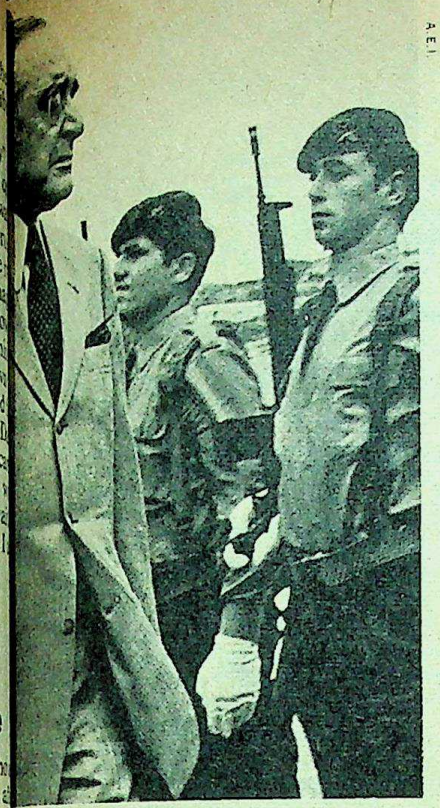
Last week his government took two key steps toward imposing restraints on Portugal's new-found sense of freedom. Since the coup, Portugal has been virtually paralyzed by a succession of strikes and work stoppages. From Belem Palace, Spínola asked for tough new guidelines on pay raises for the unions. He also succeeded in ending a three-day strike of postal workers by warning them that if they did not return to their jobs he would send in the army to sort the mail. Military arm-twisting was also used to end a month-long walkout at the Timex plant outside Lisbon.

After long and heated discussion, the President also won reluctant approval from his Cabinet for some new press curbs, which some leftists criticized, unfairly, as a throwback to the bad old days of the Caetano regime. The press law bans "ideological aggression against the program of the Armed Forces Movement," like inciting soldiers to desert or workers to walk off their jobs. Violating editors are subject to fines of up to 500,000 escudos ($20,000) and a six-month ban on publication of their papers.

The crackdown on wildcat strikes represents a very modest start toward solving Portugal's horrendous economic problems. Inflation is running at 30% a year and the main sources of foreign earnings are drying up. Remittances sent home by Portuguese workers employed abroad, which amounted to almost $1 billion last year, were down at least 70% in the first month after the coup. Because of uncertainty about the

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SPÍNOLA REVIEWING TROOPS
Liberator or dictator?

back home. Tourism, the second most important source of foreign-currency income, is down at least 30%. The halls of big Lisbon hotels are as empty as morgues, and beaches along the Algarve coast are uncrowded for the first time in years. Meanwhile, Lisbon businessmen have yet to be convinced that the government can handle its problems. Says one leading industrialist: "By October or November there will be a terrible economic crisis. That's for certain. We're going the way of Chile."

Power Grab. "I can understand why people up to now lack confidence," Economics Minister Vasco Vieira de Almeida told TIME Correspondent George Taber. "It is up to the government to create it." Creativity, however, is not exactly helped by the patchwork makeup of the 15-member Cabinet, which includes Socialists and Communists as well as nonpolitical technocrats, centrists and a lieutenant colonel. Last week, typically, the Cabinet set aside three days to discuss a series of sweeping economic decisions; the meeting broke up in disarray after the first day, and further discussion was postponed for a week.

With the government more or less immobilized, Spínola—who once declared that "politics has never attracted me"—has gradually been gathering more and more power into his own hands. In a style reminiscent of Charles de Gaulle, he has been touring the country, combining stops at military barracks with eloquent speeches in town squares. The general's whistle-stopping seems to have three main goals: to build up a personal following directly with the masses, to remind the army that its loyalty should be to him and not to the revolutionary captains who led the coup, and

use force if necessary to keep order. Some military officers are unhappy about Spínola's blatant power grab, but there is little that they can do about it, at least for the moment. Three weeks ago, when leaders of the Armed Forces Movement protested, the President threatened to resign unless they promised to support him. The captains backed down and gave him an overwhelming vote of confidence.

ANGOLA

Preparing the People

After 500 years of colonialism, the future has never looked brighter, at least in some respects, for Angola. The guerrilla war that raged sporadically for 13 years in Portugal's biggest (480,000 sq. mi.) and richest African colony has virtually ended. The territory's exports (principally oil, coffee, diamonds and iron ore) amounted to $764 million last year and will exceed $1 billion in 1974. Within a year there will be a referendum that will probably lead to full independence. Yet in the two months since the military coup in Lisbon, Angola's nearly 6 million citizens have grown increasingly uneasy about their country's future.

Outside Angola's borders, leaders of self-styled liberation armies based in neighboring Zaïre, Zambia and the Congo Republic still claim to be the "sole representatives" of Angola's black majority. The claims remain to be proved, however, and within the country's inarticulate and largely nonpolitical black community of 5 million, a leadership vacuum has developed. No fewer than 40 political factions have sprouted inside Angola since the coup, but there is no noticeable groundswell for any single party or personality.

Three separate and mutually antagonistic guerrilla groups have been responsible for carrying on the civil war:

▸ The one with the most in-country support is the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (M.P.L.A.), but it is split into three factions.

▸ The one with the most fighting men (an estimated 10,000) is the Zaïre-headquartered National Front for the Liberation of Angola (F.N.L.A.). Its support within the country, however, is largely confined to the Bakongo tribe in the north. It is also strongly opposed to the M.P.L.A. and is holding a number of M.P.L.A. guerrillas prisoner in Zaïre.

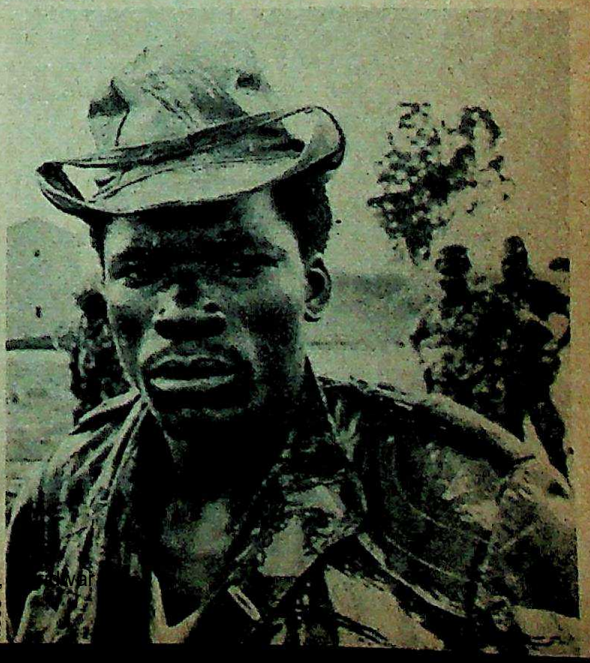
▸ The third and smallest group is the Maoist-minded National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (U.N.I.T.A.), which has about 500 fighters and, unlike the other organizations, is actually based inside the territory.

The Portuguese are committed to holding a referendum to determine whether Angolans prefer full independence or a loose federation with Lisbon, and they are determined to proceed with their plan despite the factional quarrels of the main guerrilla groups. "We will listen to anybody and everybody," says General Silvino Silvério Marques, 53, the newly arrived Governor General, "and that includes those who have fought or are fighting against us."

Marques, a no-nonsense administrator whose older brother is a member of the junta back in Lisbon, has made the guerrillas a remarkable offer: complete amnesty and an immediate place in his government at high level if they will lay down their arms. "I would welcome the assistance of the emancipation movements in preparing the people for future elections," he told TIME Correspondent Lee Griggs. "I have less than a year in which to prepare the population for self-determination, and that is hardly enough." U.N.I.T.A. has already accepted a cease-fire, and Marques' offer will put pressure on the other groups to do the same. But the guerrillas are in a dilemma: they reject the referendum because each group knows that it alone cannot win power that way. The Popular Movement is simply not popular enough, and the National Liberation Front is not national enough.

No Sellout. So far, most of Angola's 500,000 whites and 250,000 people of mixed blood seem willing to stay on and take their chances. President António de Spínola's assurances that there will be an orderly transfer of power have helped, and so has the moderate tone of most black political pronouncements within Angola. "Money is basically cowardly," observes a Portuguese banker in Luanda, the Angolan capital. "At present it is staying here, but unless confidence continues, it will flee." In the central plateau city of Nova Lisboa, an insurance executive told Griggs: "I am Angolan, born here. My skin is white, but I am not Portuguese in my heart. There are good people in this country, many of them mulatto or black. If they get control here after independence, all

BLACK PORTUGUESE SOLDIER IN ANGOLA

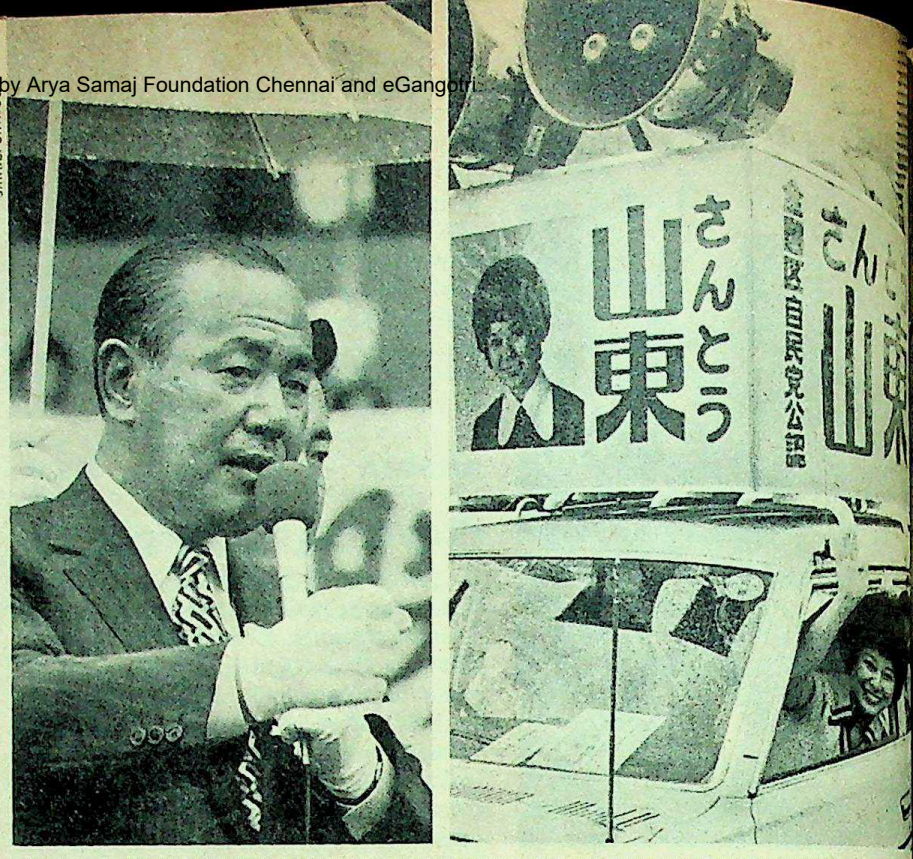


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will be well. But if the wild ones get in and turn the masses against the rest of us, then I will have to go."

Having fought in Angola against F.N.L.A. guerrillas in the early '60s, General Spínola is well known and respected there. "When he makes his long-awaited visit, probably this week," reports Correspondent Griggs, "he will be expected to provide a sort of wholesale reassurance to the entire population: to the black poor, that economic racism is finished and a better life awaits them; to the black politicians, that the power will be theirs as promised; and to the whites, that there will be no sellout to extremism when, after 500 years, the Portuguese go home at last."



TANAKA MAKING CAMPAIGN SPEECH (LEFT) & ACTRESS AKIKO SANTO CAMPAIGNING
Also running: a TV interviewer, a comedian and a skin-flick producer.

JAPAN

Unsinkable Kaku-san

By all the rules of modern politics, any Prime Minister whose popularity rating in the public opinion polls is approximately equal to his country's annual rate of inflation must surely be headed down the tube. But not Japanese Premier Kakuei Tanaka, whose Liberal Democratic Party now appears certain to win this week's upper-house elections.

As recently as two months ago, many political observers in Tokyo believed that the L.D.P., which has ruled Japan for almost 25 years, was headed for defeat or into a forced coalition with one of the minority parties. After all, Japan was, and is, suffering from the highest inflation rate (25%) of any major industrial country. At the same time, the Premier's support has plummeted from 60% in 1972 to 24% this month. Tanaka is perhaps the only democratic leader in the world who might conceivably be envious of Richard Nixon's popularity rating.

Nonetheless, the L.D.P. seems on the verge of winning again. Its surprising strength is due to two factors: 1) the failure of the main opposition groups —the Socialists, Communists and neo-Buddhist Komeito (Clean Government) Party—to get together on a common slate, mainly because of the Socialists' fear of being engulfed by the smaller but better-organized Communists, and 2) the ability of the L.D.P. to outspend its opponents on campaign rallies and posters. As the Japanese say, *"Go to, yon raku"* (Five wins, four loses) —meaning that a candidate who can spend 500 million yen ($1.78 million) will inevitably beat one who can spend only 400 million yen ($1.4 million).

Despite ineffectual laws that in theory restrict the size and nature of political contributions, the L.D.P. has managed to accumulate a huge war chest. Some Tokyo papers estimate that the Liberal Democrats have spent about $142 million on the election so far. The party, moreover, is receiving the open support of the great *zaikai* (conglomerates) for the first time. Some firms, including Mitsubishi, Hitachi and Toyota, are "sponsoring" their own L.D.P. candidates. Mitsubishi, for instance, is backing one of its employees, ex-Policeman Ken Saka, for a national seat; the company's interest in Saka is not likely to be lost on the 850,000 employees of Mitsubishi and its affiliates.

The opposition parties are understandably angry over the heavy spending of the L.D.P. under Tanaka's control. The leaders of other L.D.P. factions —including Finance Minister Takeo Fukuda, Tanaka's most powerful rival —are angry too. They fear that, by controlling the purse strings, Tanaka is strengthening his support within the party at their expense. They are well aware that the huge campaign fund has helped Tanaka to field 29 candidates from his own faction of the party—as opposed to only 16 from Fukuda's wing.

Strange Lineup. To gain the support of Japan's conservative voters, Tanaka is campaigning as the defender of ancient Japanese virtues and patriotism (TIME, June 17). At the same time, he has tried to enhance the party's box office appeal by jazzing up the ticket with a strange lineup of candidates, including a well-known television interviewer, a slapstick comedian, Actress Akiko Santo and a skin-flick producer.

As a campaigner, the irrepressible Kaku-san—as he is known to his countrymen—is still in top form. Even in Okinawa, where he is particularly unpopular, Tanaka drew some unexpected applause as he shouted in his staccato voice that if the Communists do not like Japan as it is, they can always move to Russia. Most Okinawans may still be angry about inflation and what they regard as Tokyo's historic neglect of their island. But many were forced to conclude after Tanaka's performance that whether you agree with him or not, Kaku-san is *omono*—really something

FRANCE

Courting Billions

It was the reddest of red carpets that the French rolled out last week for a state visit by Iran's Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi and his Empress Farah. The entire French Cabinet lined up at Orly Airport to welcome the Shah. President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing skipped the NATO summit in Brussels to welcome the Iranian leader, who was feted at Versailles' Hall of Mirrors with fireworks and dances. At week's end the wooing appeared well worth the effort: Iran agreed to purchase $5 billion in industrial equipment and technology from France in the next decade.

The French have promised to sell the Shah five complete nuclear power plants (price: about $1.2 billion). The French also agreed to construct a subway in Teheran costing at least $600 million, a liquefied natural gas plant ($60 million), and a steel plant. They will construct twelve large tankers and help with a large-bore gas pipe line ($1.7 billion) and supply sophisticated military equipment. In return, the Shah has agreed to deposit $1 billion in the French central bank as an advance payment and to increase Iran's shipments of oil to France. The advance payment will help the French narrow their trade deficit, which for the first five months this year was $1.8 billion.

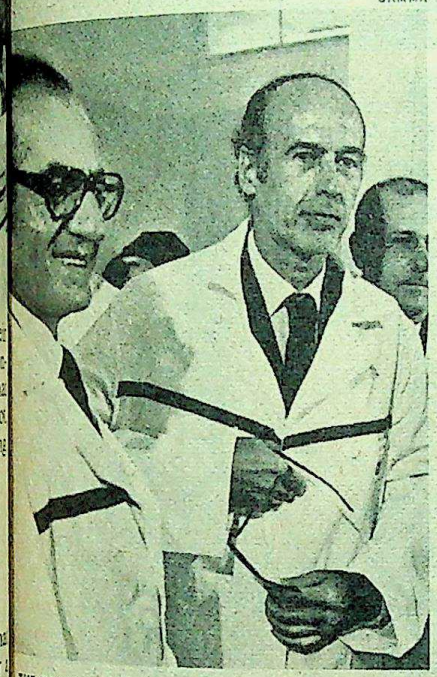
Paris turned euphoric after

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agreement was announced. The franc rallied in international trading and stocks rose on the Paris Bourse. French Finance Minister Jean-Pierre Fourcade boasted that the deal would mean "fabulous sums of money for our industry." The agreement, however, is bound to disturb other nations. Washington had been urging Western industrial nations to work together in arranging deals with the oil producers rather than proceed bilaterally. Moreover, the sale of nuclear technology does not appear to be limited by strict safeguards against Iran's developing atomic weapons. Thus other Persian Gulf countries, which already fear the Shah's growing military power, are certain to be made even more uneasy by the deal.

GAMMA



THE SHAH & GISCARD AT NUCLEAR PLANT



DE RAEMY—SYGMA

Love on the Hustings

In Western Canada's oil capital, Calgary, a crowd of several hundred recently waved hostile placards at campaigning Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. "Get lost, Pierre!" hecklers shouted. "Go back where you came from!" Two years ago, when he was running for re-election, Trudeau might well have responded with an angry gesture. This time he held his celebrated temper in check and smiled down his tormentors. That emphasis on politesse over pique is a fair measure of how determined Trudeau is to win a decisive mandate at the polls next Monday.

Trudeau, 54, whose minority Liberal government fell eight weeks ago following a no-confidence vote in Parliament (TIME, May 20), is fighting for his political life. At stake are the 264 seats in Ottawa's House of Commons. After nearly losing the 1972 election to the Progressive Conservatives, the Liberals, with a slim two-seat margin, clung to power for 18 months—thanks to their shaky alliance with the tiny, socialist New Democratic Party. When the government ran out of legislative concessions to keep the N.D.P. in line, the New Democrats severed the alliance by joining the Conservatives last May in voting down the Liberals' budget. Trudeau and his party must win at least 24 new seats in order to form an effective majority government. Just as determinedly, Conservative Leader Robert Stanfield, 60, and his Tories want to finish the near-demolition job that they inflicted on Trudeau last time round.

Recipe for Ruin. Dire economic issues and a restive national mood are helping the Tory cause this year. A rocketing 10.9% annual inflation rate has dominated campaign rhetoric so far. Trudeau blames the high inflation on external forces, since the country is heavily dependent on international trade, and argues that his defeated budget would have provided the best cure through tax reductions and federal subsidies for consumers. Stanfield has accused Trudeau of "outright deception" and dismissed his economic policy as a "recipe for ruin." As an inflation antidote, the Tory chief prescribes a 90-day price and income freeze followed by selective controls.

Trudeau has made some points with campaign audiences by abandoning his lofty stump style of 1972 for a more down-to-earth approach. As he whistle-stopped on a special nine-car train through desolate Nova Scotian villages and jetted in his chartered DC-9 across the vast prairies of central Canada, the Prime Minister managed only a faint echo of his smug complacency of two years ago. "Nobody is asking you to like Trudeau," he bluntly told a group of Saskatchewan farmers. "People are asking you to vote for his party." Still, many

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FRANKEN—GAMMA



THE TRUDEAUS CAMPAIGNING IN QUEBEC
A shift from pique to politesse.

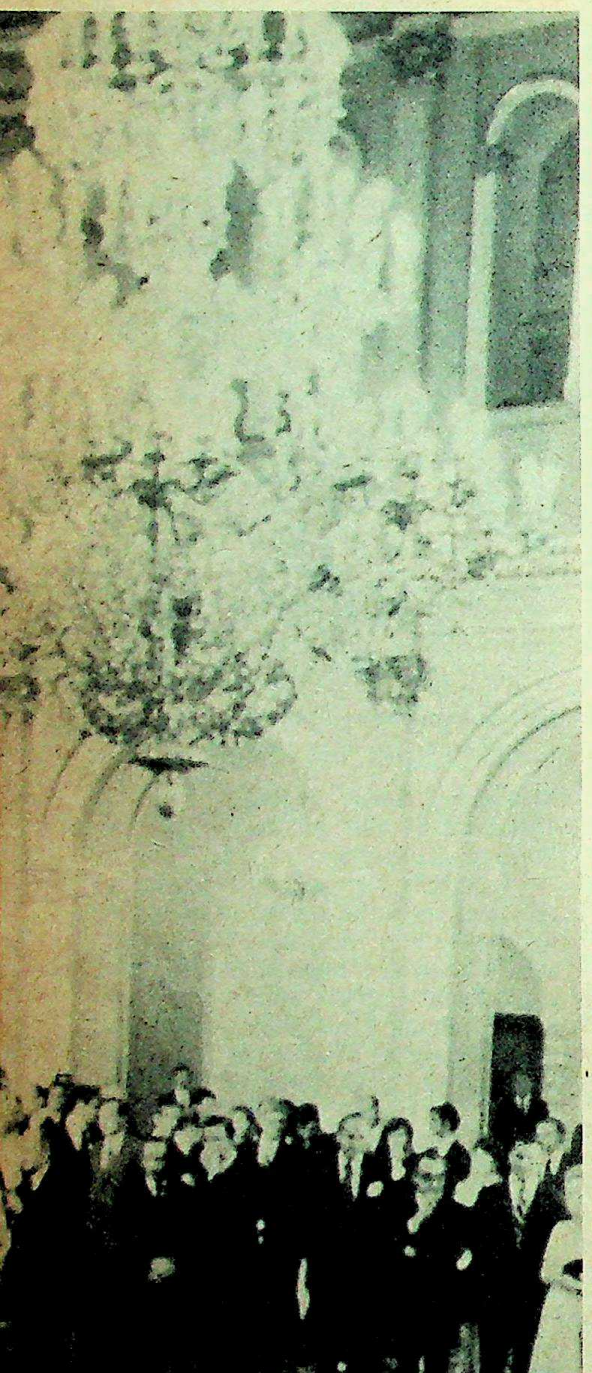
Westerners resent Trudeau's French-Canadianism and his recent tax on Western oil exports to the U.S.

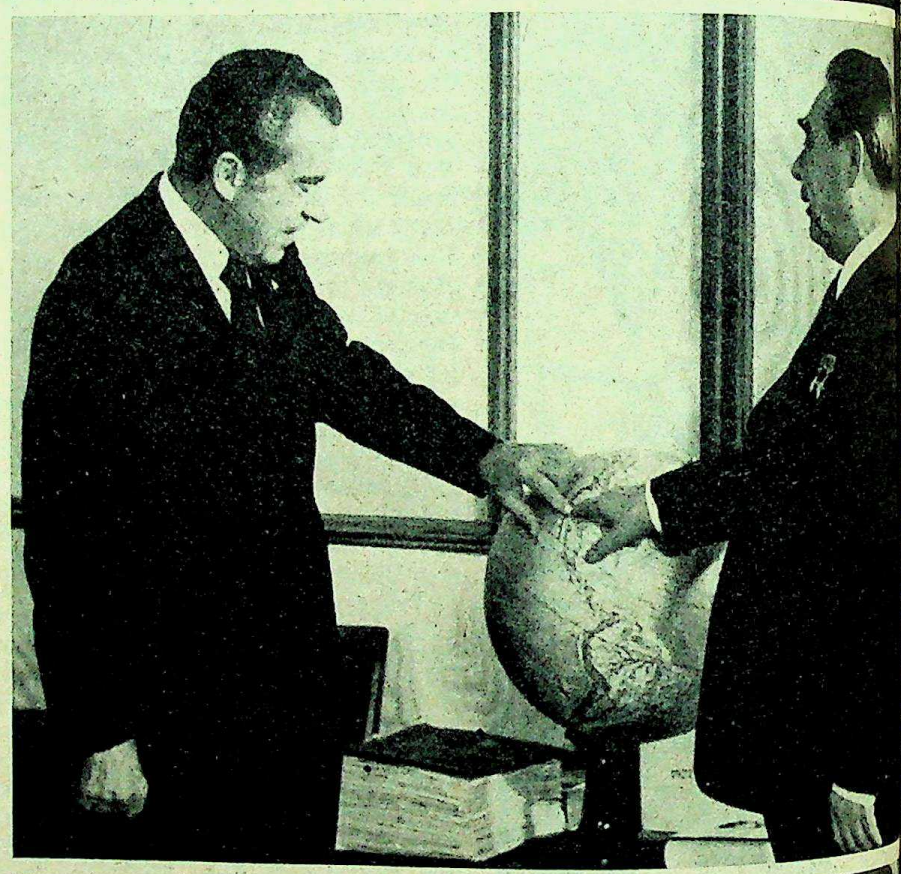
Trudeau's success may depend a good deal upon the appealing impact of his comely wife Margaret. The daughter of a Vancouver businessman and former Liberal Cabinet Minister, Margaret, 25, shunned public exposure after her marriage to Trudeau in 1971. She preferred the quiet domestic life—skiing and pack trips with Pierre, caring for their sons Justin, 2½, and Sacha, six months—but decided after Trudeau's near-defeat in 1972 that this time she should take a more active campaign role. Lately Margaret, with her elfin smile and insouciant ways, has been wowing crowds from Quebec to British Columbia—delivering informal talks in English and French, balancing on stilts for delighted children, and frolicking in a bikini for photographers at a motel pool. At a salmon barbecue in Vancouver, she introduced her husband to 1,500 whooping partisans as "a beautiful guy, a very loving human being who has taught me a lot about loving."

"Good Friends." That prompted Tory supporters in Guelph, Ont., to break out a banner proclaiming STANFIELD IS A LOVER TOO. Even New Democrat Leader David Lewis, 65, was forced to admit to a persistent questioner at a campaign rally that he and Sophie, his wife of 39 years, were "very good friends, let me tell you." The latest Gallup poll gives Trudeau the edge in the election. But the figures—Liberals 42%, Tories 34%, N.D.P. 18%—so closely approximate those of the 1972 election that another minority-government era for Canada seems likely.

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DIPLOMACY

The Chevrolet Summit of Modest Hopes

At their first summit in Moscow in 1972, President Nixon gave Soviet Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev a Cadillac. At their second meeting last year in Washington, Nixon gave him a Lincoln Continental. Last week, back in Moscow for the third summit in as many years, Nixon brought with him a sporty Chevrolet Monte Carlo for the Soviet Union's foremost automobile enthusiast. In a curious sense, the gift of the cheaper auto,* which Brezhnev had specifically requested after reading that it was *Motor Trend* magazine's "car of the year," was an appropriate symbol of the more relaxed relations between Washington and Moscow and the metamorphosis of summits from the extraordinary into the ordinary.

Moscow 1974 had the down-home feeling of a reunion, with medium-size expectations and modest hopes. "It is almost routine now," said a Soviet official, as he surveyed the summit's opening-night festivities in the Kremlin's St. George's Hall. "Last time Nixon came it took us three months to get ready. This time it has taken two weeks."

Minor Accords. A major agreement on the control of nuclear arms, a follow-up to 1972's historic SALT I (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) treaty, had been hoped for just a few months ago. It was all but ruled out even before the conference began as the two sides disputed which country should give up what in the complex equation of nuclear parity (TIME, July 1). "Nuclear agreements are not the core of this summit," said Presidential Chief of Staff Alexander Haig. "It's a terribly difficult subject. There is concern about the two sides going too far, too fast. We can't pull the soufflé out of the oven before it's ready."

Though there was still the possibility that Nixon and Brezhnev might make some breakthrough weapons agreement by the end of their talks, so far there were only two minor arms accords in sight: one to ban big underground nuclear explosions (all other major tests were stopped by the two countries in 1963) and another to reduce from two to one the number of places each nation is allowed to protect with antiballistic missiles (ABMs). In addition, there were a host of other pacts in other areas. Among them:

▶ A ten-year trade agreement providing for, among other things, the exchange of industrial information and economic forecasts—both of which the Soviets have been reluctant to supply —and for mutual help in finding trade offices and homes for businessmen. Soviet-American trade has already risen dramatically (from $200 million in 1971 to $1.4 billion in 1973), and only last week, coincident with the summit, the Occidental Petroleum Corp. signed a series of 20-year contracts with the Soviets for a giant swap of chemicals. Though money would not change hands, the value of the barter deal at current prices would be about $20 billion.

▶ An agreement to share heart research, including the design of synthetic cardiac valves and the development of artificial hearts.

▶ An agreement to pool information on non-nuclear production of energy, including energy from solar and geothermal sources, and to share information on energy conservation.

▶ An accord to exchange information on housing, with particular concern for finding ways to construct earthquake-resistant buildings and structures that can withstand extreme cold and heat.

Stripped of the usual bureaucratic hyperbole, the justification of the Chevrolet summit was the simple fact that the President of the U.S. and the head of the Soviet Union should meet and talk as colleagues in power. Such meetings, said a Nixon aide, build up a "web of interrelationships" between the two superpowers. Another high U.S. official added, with a laconic reference to Watergate: "It was scheduled last year. We had no reason to cancel. If we did not go to the summit, we would be saying that we are not a functioning government."

More than most people, the Russians are aware of the power of nuance and symbol, and the fact that the President stopped off on his way to Moscow so that he could meet with America's NATO allies was a decided plus for the U.S. Nixon's presence in Brussels was a signal to the Soviets that NATO's disarray of the past year was at least patched over and that the Atlantic shield was once again in place. "Without the alliance, it is doubtful that the [Soviet-American] détente would have begun," Nixon said as he replied to the greeting of King Baudouin Tuesday evening at Brussels' Melsbroek airport. "And without continuing a strong alliance, it is doubtful if the détente would continue."

At the start of his eight-day leapfrog tour from Washington to Brussels to Moscow, Nixon was still suffering from phlebitis, an inflammation of a vein that he had first noticed in his left leg when he began his Middle East tour two weeks earlier. Though the pain had disappeared—Press Secretary Ron Ziegler said that Nixon likened it to that of a deep bruise—the President nonetheless had to elevate the leg on his plane and in the privacy of his quarters on the ground. While phlebitis can be dangerous, even fatal if the clot moves to the lungs or brain, aides insisted that Nixon's case was well under control.

In Brussels, Nixon motored to NATO's barracks-like headquarters, where he spoke briefly and, along with representatives of the 14 other countries making up NATO, signed a new declaration of principles to mark the alliance's 25th anniversary. Then he headed for a luncheon that the Belgian King was giving for NATO leaders. Spotting friendly crowds, the President, disregarding both his phlebitis and the usual dictates of protocol, decided to walk instead of ride the two long blocks to the Royal Palace and shake hands with the people who lined the way. A tourist couple from Georgia gave a word of cheer from home—"God bless you. We are for you"—and the President lingered to find out that they lived near the Okefenokee Swamp. "I know where it is," he told them, adding: "Dry it out." The royal band, which had expected the President to arrive by limousine, was nonplused when he approached by foot. It started playing *The Star-Spangled Banner* when he was outside the gate—and played it twice again as he lingered to chat.

Show of Unity. Later, Nixon held court at the residence of the U.S. ambassador, seeing at hourly intervals West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson and Italian Premier Mariano Rumor. France's new President, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, did not attend the NATO meeting; he remained in Paris to conclude a $5 billion trade deal with Iran (*see* THE WORLD). The Europeans were happy —if matter-of-factly realistic—about the Brussels session. The U.S. got a public show of Atlantic unity before Moscow, and the allies got both a continued commitment that U.S. troops would stay in Europe and a promise of closer consultation. All this had been worked out the previous week at the NATO meeting in Ottawa. This week, at the conclusion of the Moscow summit, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger will go to Brussels, Paris and Rome to tell the Europeans what happened in Moscow.

Whatever else he will report, Kissinger can tell the NATO allies that the third summit was certainly the friend-

*$3,578, approximately $10,000 apiece for the Monte Carlo and Continental.

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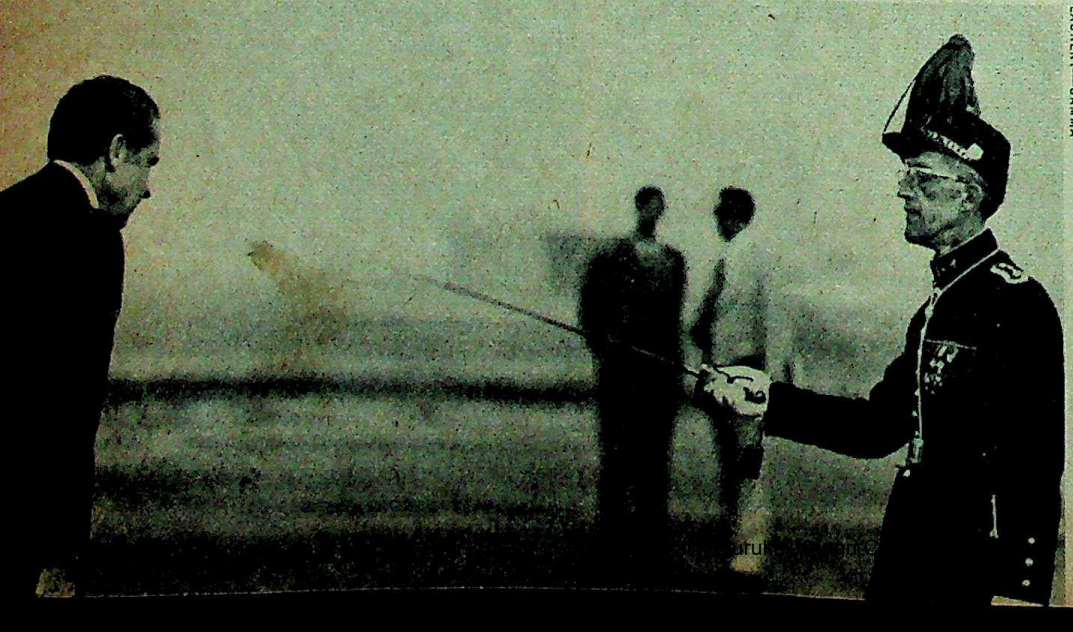


NIXON WAVING TO CROWD OF MUSCOVITES IN RED SQUARE



AP

PRESIDENT CHECKING TIME IN BRUSSELS ON WAY TO LUNCH AT PALACE



LAURENT—GAMMA

liest and most relaxed. After weeks of intermittent rain, the Moscow sum finally arrived with Nixon Thursday ternoon, and warm, 82° sunshine sp kled off the presidential plane as it ro up the runway at Vmukovo Airpor huge banner said WELCOME PRESIDE NIXON in English. Together with P mier Aleksei Kosygin, President Nik Podgorny and Foreign Minister An Gromyko, Brezhnev himself was th to voice it, a considerable honor si he had never before appeared at the port for a Western visitor, not e Charles de Gaulle or Willy Brandt. was a helluva plus," said one Nixon of Brezhnev's airport greeting.

Shaking hands warmly with President, the ebullient Brezhnev him by the arm to a position in fro the honor guard and coached him to *"Spasibo, soldat* [Thank you, soldier For Mrs. Nixon, Mrs. Brezhnev ha bouquet of roses. Nixon spent five m utes shaking hands with a smiling cr of about 500, most of them bused in f nearby offices, and then rode Brezhnev in a black Zil limousine 15 miles to the Kremlin. The ro mainly along Lenin Avenue, was dec with American flags, as it had bee 1972, but crowds were deliberately to a polite minimum by Soviet p Less than an hour after they lan Brezhnev himself was showing the ons their suite at the Kremlin reside

Very Tough. The first wor meeting came that evening, when President was ushered into Brezhn Kremlin office for an hour-and-ten-m ute session under a picture of Lenin. Brezhnev's interpreter as the only e person. Later the two men went t Vladimir Hall for a reception attend by top Soviet and American of

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Happiness Under Red Stars

Crouched and perspiring in the frenzied moment, Photographer Dirck Halstead squinted through his telephoto lens last Thursday at the animated face of Richard Nixon and squeezed off what may have been his 25,000th shot of the famous visage in six years. As he zoomed in and out to include Leonid Brezhnev, the Soviet boss, it suddenly crossed Halstead's busy mind that he had rarely—certainly not for years—seen Nixon so happy.

The President and Brezhnev raised and clinked small glasses of tomato juice, toasting each other. They traded quips, squeezed one another's elbows and floated down the lines of dignitaries on their special cloud of power and personal rapture. It was a curious sight, this American President, whose relationship with his own people is so fragile and distant, so joyously in the embrace of a Communist dictator, so transported in the grandeur of the Kremlin, where the Czars once walked.

Nixon is not a man without a country—but he is now a man who finds more honor and respect, cheers and adulation beyond American shores. There is something wistful about his journeys. People in the streets by the thousands shout his praises. Kings attack his political enemies at home. Communists pump up his stature and give him the security and secretiveness he cannot have in a democracy.

■

It is the life that Nixon relishes and one in which he excels. Beyond the catcalls of Congress, beyond the investigators and the hostile press, he is sovereign. His flying White House is self-sufficient. The American diplomatic, military and commercial presence all over the world forms a system of arteries that pump in services, advice and even encouragement. (Bebe Rebozo was "in the neighborhood" when Nixon arrived in Brussels and so hopped up from Spain for a few minutes' chat with his friend.) The President's meetings are small and confidential. His right to stay above and beyond the masses is absolute. It is one of the ironies of the singular career of Republican Nixon that palace life fits him better in many ways than life at the White House.

This voyage began with the booming approval of NATO's Secretary General Joseph Luns. The handshake of this genial giant following the signing of the declaration on Atlantic relations rippled all the way up the President's arm and into his chest like a shot of Adrenalin. When Nixon walked from his residence to King Baudouin's for lunch he spied the guards that so impressed him on his last visit that he had special uniforms made for the White House police. There was so much American laughter that Nixon abandoned the scheme. But there must have been some regret lingering in the President's mind. Before going into the palace, he went up to the head of the guards, who was mounted on his horse. "I remember you from last time," he said. "I still think it is the best guard group in the world."

When he walked into his Kremlin apartment the next day, Nixon looked down the long, elegant hall. "It's a magnificent place," he told those with him. "You think of all the history these walls have seen." He paused a moment, then added, "Come to think of it, we made a good deal of history here in 1972." Nixon pointed to a chair, savoring his recollections. "I remember sitting right there and talking with Kissinger . . ."

That night he and Henry Kissinger and General Alexander Haig, his staff chief, strolled through the Kremlin grounds talking softly in the dark with no worry of intrusion from photographers or constituents. The three men walked by the apartment where Lenin had lived when he came to the Kremlin to direct the revolution and formation of a government. They went by the modern auditorium built beneath the ancient church spires with gilded onion domes. Nixon noted how old and new were fitted together behind the Kremlin walls. He paused a moment in the discussion to take another look at the monstrous, potbellied Czar Cannon that still stands as a reminder of old glories—and repressions.

The red stars of Russia glowed from the high spires of the Kremlin towers in the mellow night, casting a special spell over the three Americans so far from home who by themselves were shaping the U.S. position in an uncertain world.

A PUBLIC MOMENT AT THE SUMMIT MEETING IN MOSCOW



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DIRCK HALSTEAD

The Russians were lined up on one side of the room, the Americans on the oth-, and Brezhnev took Nixon first down he Russian side and then down the merican. Kissinger stood at the end, nd when the two leaders reached him, Nixon said: "He's much more flexible han [Defense Minister Andrei] Grechko." Replied Brezhnev: "Let's wait and ee. Results will show." At that, Nixon ood back from Kissinger and reversed imself: "He's very tough." Brezhnev lso stepped back a few paces and nodded his head: *"Da, da."*

Lively Ties. Following the small alk, the group moved into the Facets alace, one of the oldest parts of the remlin, for a dinner of fresh caviar, sh in aspic, venison, two traditional old Russian soups, salmon and grouse. fter the last course, Brezhnev rose to ast the President and talk of the "tanible progress" that had been made in oviet-American relations in the past hree years. "Probably never before have es and contacts between the U.S.S.R. nd the U.S. in different areas of polit- al, economic and cultural activity been s lively as they are today," he observed. was important, he added, "to consol- ate the successes already achieved."

In his turn, Nixon pointed to the rogress of détente, describing it allit- ratively as a movement "from confron- ation to coexistence to cooperation." hen, no doubt speaking as much to his omestic critics as to the guests present, ixon said that East-West progress had en made possible because of his iendly relationship with Brezhnev and suggested that that relationship as necessary if détente was to contin- . "It has been said that any agree- ent is only as good as the will of the arties to keep it," he asserted. "Because

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of our personal relationship, there is no question about our will to keep these agreements and to make more where they are in our mutual interests." The political translation, for which no one needed an interpreter, was that Richard Nixon is indispensable to the conduct of American foreign policy. "The rapport between the President and Brezhnev is the key to any further nuclear-arms-limitation agreement," a White House aide later insisted in case anyone had missed the point. "The question of personality is vital."

As a counterpoint to the official cheer, there jarred the Soviets' repression of their own citizens. Even before Nixon's arrival, Andrei Sakharov, the father of the Soviet hydrogen bomb and a vocal Russian dissident, sent a public letter from his Moscow apartment to both leaders, calling on them to discuss the "basic rights of man" at the summit. Specifically naming 85 "prisoners of conscience" in Soviet prisons—and estimating that there were 10,000 more —Sakharov asked for their freedom, as well as a general freedom of thought and information.

"If you shun humane tasks," he said, "you deprive your meetings of a vital spiritual force . . . and you cannot attain your lofty aims of peace and security." Later Sakharov began a hunger strike to protest Soviet repression, particularly the continued jailing of Biologist Vladimir Bukovsky, who first reported the infamous Soviet custom of putting political dissenters into psychiatric clinics. Two American correspondents checking up on the jailing of a Jewish scholar, meanwhile, were prevented from talking to his wife by Soviet police. TIME Correspondent John Shaw and Washington *Post* Reporter Robert Kaiser were physically barred from seeing Ina Rubin in her central Moscow apartment, though she had invited them to visit her.

Symbolic Gestures. The Soviet leaders are nevertheless sensitive to the fact that American criticism of Russian repression, led by Senator Henry Jackson *(see box)*, is a threat to détente. In what can only be construed as a symbolic gesture to mollify U.S. opinion, they released Major General Pyotr Grigorenko, 67, who had been placed in a psychiatric clinic for political crimes five years ago. At the same time, Benjamin Levich, a Jew and a leading Soviet chemist, was told that next year he would receive his long-sought permission to emigrate to Israel. His two sons, both of whom had been harassed by authorities because of their own requests to leave the country, were told they could go before the end of this year.

At the summit, Nixon maintained the outward show of friendliness that Brezhnev established with his airport greeting. The President's first stop Friday was the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Moscow, where he placed a wreath of red, white and blue flowers. Back at the Kremlin talks, Nixon persuaded his Soviet security guards to allow him to get out of his car to greet the several hundred Muscovites standing behind the steel barricades near Red Square. The guards reluctantly let him out in front of the State Historical Museum, and he strode over to the barricades, touching the dozens of hands that were reaching out to shake his. "We don't want another war," someone shouted in English. "Peace is very important," another said, prompting Nixon to reply: "For everybody, the whole world, the Russian people and the American people."

His unscheduled stopover made the President 15 minutes late for his first substantive meeting with Brezhnev in the Kremlin's St. Catherine Hall, which once served as the Empress's throne room. But Brezhnev, who had been chatting with reporters, appeared as good-natured as he had the day before. After two hours, the two delegations broke for lunch, then moved to St. Vladimir Hall, an ornate room of pink, white and gold, where they signed agreements to share research into energy, housing and heart disease.

Collage of Culture. Joined by their wives, who had spent the day at the famous Moscow Circus School, the two leaders went to the Bolshoi Theater Friday night for a superb collage of Soviet culture, bits of ballet, opera, folk singing, Cossack dancing and even a chorus of *Swanee River*, in both English and Russian. The couples, together with Kissinger, Kosygin and Podgorny, watched the performance from a flag-draped box at the rear of the theater, and during the intermission gathered for a light buffet. Toasting the women at the table, Brezhnev gallantly reached into a bouquet of roses and handed one to Pat Nixon. Talking to the performers backstage after the curtain, Nixon said that he had seen "a combination of variety, vitality and beauty—and that represents the whole [Soviet] nation." He invited all the performers to visit the U.S., and said in Russian, "See you again."

Saturday morning Nixon had been scheduled to visit Star City, the Soviet space center outside Moscow. Instead, he and Brezhnev decided to continue their talks in St. Catherine Hall before flying that afternoon for a weekend of rest and talks at Brezhnev's Yalta villa on the Black Sea. After that the two men were to spend several hours in Minsk, which was 80% destroyed by the Germans in World War II, and then return to Moscow for concluding talks and a grand send-off that would get Nixon home just in time for Independence Day.

While no fireworks were expected during the summit itself, the third Nixon-Brezhnev meeting seemed to be a landmark of another kind. It was the first of the quiet summits, the start of dull, workaday meetings that offered the possibility that the nuclear-arms competition some day might be ended.

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Scoop Jackso

The Kremlin banquet was over plates removed, and in the spirit of fellowship, Soviet Party Chief Le Brezhnev rose to toast President on. Then the Soviet leader launch few intercontinental missives at the ics of détente. "Our American gue he declared, "know better than we those who oppose international dé who favor whipping up the arms and returning to the methods and cedures of the cold war." Everyon the table knew whom Brezhnev aiming at: Washington Senator H ("Scoop") Jackson, 62, the blunt, born, increasingly powerful leader U.S. opposition to détente—and a runner for the Democratic preside nomination in 1976.

Jackson certainly will not be to stop the momentum for détente, he has raised enough obstacles to the White House and outrage the Kr lin. The Senator dismissed the Mos summit as being more "cosmetic" substantial and suggested that the P ident would have been wiser to home and tend to Watergate. Last w he also tangled bitterly with Secre of State Henry Kissinger, charging after the SALT I arms limitation ag ment in 1972, Kissinger made s concessions to the Russians—an sation that the Secretary fervently nied. Then, hoping to steal some headlines from Nixon in Moscow, J son took off for his own mini-summ Peking "to learn everything I can Chinese view of the world."

The trip may broaden Jackson's peal as a presidential aspirant who deal with other world powers by s ing that he is not the implacable, fashioned, gut-reacting foe of Com nism that his critics often depict. D his week of talks, Jackson even pla ask the Chinese leaders if they think they should be sitting in on the U.S. viet SALT discussions.

Is Jackson more trusting of the nese than the Soviets? Not necess but, as he explains: "The Chinese not a superpower in the strict nu sense, so my approach to them a juncture in our relationship obvious volves different issues than it does the Soviet Union."

■

While insisting that he is not ag détente per se, Jackson contends some of the deals the Administra working out with the Soviets are gerously and unnecessarily one-sid favor of Moscow. In their eagerne ease world tension, argues Jackson, on and Kissinger are willing to giv Russians much-needed technical and expanded trade without seizing chance to demand even more arm ductions. Says Jackson: "The only

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Meanwhile, Back in Peking...

harge against me is that I believe in iving a hard bargain."

By insisting on hard bargaining, ackson, more than any other potential emocratic candidate, has staked out a oreign policy position that is different om Nixon's. The prime example of the enator's strength is known, appropri- tely, as the Jackson amendment. Co- ponsored by no fewer than 77 Senators nd 287 members of the House, the mendment has stymied the Adminis- ration's proposal that would reduce igh tariffs on imports of such Soviet oods as machinery, cameras, pottery nd vodka. Jackson's proposal insists hat as part of the trade deal, the Krem- n liberalize its restrictions on emigra- on. That change would benefit Jews ho want to leave Russia.

Nixon and Kissinger have argued, ith justification, that the amendment ould interfere in the internal affairs of nother country in a manner that Amer- ans would find intolerable if applied the U.S. But Jackson has stuck to his osition, encouraged by the fact that the oviets did ease their emigration restric- ons after he proposed his idea in 1972. he Russians respect firmness, fairness nd toughness," says Jackson. "They ate mush. Three days after I introduced y resolution, they started moving peo- e out." Admitted Kissinger last week: e are prepared to grant that his pres- res have had an influence."

Before Nixon left for Moscow, Jack- n and a couple of other Senators ne- gotiated with Kissinger about the kind of emigration policy that the Senators would find acceptable. Jackson is pressing for a commitment by the Soviets to increase greatly the number of Jews allowed to leave the country—about 35,000 departed in 1973—and an end to the harassment of those who want to go. If the Soviets make a proposal that he finds satisfactory, Jackson appears willing to give the go-ahead for tariff and credit concessions to the Soviets.

▪

Jackson attributes much of his sympathy for the plight of minorities to the fact that his own parents were immigrants (from Norway). In 1945, while a third-term Congressman, he was deeply moved by a visit to Buchenwald. He has always been a firm supporter of Israel. As the presidential race heats up next year, he will count heavily on Jewish donors to finance his campaign.

With his usual consistency, Jackson has been a hawk on many other issues. He has been deeply suspicious of the Soviets since World War II; he was an early and ardent backer of U.S. intervention in Viet Nam; and he has supported the Pentagon's requests for new weaponry, most recently the B-1 bomber and the Trident submarine. In 1968 Nixon asked Democrat Jackson to become his Secretary of Defense. He refused.

Some colleagues complain that Jackson these days wields power too ruthlessly. He can be intolerant of opposing ideas, and his arrogance sometimes shows. Says a Republican member of the Interior Committee: "Scoop runs that committee like it is his personal kingdom. I've seen him come into a meeting when he was the only Democrat present and defeat a Republican motion simply by voting what he said were the proxies of all the other Democrats. When we asked him to show us the proxies, he refused."

Jackson's recent clash with Kissinger began when Pentagon officials went to Jackson and the press with a complaint. Their charge: Kissinger had not told Congress about some supplemental clarifications he made with the Soviets after the SALT I treaty was signed. The main worry was that the supplemental agreements that Kissinger had reached with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin could be interpreted to allow the Soviets to build up their force of submarine missiles not to 950, as announced after SALT I, but to 1,020.

AP



SSINGER CHATTING WITH JACKSON BEFORE HEARINGS LAST WEEK ON ARMS DISPUTE
acing the problem of what to substitute in place of détente.

Immediately Jackson called Kissinger to testify in closed session before his Senate Arms Services Subcommittee. The room crackled with acrimony. Kissinger objected to being placed under oath and felt he was being treated rudely by Jackson. At a press conference later, Kissinger made a convincing case that nothing had been agreed upon with the Soviets that was out of line with the basic treaty. But Jackson claimed that the real issue was Kissinger's penchant for handling U.S. foreign policy as he saw fit, ignoring the bureaucracy and failing to get the approval of Congress.

In criticizing détente, Jackson faces the problem of what to substitute for the Administration's policy. The Nixon-Kissinger strategy is to take calculated risks with the hope of building a sense of trust and cooperation based on mutual interest between East and West. Jackson seems to have no patience for slow building and a more uncompromising definition of American interest. "If there is to be true détente," he says, "there must be a movement of people and ideas across international frontiers—not just cargo. When I see an arms control agreement that calls not for arms control but for disarmament on both sides, then I'll know there's been a change for the better."

Few would quarrel with Jackson's goals. But by taking his tough approach toward negotiations with the Soviets, he seems willing to risk reviving the cold war rather than trying to proceed step by step toward significant détente.

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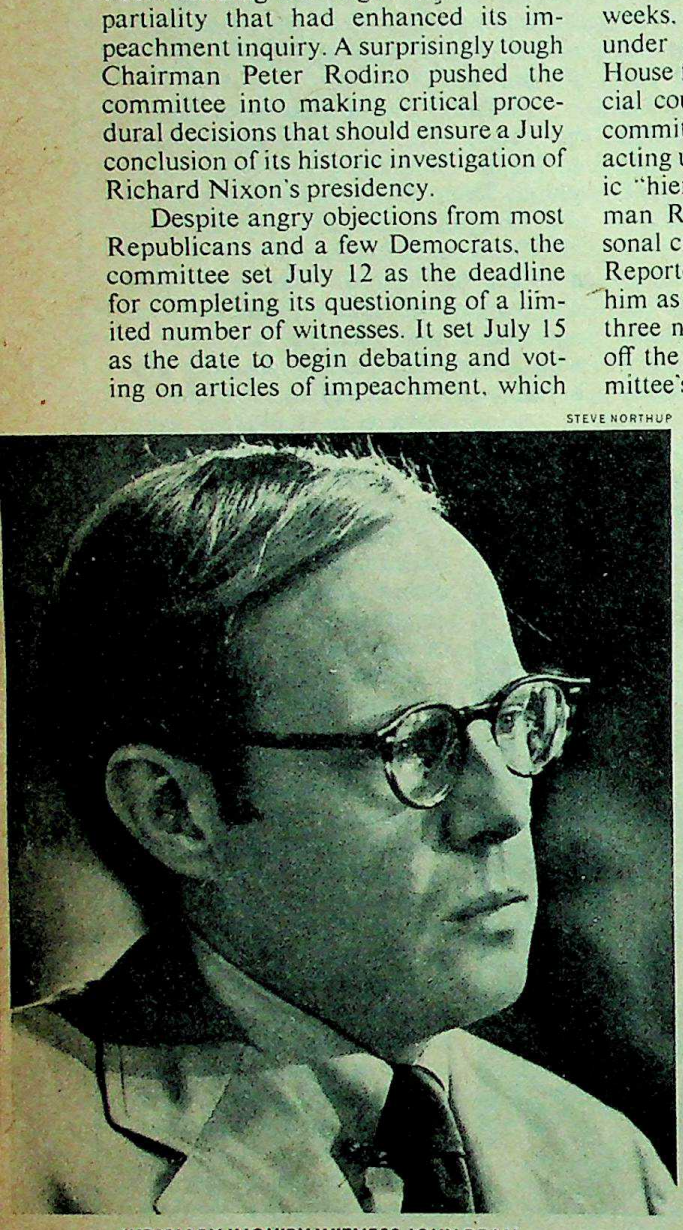
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Tacking Toward the Impeachment Line

Political partisanship flared openly in the House Judiciary Committee last week, shaking the fragile façade of impartiality that had enhanced its impeachment inquiry. A surprisingly tough Chairman Peter Rodino pushed the committee into making critical procedural decisions that should ensure a July conclusion of its historic investigation of Richard Nixon's presidency.

Despite angry objections from most Republicans and a few Democrats, the committee set July 12 as the deadline for completing its questioning of a limited number of witnesses. It set July 15 as the date to begin debating and voting on articles of impeachment, which

STEVE NORTHUP



JUDICIARY INQUIRY WITNESS JOHN DEAN
The President's chief accuser . . .

are now being prepared by its staff. It targeted the week of July 22 for completing that vote. Special Counsel John Doar will be given just ten days after that to prepare a final committee report for transmittal to the full House.

House leaders, meanwhile, were moving with unusual efficiency to clear the chamber's agenda for a full-scale airing of impeachment charges beginning the first week of August. The House has been acting fast on major funding legislation, in anticipation of a pro-impeachment recommendation from the Rodino committee. The leaders expect the House to vote on the articles by Aug. 23. Assuming that a majority of the House approves charges of impeachable conduct, the Senate should be able to try the President this year.

Stepping up the tempo, the Rodino committee for the first time put in a full five-day week of deliberation. Long criticized for its slow pace and three-day weeks, the committee suddenly came under opposing fire from the White House for its haste. The President's special counsel, Dean Burch, assailed the committee as "a partisan lynch mob" acting under orders from the Democratic "hierarchy" of the Congress. Chairman Rodino came under intense personal criticism after Los Angeles *Times* Reporter Jack Nelson indirectly quoted him as saying in an informal chat with three newsmen (Rodino thought it was off the record) that all 21 of the committee's Democrats were prepared to vote for impeachment. White House Communications Director Ken Clawson claimed that this confirmed that Nixon was the "subject of a witch hunt." Rodino heatedly denied the statement, but another reporter present, ABC's Sam Donaldson, said Rodino had observed that it was his "sense of the mood" of the Democrats that they would vote in such a way. Other observers, too, had assessed this sentiment in a similar fashion *(see box)* —and the notion that no committee member had formed any tentative judgments after hearing so much evidence was ridiculous.

Emotional. The White House was particularly upset by the committee's decision to schedule only five witnesses definitely, while ordering staff interviews of five others to see if it would be worthwhile to spend time on their testimony.

Adopted in an emotional closed meeting, the committee's list of certain witnesses includes two urged by James St. Clair, Nixon's chief Watergate defense lawyer. They are former Presidential Counsel John Dean and Frederick LaRue, a Nixon campaign aide who has pleaded guilty to obstruction of justice in the Watergate cover-up conspiracy. In its attempt to clarify key points left in doubt by its closed-door staff briefings on the evidence, the committee also voted to hear Herbert Kalmbach, Nixon's personal lawyer, who has pleaded guilty to illegal campaign fund-raising activities; Henry Petersen, head of the Justice Department's criminal division; and Alexander Butterfield, a former Nixon aide and now the Federal Aviation Administration chief, who first revealed the existence of Nixon's secret taping system. St. Clair will be able to question the witnesses who testify.

Omitted from the list but cited as potential witnesses were four men also requested by St. Clair: former Attorney General John Mitchell; former White House Chief of Staff H.R. Haldeman; William O. Bittman, former lawyer for convicted Watergate Conspirator E. Howard Hunt; and Paul L. O'Brien, a lawyer for Nixon's re-election committee. The fifth member of the bottom-up list is Charles W. Colson, who has pleaded guilty to obstruction of justice in the Ellsberg burglary case *(see following stories)*. He is not one of the witnesses whom St. Clair wants the committee to call. Although St. Clair has first said that Colson's testimony could help Nixon's case, he apparently is now much less sure of that.

The question of whether to schedule all of St. Clair's witnesses set off the most partisan wrangle of the committee hearings so far. Democrats argued that most had already testified in other forums and would delay the committee's work. The debate continued for nearly six hours, with four Democrats at one point joining a solid Republican line for including the St. Clair choices. That produced a 21-to-17 vote in St. Clair's favor. But then Chairman Rodino called a recess, caucused with the committee Democrats and persuaded two of the four (Don Edwards of California and James Mann of South Carolina) to switch their votes. The resulting 19-19 tie killed the motion. By a vote of 33 to 5, the committee then approved the top-list compromise. Once the decisions were made, the partisan feelings subsided somewhat, and the committee

Impeachment Head Co

In the volatile and unpredictable Watergate controversy, new developments could abruptly shift the attitudes of the 38-member House Judiciary Committee. But according to TIME Congressional Correspondent Neil MacNeil, if the committee were to vote now, it would vote one or more articles of impeachment by a maximum margin of 29 to 9 and a minimum of 25 to 13.

At the moment, all 21 Democrats are seen as highly probable votes for impeachment. Even Democrats from Southern districts where Nixon is popular have been impressed by the evidence, and are offended and mystified by his refusal to yield subpoenaed tapes if he is, as he claims, innocent.

The pressure bears most heavily, of course, on Republicans. Many Republican voters will object strenuously to a pro-impeachment vote by their Congressman. Republicans now counted as favoring impeachment are He

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seemed united in its determination to complete its work promptly.

As the committee returned to its closed-door briefings, St. Clair spent two days giving his version of the evidence that had been presented over the past six weeks by Doar and the committee's Republican counsel, Albert Jenner. St. Clair concentrated on Nixon's role in the payment of hush money to Hunt, a topic that the edited White House tape transcripts show was discussed at length by Nixon in a meeting with Dean and Haldeman on March 21, 1973. St. Clair contends that Nixon's possible impeachment hangs almost solely on whether he approved such a payment at that meeting. St. Clair's witnesses apparently all could testify about the circumstances of any such payment.

Left Hanging. Republican members of the committee leaked St. Clair's arguments last week. He said that Nixon had not approved a payment to Hunt, despite the transcripts' revelation that the President considered such a payoff and finally said unambiguously to Dean about the money: "(Expletive deleted) Get it." St. Clair cited the testimony of Dean—whose credibility the White House has repeatedly assailed—at the Senate Watergate hearings in June 1973. Dean at that time had testified that the matter of paying the money "was very much left hanging" after the discussion with Nixon, which he thought had occurred on March 13.

St. Clair also suggested that LaRue will back up a White House contention that Dean phoned LaRue on March 21 to propose that Hunt be paid—and that this was done before the discussion with Nixon. Thus, St. Clair argued, although $75,000 may have been paid to Hunt's attorney Bittman on the evening of March 21, it was not at Nixon's direction. Moreover, Mitchell, according to St. Clair, would testify that the money was intended for legal fees, not to keep Hunt from telling of White House involvement in the various illegal activities of Nixon's secret team of "plumber" investigators.

At least as relayed by committee Republicans, that defense was hardly persuasive. It runs counter to specific overt acts in the cover-up indictments issued by a Watergate grand jury, which detail a chain of telephone calls between Haldeman and Mitchell and between Mitchell and LaRue that set up the $75,000 payment. These calls occurred after the Nixon-Dean-Haldeman conference. The March 21 transcript, in addition, leaves no doubt that Hunt's threats to the White House had created the need for a quick payment rather than any sudden demands for legal fees.

St. Clair apparently also contended that if Nixon had ordered the payment, the full $120,000 sought by Hunt, not $75,000, would have been paid. Yet the transcript quotes Nixon as saying "some signal" of White House response should be given to Hunt—and $75,000 would seem to be a fairly reassuring sign.

Democrats on the committee often interrupted St. Clair to protest that he was drawing conclusions instead of presenting evidence and that this violated the committee procedures. Doar and Jenner, they contended, had carefully refrained in their briefings from that kind of argumentation. Democrats raised a more serious objection, however, when St. Clair cited the edited transcripts of tapes that Nixon refuses to give the committee. If those tapes make such a good case for Nixon, the Democrats argued, why must the committee accept the less reliable transcripts? In one instance, St. Clair referred to a Nixon conversation for which the White House has not even provided a transcript, much less the tape itself. Said New York's Elizabeth Holtzman: "If that tape exonerates the President, I for one would like to hear it."

The controversy over witnesses may well crop up again after the staff finishes interviewing those on the back-up list and a decision is made on which ones, if any, to call. Another partisan argument will have to be settled early this week when the scheduled witnesses are to begin testifying. Most Republicans are pushing for open, televised hearings; Democrats want to keep the hearings closed. With so much of the impeachment evidence already on the public record, however, the argument for continued committee secrecy is weak.

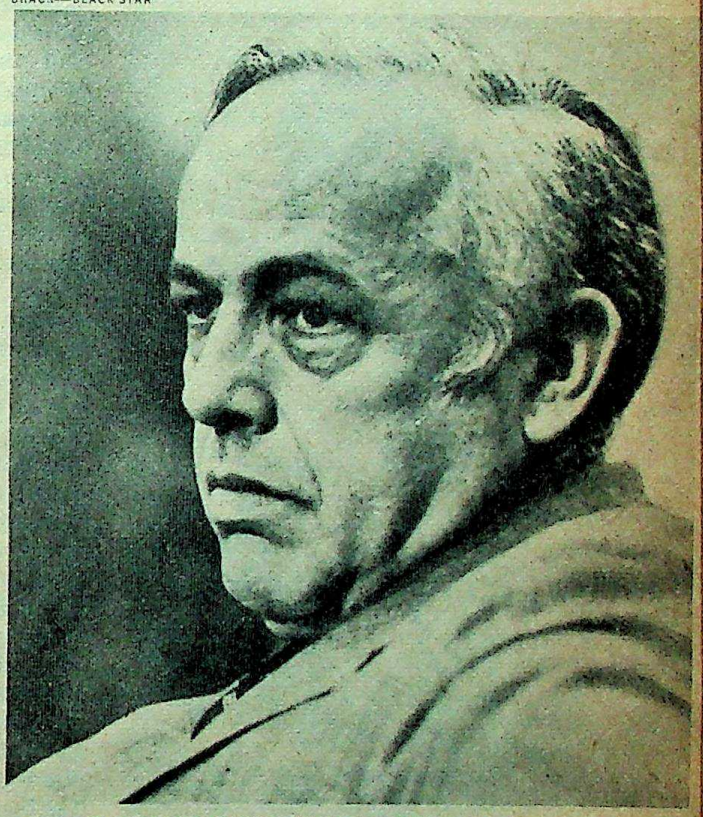
ting as much when it also voted to release more than 7,000 pages of documents and evidence that it has been considering in its inquiry to date. Most Republicans opposed this step while Democrats largely supported it.

The massive evidence, which will be screened by Rodino and Edward Hutchinson so they can delete offensive personal characterizations, may appear either in bulk or in segments beginning this week. Although no sensational disclosures are expected, the cumulative effect of the evidence is likely to further damage Nixon's case.

Rude Reminders. While President Nixon basked in the soothing spotlight of Moscow summitry, it thus became increasingly evident that he will return this week to many rude reminders of his Watergate troubles. The staff of Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski will be pressing its case against former Nixon Aide John Ehrlichman and the President's band of secret gumshoes in the Ellsberg burglary trial. Next Monday, Jaworski and St. Clair will argue before the Supreme Court on the potentially fateful issue of whether Nixon's unprecedented claims of Executive privilege to protect possibly incriminating presidential tapes will prevail—or will be cast aside as unfounded in law or the Constitution.

Later in the week, Senator Sam Ervin's Watergate committee will issue its report on what it learned from its televised hearings and its 16-month investigation. Also, Rodino's committee will be presenting its evidence and hearing witnesses in an accelerating drive to clear up any remaining ambiguities in those White House-edited transcripts

BRACK—BLACK STAR



WHITE HOUSE DEFENSE ATTORNEY ST. CLAIR
. . . faces grilling by the President's lawyer.

ith and Hamilton Fish Jr. of New
k, Thomas Railsback of Illinois and
liam Cohen of Maine. Leaning to-
d impeachment are Robert McClory
Illinois and M. Caldwell Butler of Vir-
a, plus possibly Wisconsin's Harold
hlich and Maryland's Lawrence
an. That makes eight possible votes
nst Nixon from the committee's 17-
publicans.

McClory is the most anguished; he
not want to turn against a Re-
ican President, but his concept of
processes of law has been violated
ome Nixon activities. Butler, a con-
ative freshman, worries more about
g the right thing than about re-
ning in office. Representing an
ated Republican stronghold in Wis-
in, Froehlich could possibly be de-
ed if he votes against impeachment.
en has been a Nixon loyalist, but
running for Governor of Mary-
and that state has been fed up
corruption in government ever
the Spiro Agnew scandal.

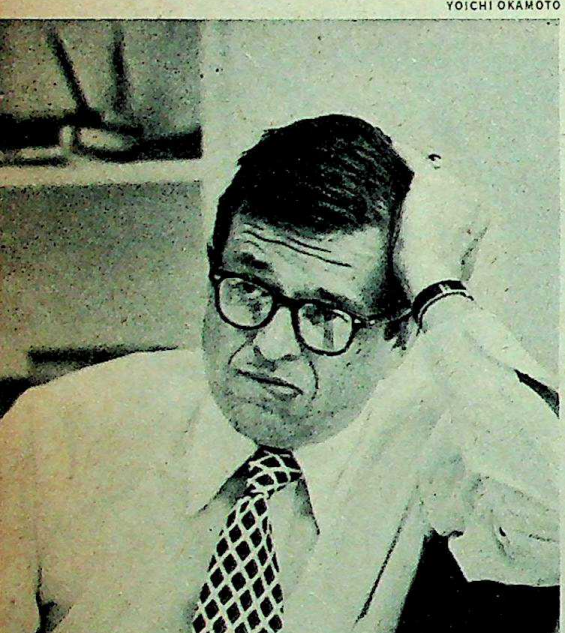
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Colson's Weird Scenario

On May 10, without telling anyone, not even the members of his prayer group, former Presidential Aide Charles Colson phoned Richard Lee Bast, 41, who is regarded as Washington's best and toughest private detective. Colson wanted to talk to Bast about a very sensitive matter. Three days later they huddled for two hours in Bast's house in McLean, Va.; they met there once again on May 31. Last week Bast, who made extensive notes of both conversations, revealed his version of what Chuck Colson said. Even in the Watergate environment, where the unbelievable often comes true, Colson's story seemed bizarre beyond belief. Colson, the master of dirty tricks, said he had finally met

YOICHI OKAMOTO



FORMER NIXON AIDE COLSON
The CIA did it.

his master: the CIA. According to Bast, Colson blamed the Watergate break-in on the CIA, which, he intimated, was attempting to take over the nation.

Bast has a reputation for honesty. Except for a single detail, Colson by week's end had not challenged the story. He admitted that he had met with Bast "in confidence to explore a possible professional relationship. None of the statements I made to Mr. Bast were intended for public consumption." Bast waited until Colson was sentenced to release the story. He thought it was important enough to be made public. And, says Bast, Colson agreed.

According to Bast's notes, this is how the conversations went:

Colson wanted Bast to investigate the CIA privately on behalf of himself and the six other defendants in the Watergate cover-up conspiracy trial. Not eager for that job, Bast suggested that the President appoint another special prosecutor to do it. Colson thought that was a good idea and later reported that Nixon was "very enthusiastic." But that is as far as the project went.

The agency, Colson confided to Bast, was out to get President Nixon. Why? asked Bast. Colson replied: "Nixon's theory is that they were coming in to spy, that they wanted to get enough on the White House so that they could get what they wanted." What did they want? "Who knows what they want?" Colson responded. Before the White House could take any counteraction, he went on, "our whole house of cards collapsed. Nobody controls the CIA. I mean nobody. If the CIA really has infiltrated this country to the extent I think it has, we ain't got a country left."

Scared President. Colson said that the President was planning last January to fire CIA Director William Colby and have the agency investigated. But White House Chief of Staff Alexander Haig and Henry Kissinger supposedly talked him out of it. (The one fact that Colson later denied was that Nixon had intended to dismiss Colby.) Colson surmised that Haig and White House Lawyer J. Fred Buzhardt worked incognito for the CIA and that maybe Kissinger did too. The President was prevented from acting by the disloyal people around him; his phone, Colson believed, was even tapped by the CIA so that the agency could follow his every move. "The President is scared as hell, especially when he's weak and under attack. He's afraid to alienate the military or the foreign policy establishment."

The CIA was involved in all aspects of Watergate, said Colson as he ticked them off. The agency helped carry out the burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist, destroyed evidence, put out a cover story to camouflage its part in the Watergate break-in and tried to divert the FBI from investigating it. He confessed to Bast: "I don't say this to my people. They'd think I'm nuts. I think they killed Dorothy Hunt." He was referring to the death of E. Howard Hunt's wife in an air crash in 1972. Colson thought that the agency was trying to silence her. Almost gratuitously, Colson told Bast that he believed Howard Hughes had given $100,000 and even more to the President and his family for their private use. "Hughes can blow the whistle on him."

When parts of Colson's yarn were published last week, no one was more interested than Senator Howard Baker, vice chairman of the Watergate committee. Suspecting a CIA link to Watergate, Baker had written a 35-page, unpublished report on the subject with some help from Colson. But Baker a... claim that there is nothing in the re... to substantiate Colson's charge that ... agency had a role in planning or ... ecuting the Watergate break-in, m... less in plotting against the President.

There are, of course, some un... swered questions about the CIA's ro... tionship to Watergate. Some of the m... deeply involved in Watergate—nota... E. Howard Hunt Jr. and James McC... —were retired longtime employees ... the agency. A CIA agent was on h... when McCord's wife burned some of ... personal papers.

Colson's monstrous plot, howeve... can scarcely be constructed from su... shards. Why, then, did he unburd... himself to Bast? One theory is that C... son wanted to make a last desperate ... to get himself (and the President) off ... hook. So why not blame Watergate ... the CIA, which is already highly suspe... to much of the public and in no po... tion to defend itself. If this was inde... the scheme, then considering how b... tered American institutions are and h... in need of support and not defamati... it was one of the dirtiest tricks that C... son has played to date.

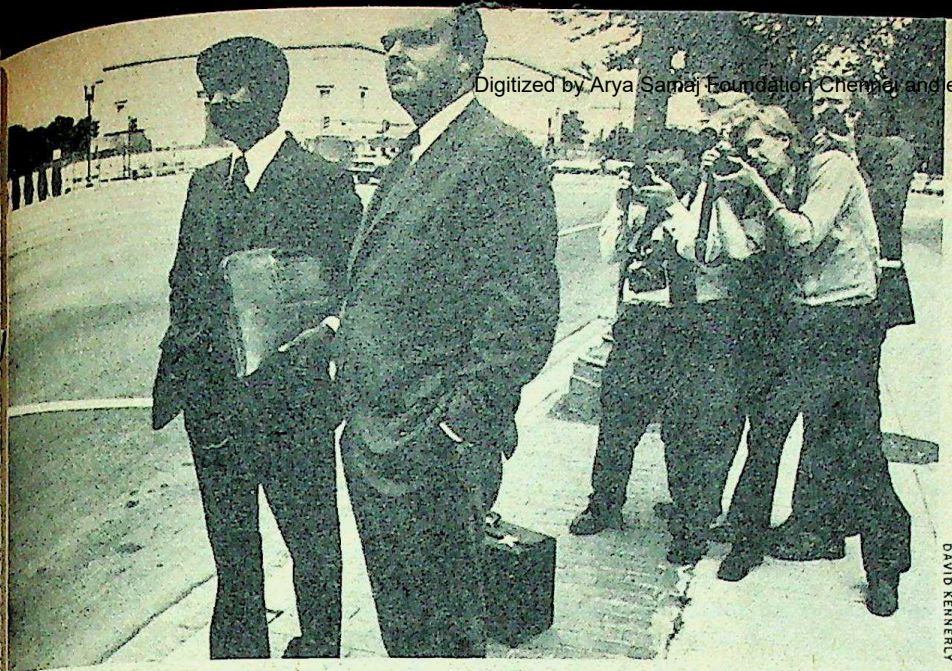
But another explanation is that C... son has lost touch with reality. Wh... he was talking to Bast, he appeared ca... at times, at times quite agitated. At o... point he remarked to the detective: "Y... might think I belong in an asylum." ... Colson associate thinks that impend... imprisonment may have weighed ... him: "Look, you're going to jail. Y... get pretty desperate." In a sense, C... son's CIA fantasies are not that far ... moved from some of his previ... schemes: fire-bombing the Brookin... Institution, for instance, or forging ... bles linking President Kennedy to ... assassination of South Viet Nam's Pr... ident Diem. The key question is not w... Colson is the way he is, but why he w... ever given easy access to the highest ... fice in the land.

"An Arrogant Act Of Men Above the Law"

The conspiracy trial of John E... lichman, once President Nixon's top ... mestic aide, and three lesser memb... of the White House "plumbers" te... got off to a dramatic start in Fede... Judge Gerhard Gesell's Washing... courtroom last week. Assistant Spe... Prosecutor William Merrill charged ... a few weeks before Ehrlichman ... forced to resign last year, he had sec... ly removed three incriminating me... from a file on the plumbers in the Wh... House—but David Young, a co-dir... tor of the secret investigating unit, ... foresightedly retained copies. Said M... rill to the jury, which consists of ... blacks and three whites: "Mr. Ehrli... man lied. Why would a man like E... lichman lie? Because it was clear ...

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DAVID KENNERLY

EHRLICHMAN & DEFENSE ATTORNEY SPENCER BOYER OUTSIDE COURTHOUSE
Documents were secretly removed—but copies were kept.

the documents that he was implicated."

Merrill charged that Ehrlichman, despite his denials, was shown by the memos to have had advance knowledge of the break-in at the office of Dr. Lewis Fielding, who had been Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist. The Government contends that the burglary was part of an attempt by the White House to gather psychiatric information on Ellsberg, who had released the Pentagon papers to the press, and to use that material to smear him. According to the prosecutor, Ehrlichman had approved the burglary and had told his subordinates in the plumbers group: "O.K., let me know if they find anything."

The Fielding break-in was carried out on Sept. 4, 1971, under the direction of Young and Egil Krogh, another former Nixon assistant who has pleaded guilty. Convicted Watergate Conspirators E. Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy have admitted managing the operation in the field. Liddy is on trial with Ehrlichman for conspiring to violate Fielding's civil rights, as are Bernard Barker and Eugenio Martinez, who made the actual entry.

Save Neck. Prosecutor Merrill claimed that Krogh and Young discussed the burglary with Ehrlichman on Aug. 5, then wrote a memo to him on Aug. 11 recommending that "a covert operation be conducted to examine all the papers of Ellsberg's psychiatrist." Ehrlichman has conceded marking this memo "approved . . . if done under your assurance that it is not traceable." After Fielding's office was surveyed by Hunt and Liddy, Merrill claimed, Young and Krogh told Ehrlichman on Aug. 30 that the operation was feasible, and he gave the final go-ahead.

In opening defense arguments, Henry Jones, one of Ehrlichman's two black lawyers (the other is Spencer Boyer), admitted that Ehrlichman had approved a "covert" operation but argued that this was not meant to include anything illegal, like a burglary. As for the memos copied by Young, Jones charged that Young had altered the documents "to save his own neck."

Any argument that considerations of national security made the burglary a legal act has been flatly ruled out by Judge Gesell. In fact, argued Prosecutor Merrill, the break-in was "the willful, arrogant act of men who took the law into their own hands because they thought they were above the law."

INVESTIGATIONS

Democratic Violations

The trouble lies in the nature of men, rather than in the nature of the Republicans.

So concluded the staff of the Senate Watergate committee last week after probing illegal contributions made to the 1972 campaigns of Democrats running for President. In its draft report, written by the Republican counsel, the staff said the investigation of Democrats was made to "rectify any misapprehensions that the work of the staff was myopic or that miscreants were found only among those endeavoring to re-elect President Nixon." But far more examples of Republican skulduggery were uncovered. Indeed, the report cited only two instances of questionable practices by Democratic Nominee George McGovern's campaign: neglecting so far to pay a total of $35,322 owed to 37 corporations for various goods and services, and transferring $340,417 in leftover funds to his current campaign for re-election to the Senate.

The committee staff, whose Republican members did most of the investigating of Democrats, uncovered several apparent violations of laws in the 1972 presidential campaigns of Minnesota Senator Hubert Humphrey and Arkansas Representative Wilbur Mills. The staff found that among the illegal contributors to the Democrats were the milk cooperatives that had pledged $2 million to Nixon's campaign in what seemed to be a direct exchange for an increase in federal milk-price supports in 1971. Humphrey and Mills also backed an increase. According to the staff report, Associated Milk Producers, Inc., illegally gave $25,000 in corporate funds to pay for computer services for the Humphrey campaign on top of a legal donation of $17,225 that it made through its political action committees.

Milk Money. The report said that the same dairy organization gave $75,000 in apparently illegal contributions and $55,600 in legal gifts to the Mills campaign, while its employees kicked in a legal $40,000. Another cooperative, Mid-American Dairymen, Inc., illegally donated $15,000 to the Mills campaign.

The committee staff noted that the two candidates also received illegal corporate contributions that had been previously disclosed. The 3M Co. gave $1,000 to each, and Gulf Oil donated $15,000 to Mills. Humphrey received an illegal $50,000 donation from Manhattan Investment Banker John L. Loeb. In comparison, Nixon is known to have received about $750,000 in illegal donations from corporations.

The staff report accused the Humphrey campaign of other violations:

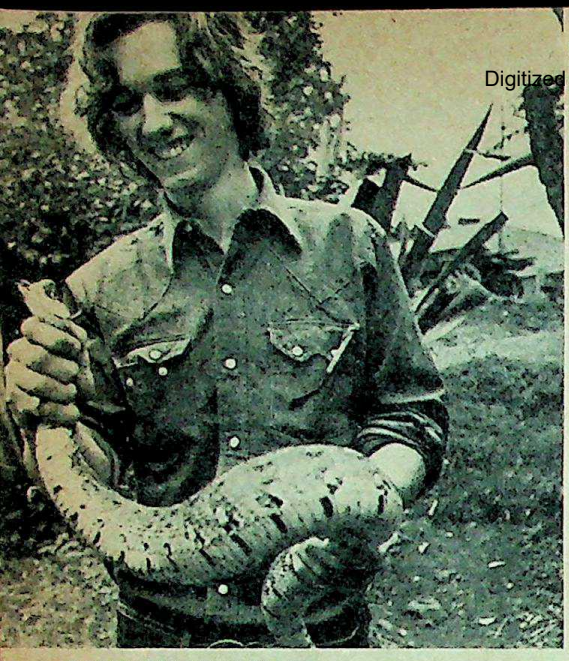
▸ Three Humphrey backers—Minnesota Grain Millionaire Dwayne O. Andreas, his daughter and a friend—formed a limited partnership called Jackson & Co. and pumped $276,000 into it. The "predominant portion" of the money came from the sale of shares in a firm headed by Andreas. All of the funds then went to the Humphrey campaign, exceeding the legal limit of $5,000 for individual contributions that was in effect until April 7, 1972. Andreas also made a $25,000 donation to the Nixon campaign—and the cash turned up in the Miami bank account of Convicted Watergate Burglar Bernard L. Barker.

▸ A bank account, which was maintained by the law firm of Campaign Manager Jack Chestnut, received a "purported personal loan" of $100,000 from Paul Thatcher, treasurer of an organization called "Backers for Humphrey." At the time, federal law also limited campaign loans to $5,000.

Both Chestnut and Joseph Johnson, an official of the Mills campaign, refused to testify under oath before the committee, invoking the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination. Mills declared that the draft report was "distorted" and leaked "to smear me." Humphrey said the report on his campaign was "filled with innuendoes and inaccuracies" and, pointed out that it had not yet been considered by the seven Senators who make up the committee. But they could scarcely dispute the staff's conclusion: "It is not the Republican Party which is in need of remedy but rather the process by which we nominate and elect our President."

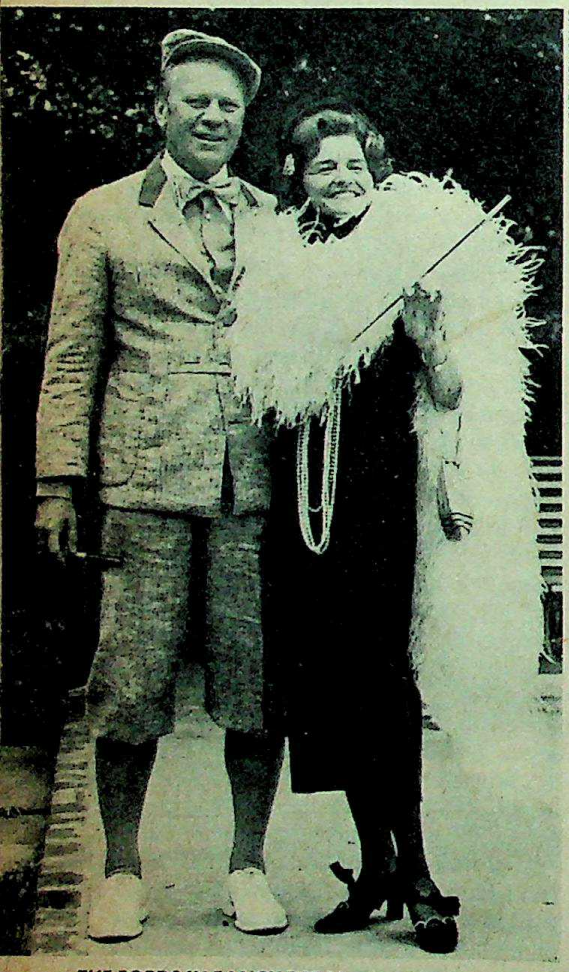
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MARION KAPLAN

BOBBY WITH PUFF ADDER



DAVID KENNERLY

THE FORDS IN FANCY DRESS



RON GALELLA

Me Tarzan, who you? For the next two or three weeks **Bobby Kennedy Jr.**, 20, will be swinging through the Kenya bush. As star and narrator of a forthcoming TV series, *The Last Frontier*, Bobby plays himself, an American city boy learning how to live in the wilds of Africa. His part demands several dangerous encounters, including a puff-adder handling exhibition. So far he has demonstrated his cool by dangling at the end of a rope over the face of a sheer, 250-ft. cliff to inspect a vulture's nest. Then, wearing a bracelet of elephant's hair to deter a tusker's charge, he stepped out to meet the warriors in a Masai village. Recognizing Bobby right away as a brother, the ocher-smeared men shared a gourd of ox blood and milk with him. But he may have to do something about his hair. "The Masai men have elaborate hair styles molded with mud and ocher," explained long-haired Bobby. "They kept fingering my hair to see if it was real."

■

If Lloyd's of London insures the U.S. vice presidency against sporting gaffes, the premium must have risen last week. Vice President **Jerry Ford** stepped up to the first tee at a celebrity golf tournament in suburban Minneapolis and sliced his ball 150 yds. into the rough. It hit a tree, then ricocheted off the left side of the head of Spectator Tom Gerard, 17. Pronounced fit, Gerard, a high school senior, became the fifth survivor of inadvertent vice-presidential assault in recent years. **Spiro Agnew** beaned three spectators on the links and stunned Golf Pro Doug Sanders in a benefit tourney. Ford had another narrow escape after he had dealt with Tom. On the 16th tee he zapped the golf cart carrying two reserve police officers. Later, Ford, dressed in knickers and cap, took his wife Betty, in black satin and feather boa, to a *Great Gatsby* party in Washington. There they captured the prize for best costume. Jerry's award was almost too apt: a graphite club.

■

Richard Burton, 48, is a lonely man. There are lawyers, advisers, gofers, groupies, of course, and until last week, there was **Liz**. Now Dick must struggle on alone—or almost. Looking grim but fit the day after Liz obtained a Swiss divorce, Burton sailed from Manhattan to Europe last week accompanied by **Ellen Rossen**, 27, daughter of late Film Director Robert Rossen. Ellen and Burton got to know each other during the making of Daddy's epic *Alexander the Great*, released in 1956. Other meetings followed. Apparently Teen-Ager Ellen was a welcome backstage visitor when Dick starred in *Camelot* on Broadway in the early '6[0]s. With Liz gone, Ellen has told friends Dick really needs someone to talk to. So a couple of days before he was due to sail, Ellen, who is a writer-producer for a syndicated television news service, stepped up to her boss's desk and confessed: "I've been up all night trying to arrive at this decision. I'm leaving for Europe." Dick did not deny she might be Mrs. B. No. 3. But, he said, "I have known her since she was five years old, so it would seem like incest."

■

The affair was proving to be more taxing than *Madame le Maire* had budgeted for. Still "it is rare that a mother gets the pleasure of marrying her own son," said Baronne **Alix de Rothschild** last week as, in her capacity as mayor of the little Norman village of Reux, she prepared to wed her son **David**, 31, to Italian Heiress **Olimpia Aldobrandini**, 18. After the public town-hall ceremony and a religious service, the megamillion merger was to be toasted by the pick of *tout Paris*, many of them brought to the baronne's château by special train. Solving such problems as whether to serve Pol Roger or Moët et Chandon (solution: serve both) and the arrangement of bushels of country flowers was at least as exhausting as Mayor de Rothschild's more commonplace concerns, such as the town's road repair. At the end of it all, she said distractedly, there may be *"plus de maire et plus de mère"*—no more mayor and no more mother left.

■

Say, who does **Princess Grace** think she is, anyway? Last week in St.-Tropez, **Sammy Davis Jr.** counted up the snubs he had received in her domain. When he graciously agreed to headline the opening gala of Monte Carlo's posh new Sporting Club, Sammy accepted $30,000 in expenses, plus a specially hired eight-berth yacht. Still, the way he saw it, "I was giving a free performance." Then there was the matter of his arrival. "There was no one to meet me at the airport," he groused, ignoring the Air France director, the pretty girl bearing flowers and the limos—all of which were on hand at the Nice international airport, even though Sammy and his party of 16 arrived the day after he was expected. No sooner in Monaco than he was miffed again. The Rainiers were entertaining the players in a pro celebrity tennis tournament and had failed to include him. Next day, several hours before he was due to sing, Sammy boarded the *Silver Gate* and sailed away. Comic **Bill Cosby** retrieved the evening with the help of **Burt Bacharach**, **Desi Arnaz Jr.** and **Josephine Baker**. Grace remained serene. "When people get that pampered," she sighed, "there's not much you can do."

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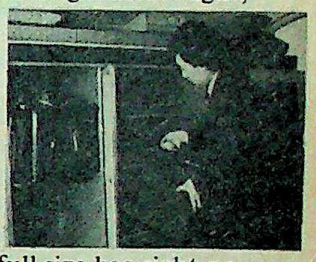
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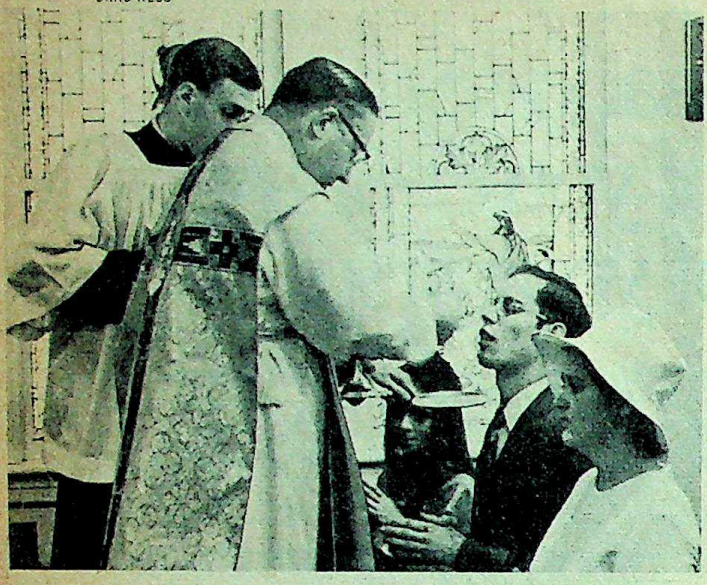
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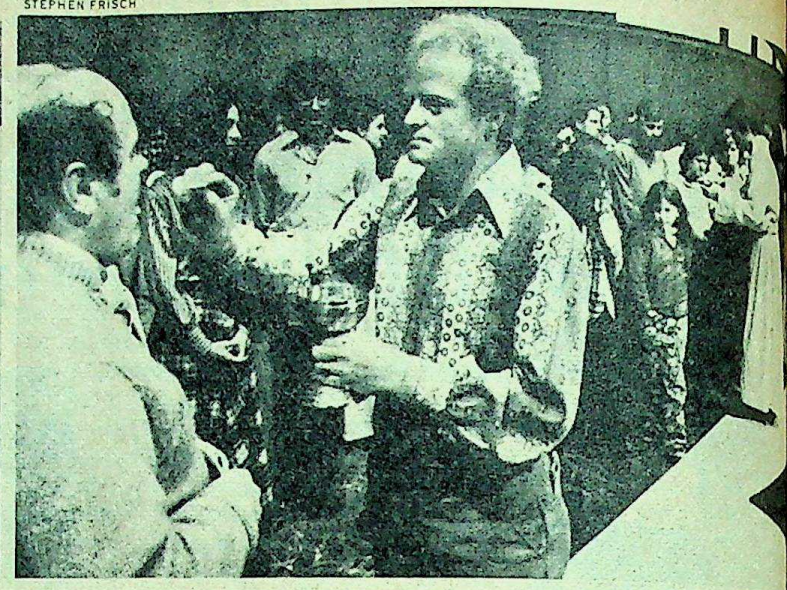
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BRAD HESS



COMMUNION AT TRADITIONAL MASS

STEPHEN FRISCH



LAYMAN GIVING COMMUNION AT MODERN MASS

The New Counter-Reformation

In the eight years since the end of the Second Vatican Council, the Roman Catholic left has commanded much of the public's attention. Escalating protest has often led to the slamming of doors —priests leaving their ministry, nuns leaving their orders, theologians like Britain's Charles Davis dropping out of the church entirely.

To a newly vocal conservative element in the U.S. Catholic Church, however, all too many liberals have not only remained in the church but moved quietly into control of the chanceries, the seminaries and parochial schools. Moreover, conservatives complain, some bishops are now wielding against the right the same hierarchical clout that they once used against the left.

A case in point: in a speech at Catholic University in Washington, D.C., last March, Bishop James Rausch, general secretary of the U.S. Catholic Conference, intervened in a feud between some liberal Catholic biblical scholars and several right-wing Catholic columnists who had charged the scholars with heresy. Taking the liberals' side, Rausch accused the journalists of scholarly incompetence; he deplored them as "third parties" who were trying to usurp the bishops' power to decide what is "orthodox" in Catholic theology. Freedom of the press, he said, "should not protect them from public criticism and public rebuke."

The scholarly squabble demonstrates a shift in priorities on the part of the Catholic right. In the 1960s it was largely concerned with political issues like attacking Communism and defending the Viet Nam War. Today, conservatives are more worried about church doctrine, liturgy and education. The biblical imbroglio, for instance, focuses on such questions as the literal reality of the Virgin birth, the nature of original sin, the historical accuracy of the Resurrection accounts and even, conservatives claim, the deity of Jesus Christ.

Many conservatives—or traditionalists, as some prefer to be called—are also alarmed at what they see as the casual abandonment of a culture that once seemed both rich and reassuring. They miss not only the Latin Mass and many familiar old hymns but many other pious practices that have been widely discarded since Vatican II: novenas, benediction, meatless Fridays, priests wearing cassocks and birettas, nuns wearing wimples. The old rituals and disciplines were visible symbols that Catholics were different from (and perhaps better than) other people. Many who resent the passing of traditional Catholic ways seem to feel that a comfortable certainty has vanished with the piety.

Domino Theory. A Minneapolis housewife, Delores Wegner, 37, recently voiced just such a note of loss in a distressed letter to her diocesan newspaper, the *Catholic Bulletin*. "What was the first snowflake of compromise," she asked, that led to the "present avalanche of spiritual and religious concessions? Was it the first time we said 'Holy Spirit' instead of 'Holy Ghost'? The first hamburger we ate on Friday? The first time we stood to receive Holy Communion?" Believing in an ecclesiastical domino theory, Mrs. Wegner and many like her find the beginnings of Catholic troubles in even the minor changes wrought by Vatican II. Now, faced with a world of rapid and bewildering change, shifting values and lost standards, they complain that neither their church nor their schools still teach sound old traditions.

Like the liberals in the church, those on the right form no single group but a broad spectrum: they stretch all the way from small bands of angry dissidents who are in open defiance of the Pope's reforms to even-voiced, literate and intellectually respectable loyalists. There is considerable disagreement among them. But they share to varying degrees the conviction that the Roman Catholic Church in the wake of Vatican II is tolerating far too much diversity in doctrine and practice, and many of them are trying to mount something of a counter-reformation.

Dozens of groups have sprung up in the U.S. and Europe to fight for orthodoxy or traditional ritual. The largest and most vigorous of these in the U.S. is Catholics United for the Faith (C.U.F.), an organization with 135 chapters and nearly 12,500 members across the country. Founded in 1968 by genteel Wall Street Broker H. Lyman Stebbins and four other concerned Catholics, C.U.F.'s main complaint is that religious indoctrination of Catholic youngsters has virtually been taken over by liberal priests, nuns and publishers. As a result, they contend, traditional doctrine of faith and morals are hardly taught in many schools (they have even cited some texts that do not include the Ten Commandments). C.U.F. has ties with the increasingly vocal conservative movement in Europe. Along with similar organizations in seven other nations, it is a member of a loose confederation called *Pro Fide et Ecclesia*.

Both in Europe and the U.S., a few recalcitrant priests and congregations are stubbornly holding on to the Tridentine Latin Mass, which was replaced by a new rite in the wake of Vatican II. Best known in the U.S. is Father C.

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mar De Pauw, who draws worshipers from as far as 100 miles away for his Tridentine Masses each Sunday in Westbury, L.I. De Pauw's Masses are also broadcast on 20 radio stations coast-to-coast. Another small coterie of believers, who want to make the U.S. a "Christian Commonwealth" (*i.e.*, a Catholic one), clusters around L. Brent Bozell, brother-in-law of Newspaper Columnist William F. Buckley. In his magazine *Triumph* (circ. 5,000) Bozell has been fighting the traditionalist battle since 1966 but has proved too extreme and eccentric to gain many followers.

Triumph is only one of the Catholic magazines arguing for a return to tradition. The national Catholic press as a whole has become noticeably more conservative in the past few years. The most prominent of the right-wing editors:

▸ Alphonse J. ("Al") Matt Jr., 42, is the personable, chain-smoking editor of the *Wanderer* (circ. 48,000), a journal that started as a German-language parish bulletin a century ago and has in recent decades become the pugnacious defender of orthodoxy. Matt admits that his paper is "roughhewn" and quips that intellectuals order it in a "plain brown envelope." In a series of articles criticizing reforms in the Archdiocese of Detroit, a *Wanderer* writer hit its progressive archbishop, John Cardinal Dearden, particularly hard, even suggested that he might be "a major heretic, one of the worst the Catholic Church has ever suffered from." Another piece compared today's liberal religion teachers to "chimpanzees," charging that they "cannot be relied on to respect any tradition, to understand any dogma."

Matt defends the *Wanderer* by complaining that "the teaching function of many bishops is not being exercised. As long as there continues to be silence on the issues, an informed layman—or journalist—can make his own judgments. After the tremendous leakage in active church membership, those who are left are more and more realizing that the faith is up for grabs and they have to defend it."

▸ Dale Francis, 57, is a soft-spoken, teetotaling journalist who has not taken a week's vacation in the four years since he took over the *National Catholic Register* (circ. 90,000). Francis was chosen for the job by Schick Millionaire Patrick Frawley Jr., who bought the then-progressive paper at the urging of conservative Jesuit Gadfly Daniel Lyons to give it a more traditional tone. A one-time Methodist lay preacher who became a Catholic in 1945, Francis has socially liberal credentials as a longtime union supporter and early civil rights advocate.

He insists that the *Register* "does not take a stand to the right of the church. It is to the right of some who differ from what the Pope says." Nevertheless, his principal columnists are bitter polemicists, some of whom delight in discovering evidence of ancient heresies among contemporary Catholic liberals.

▸ Father Kenneth Baker, 44, is an energetically conservative Jesuit educator who has edited the monthly *Homiletic and Pastoral Review* (circ. 17,000) since 1971. Like Francis, Baker won his editorial slot through the good offices of fellow Jesuit Dan Lyons, who found backers to buy the ailing magazine. Baker has kept the *Homiletic* open to a broader range of viewpoints than the *Register*. But Baker too believes that the bishops have largely abandoned their *magisterium*—their teaching office.

"They are tolerating all opinions," he complains. "We have a vacuum. It used to be that books had to have an imprimatur, but now a Catholic has no way of knowing what relation a new book might have to Catholic teaching. The theologians and the journalists are running the church." To bring a more conservative circle of journalists and theologians to the fore, Baker recently helped found a scholarly new quarterly, *Communio*.

▸ James Hitchcock, 36, Renaissance-history professor at St. Louis University, is *Communio's* editor. A political liberal (he backed George McGovern) and disillusioned church reformer, Hitchcock has become perhaps the most effective spokesman for the conservatives. He is respected enough on the Catholic left to be welcome in such remaining progressive journals as the Jesuit weekly *America*, the *Critic* and the *National Catholic Reporter*. But his attacks on liberals can be acerbic. In his 1971 book, *The Decline and Fall of Radical Catholicism*, Hitchcock lists no fewer than 26 "heretical notions" of Catholic radicals, including several that strongly reflect the cultural evolutionary thought of Jesuit Philosopher Teilhard de Chardin.

Communio's first issue last April —crisply written and including articles by progressives—suggests that it will be the conservative journal most worth reading. But Hitchcock warns that the magazine will not be looking for novelty. "Vatican II was not a charter for endless change," he says. Some questions are "closed." Among them: whether homosexual acts can be morally permissible (no); whether divorced Catholics can be permitted to remarry (no); whether the Christology of the ancient church councils of Nicaea and Chalcedon can be modified (no).

Potential Split. *Communio* is loosely allied with journals in Germany, Italy and Yugoslavia, two of which bear the same name. Like them, it bears the theological imprint of a reclusive Swiss theologian, Father Hans Urs von Balthasar, who is the intellectual leader of the more moderate elements in the European wing of the counter-reformation.

Hitchcock candidly concedes that the conservatives' fight is uphill. "The liberal catechetical establishment is so entrenched that it will take ten years for any theological recovery to take hold," he says. As for liturgy, "In some dioceses you can do almost anything you want to." Yet Hitchcock, at least, does not want to return the church to its monolithic, pre-Vatican II days—even if it could be done. "There is a substantial element in the church that has accepted the changes but is dismayed by the never-ending process of eroding the traditions," he says. It is this erosion that Hitchcock is trying to halt. If it is not stopped, he warns, "Roman Catholicism has the potential to be just another Protestant denomination," splitting into "fundamentalism or vague liberalism." The conservatives' struggle may be long but, he believes, "the trend is not irreversible."

ADVERTISEMENT FOR FATHER GOMMAR DE PAUW'S LATIN MASS ON LONG ISLAND



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Tied Down

A FREE WOMAN
Directed by VOLKER SCHLONDORFF
Screenplay by VOLKER SCHLONDORFF
and MARGARETHE VON TROTTA

In the best and the truest sense, this is a woman's picture. Angry and rueful, it is an attempt to get at some of the political, legal and social complications that tie women down, humble them and sometimes defeat them. Heavily naturalistic in mode, the film makes good and pertinent drama out of emotional suffocation.

Elisabeth is quite an ordinary young woman: pretty, smart and young enough



VON TROTTA & PTOK IN *WOMAN*
Just above serfdom.

to feel stirrings of ambition. As the movie begins, she has just been divorced from her husband (Friedhelm Ptok), a stalwartly selfish book editor. Her departure was caused partly by her own restlessness and partly by her husband's view of woman's estate as somewhere just above serfdom. He retains custody of their young son. For Elisabeth to have any chance to win her child back, she must prove to the German court that she leads "a moral life."

At first, Elisabeth is elated by the possibilities of independence. But if marriage to her husband was crippling, she is helpless outside it. She moves in with a pregnant friend, lives modestly, looks for work, has an intermittent affair with an engineer (Martin Luttge). She gets a series of routine jobs (sales assistant, secretary, typist, guide) and tries to give modest shape to childhood dreams of becoming a musical-comedy actress by taking singing and dancing lessons.

A promising position in an art gallery turns into a prolonged pass from her porcine boss, who chats her up by quoting Reich on the sexual revolution. Her husband announces plans for remarriage, Elisabeth suspects, just to bolster his claim to custody of their son. Under the accumulated weight of legal problems and the meager life she has managed to make for herself, she finally gives in and falls into the arms of the engineer. He is a decent sort who suggests they marry. The security of marriage, he points out, will make everything easier for her again. She may even get her son back.

A Free Woman makes its point with bitter force: only a return to the lulling assurances of traditional female roles will allow a woman to function at all. "Every woman is replaceable!" shouts Elisabeth's husband, and the movie is careful to show how and why this has come to be so. On occasion it is too eager about its cataloguing of injustices and outrages. A brief moment when Elisabeth rejects a job as an apprentice programmer by saying "Feeding computers? I've done enough feeding in my life," is stronger, for example, than a long scene in a museum where an art historian lectures on sexism in painting through the ages.

The movie is a collaboration between the director and his wife Margarethe von Trotta, who worked on the screenplay and who appears as Elisabeth, a performance of wonderfully explicit compassion. Trotta is able to seize on a well-observed moment, embellish it and build on it without ever becoming extravagant or false. Her uncommon artistry gives *A Free Woman* a strong and generative center. ■ Jay Cocks

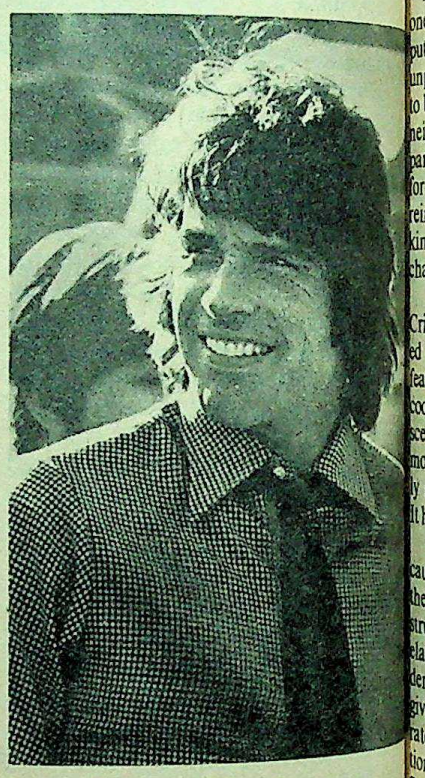
Paranoid Thriller

THE PARALLAX VIEW
Directed by ALAN J. PAKULA
Screenplay by DAVID GILER
and LORENZO SEMPLE JR.

The paranoid thriller is an expanding genre in movies and popular fiction.* The idea is to start from a thinly fictionalized version of a political tragedy like one of the Kennedy assassinations and build on it a thickly embroidered explanation that caters to the suspicion that such murders are plotted by a malevolent Establishment. It is apparently comforting for many people to believe that the course of the world is changed more by rational planning, however evil, than it is by irrational individual actions.

Nor is it very intelligent either, considering the amount of inept planning in contemporary society. We would probably be better off rethinking—better yet, not thinking about—the whole dismal business, if only to put an end to ugly and dramatically unsatisfying products like *The Parallax View*.

The primary victim here is a young Senator, cut whole from the Kennedy cloth, whose brief appearance before he is done in hardly makes him seem a threat to any imaginable aspect of the status quo. Still, witnesses to the crime start dying at a rate far exceeding statistical probability, thus arousing the suspicions of a newsman of counterculturish leanings. Played with a certain cheeky energy by Warren Beatty, the re-



BEATTY IN *PARALLAX*
Time to rethink.

porter soon becomes a target himself, then goes underground the better to penetrate an industrial security organization that apparently supplied the hit men in this series of crimes.

As he proved in *Klute*, Pakula has a restless eye for the banalities of daily life that gives the picture a richer texture than is usual in this genre. Early on, the film offers some promise. There is a bar-room brawl and a short car chase that is more smartly handled than the maneuvers usually are. But there is no way to build an overparanoid thriller and to provide a satisfactory ending. If the hero can break the conspiracy unaided, it cannot be much of a conspiracy. If, on the other hand, the conspiracy is powerful, then the audience is robbed of the basic pleasure of identifying with the protagonist's triumph over the odds. Pakula opts for the latter resolution in *Parallax* and it is a downer. Though a well-

*Recent films include *Executive Action* and *The Conversation* and novels like Richard Condon's *Winter Kills* and Frederick Forsyth's *The Dogs of War*.

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of paranoid fantasizing can energize an entertainment, too much of it is just plain crazy—neither truthful nor useful. And certainly nothing for responsible men to try to make a buck with in the movies.

■ Richard Schickel

Running Amuck

THE TERMINAL MAN
Directed and Written by MIKE HODGES

From *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* through *A Clockwork Orange,* research scientists have been gumming things up, thereby giving the screaming fits to threatened humanists who run out to sound the alarm. In *The Terminal Man,* the machines, true to form, run amuck, but it is only a two-alarm panic. The twist—it can hardly be called a novelty—is that this time the machine is a man, one Harry Benson, who has had a computer implanted in his brain. Subject to unpredictable fits of rage, Benson used to beat his wife and take potshots at the neighbors. He has been diagnosed as a paranoid psychotic and has volunteered for the implantation. Still the operation reinforces his deepest fear: that mankind, at the hand of science, is being changed into a race of machines.

The movie—drawn from Michael Crichton's novel—is the work of the gifted Mike Hodges, whose two previous features *(Get Carter, Pulp)* displayed a cool virtuosity. There are pyrotechnic scenes—the operation itself being the most dazzling. But the film does not really succeed beyond its embellishments. It has all the depth of a petri dish.

Hodges apparently realized this, because he takes great pains to bury the thematic superficiality beneath a superstructure of desperate metaphor and elaborate production. The movie is rendered largely in frosty, antiseptic hues, giving every scene the air of the laboratory. The hospital where the operation is performed on Benson (George Segal) is called Babel. The doctors (Joan Hackett, Richard A. Dysart, Donald Moffat, Michael C. Gwynne) dress in white uniforms that make them look almost military, like shock troops of the future. After Benson has had the operation, which misfires, he runs all over Los Angeles killing at random, until he is violently dispatched by a couple of police sharpshooters.

It is all *Frankenstein* revamped, of course, but the signals seem to have gone wrong somewhere. Clearly, Hodges intended a caution against science that can mistake mind warping for mind mending. Despite all the patent disapproval, though, the operation still seems feasible, the only alternative to Benson's previous condition. The unresolved conflict sends the film a rather archaic tone, like those old horror movies that ended in the smoldering ashes of some laboratory, where a dim but wise policeman would shake his head and say, "Man wasn't ready for such knowledge."

■ J.C.

MILESTONES

Died. Darius Milhaud, 81, French composer of some 450 symphonies, operas, quartets, concertos and other works; of an apparent heart attack; in Geneva. Just after World War I, Milhaud became a member of *Les Six,* an informal group of irreverent young composers. His racy treatment of Brazilian popular songs, *Le Boeuf sur le Toit,* caused an uproar at its Paris première. *La Création du Monde,* the 1923 ballet that is perhaps his masterpiece, was the first major classical composition effectively to incorporate elements of jazz. Of Provençal Jewish lineage, Milhaud fled the Nazis in 1940. Throughout World War II he taught at Mills College in Oakland, Calif., then shuttled between Paris and Mills until 1971. All the while he indulged his vast range of musical interests, dashing off finished pieces in one pen-and-ink draft without a piano.

■

Died. Vannevar Bush, 84, eminent scientist, administrator and humanist; of pneumonia; in Belmont, Mass. In 1922, while a Massachusetts Institute of Technology electrical-engineering professor, Bush with two friends founded the American Appliance Co., now the mammoth Raytheon Co. On campus, he later developed the differential analyzer, an ancestor of the modern computer, then resigned as engineering dean in 1938 to head Washington, D.C.'s Carnegie Institution, a leading research organization. During the war Bush oversaw work on the atomic bomb, radar and other military devices as director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development. In 1955 the reedy Yankee resigned the Carnegie post, later became M.I.T.'s honorary chairman, and filled his days hatching inventions and writing about science and society.

■

Died. Ernest Henry Gruening, 87, former U.S. Senator from Alaska; of cancer; in Washington, D.C. Son of a New York physician, Gruening graduated from Harvard Medical School in 1912, then abandoned medicine for journalism. He resigned as managing editor of the Boston *Traveler* when its publisher retracted an exposé of mayoral malfeasance; then he successively edited the Boston *Journal,* New York *Tribune* and the *Nation,* and became a diehard New Dealer. Named Governor of Alaska by President Roosevelt in 1939, Gruening forced absentee salmon and gold interests to pay their fair share of territorial taxes. After agitating successfully for Alaska's statehood, he went to the Senate in 1959 where, five years later, only he and Wayne Morse voted against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution authorizing U.S. action in the Viet Nam War. Unseated in 1968 by Mike Gravel, Gruening at 81 retired to the *Nation* and continued stumping for liberal causes.

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MARKET WEEK

On a volume of 57,959,830 shares, the New York Stock Exchange Composite closed at 44.90, down .97 for the week ending June 28. The Dow Jones 30 stock industrial average was 802.41, down 12.98; Standard & Poor's 500 stock index was 86.00, down 1.46. Among significant N.Y.S.E. stocks:

Stock	High	Low	Close	Net Change
Allied Chem..	38¾..	37 ..	37¼..	—1¼
Alum Co Am..	42¾..	41⅛..	42¼..	+1
Amer Airlines.	9⅜..	8¼..	8¼..	— ⅝
Am Brands...	36 ..	35⅛..	35⅛..	—1¼
Am Can.....	28¼..	26¾..	27 ..	—1¼
Am Motors...	6¼..	5⅝..	5¾..	— ⅜
AT&T.....	47¼..	46⅛..	46⅝..	+ ⅝
Anac Cop....	21⅞..	21⅛..	21½..	+ ⅛
Avon Prod....	50¾..	46⅞..	47½..	— ½
Beth Steel....	30¾..	29¼..	30 ..	+ ¾
Boeing.....	18¼..	17⅜..	17⅝..	— ⅛
Burling Ind...	20⅞..	19⅞..	20 ..	— ¼
Burroughs....	106⅜..	97⅝..	99⅝..	—3⅛
Cater Trac...	61 ..	57½..	58¾..	—3⅛
Champ Intl...	16¼..	15¼..	15⅝..	+ ¼
Chrysler.....	16½..	15½..	15½..	— ⅜
Clark Equip...	32¼..	30 ..	30½..	—2⅛
Control Data..	27¼..	23¾..	24 ..	—2
Corn Gl Wks.	80½..	77½..	78⅝..	+ ½
Dow Chem...	69¼..	65¼..	65⅜..	—1½
DuPont.....	168¾..	160½..	161¾..	—5¼
Eastern Air...	6½..	5⅞..	6 ..	— ⅜
East Kodak...	109¾..	102¼..	103⅞..	—3⅞
El Paso N G..	12¼..	11¾..	11¾..	None
Exxon.....	71⅞..	70⅛..	70⅛..	— ⅝
Ford Motor...	52¾..	49 ..	49 ..	—3⅛
Gen Dynam..	24⅛..	23⅝..	23⅞..	— ¼
Gen Elec.....	49⅞..	47⅝..	49¼..	+1⅝
Gen Foods...	24⅜..	23⅛..	23⅛..	— ⅞
Gen Motors..	50½..	48⅝..	48⅝..	— ½
Gen Tel & El..	22¾..	21¾..	22 ..	None
Ga Pac.....	39⅜..	36⅛..	36¼..	—2¼
Goodyear...	17 ..	15¾..	16½..	+ ⅜
Great A & P..	12½..	11½..	12 ..	+ ¾
Greyhound...	14⅜..	13⅝..	13⅞..	None
Gulf Oil.....	20 ..	19½..	19⅞..	None
IBM.....	221½..	210 ..	212¾..	— ¼
Int Harv.....	25¼..	22¾..	23 ..	—1¾
Int Nickel....	28⅜..	27⅜..	27¾..	— ⅜
Int Paper....	48½..	47½..	47⅝..	None
Int Tel & Tel..	20⅛..	19⅛..	19½..	— ⅛
Johns Man....	17¾..	16⅝..	17½..	— ¼
Kraftco.....	41½..	39½..	41 ..	+1½
Kresge SS....	37¾..	33½..	34 ..	—2¼
Litton Ind.....	8⅛..	7⅝..	7⅝..	— ¾
Lockheed....	4⅝..	4 ..	4 ..	— ½
LTV Corp....	10 ..	8⅞..	9 ..	—1
McD Doug....	15½..	13⅜..	14⅛..	+ ¾
Merck Co....	83¼..	78¼..	78½..	—3½
3M.....	75⅝..	73 ..	73½..	— ⅛
Mobil Oil....	41⅞..	40 ..	40⅛..	— ¼
NCR.....	33½..	31½..	32 ..	— ½
Occid Pet....	10 ..	9½..	9⅞..	+ ¼
Owens Ill.....	40½..	38½..	38¾..	—1¼
Pac Gas & El.	20⅞..	20 ..	20⅝..	+ ½
Pan Am.....	3¾..	3½..	3⅝..	— ⅛
Penn Cen....	2⅛..	2 ..	2 ..	None
Penney J.C....	75¾..	72½..	72½..	—3
Philip Morris..	57¼..	54⅜..	54½..	—1¼
Polaroid.....	40⅜..	33⅜..	34⅜..	—4
Proc Gam....	105⅜..	99¼..	99¾..	—1¾
RCA.....	15⅞..	15 ..	15½..	+ ⅛
Reyn Ind.....	44¾..	41¾..	42½..	—1
Rockwell Int...	27⅛..	26 ..	26 ..	— ⅝
Sears Roe....	85⅞..	82¾..	82⅞..	—1½
Shell Oil.....	46⅞..	43¾..	45 ..	—1
Sou Cal Ed....	18 ..	17⅛..	17⅛..	None
Std Oil Cal...	27½..	26½..	26¾..	+ ¼
Tenneco.....	20⅝..	19⅝..	19⅞..	— ½
Texaco Inc...	25⅝..	25 ..	25⅛..	— ⅛
Textron.....	17½..	16⅞..	17½..	+ ½
Time Inc.....	39¼..	37¾..	37¾..	— ¾
TWA.....	9⅜..	8⅛..	8⅛..	—1⅛
UAL Inc.....	26⅛..	22⅞..	23¼..	—2¼
Union Car....	42¾..	39¾..	40⅛..	None
Utd Aircraft..	27⅝..	26 ..	26¼..	— ⅞
US Steel.....	45 ..	42¾..	44⅛..	+1¼
Westinghouse.	15⅝..	11¾..	13⅜..	—1⅞
Woolworth...	15½..	13⅞..	14 ..	—1⅛
Xerox.....	121⅛..	114⅜..	115⅛..	—1½

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COVERING WATERGATE: SUCCESS AND BACKLASH

Alert, courageous newsmen standing as sentries against the abuse of power—that is the dominant image most journalists have of their Watergate performance. On campuses, any newsman remotely part of the action is assured of a hero's welcome. Applications to journalism schools are at an alltime high, and many of the youngsters say that they want to be investigative reporters. Coverage of Watergate and related scandals has won four Pulitzer Prizes and a number of lesser awards. *All the President's Men*, the how-we-did-it book by Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward of the Washington *Post*, became a bestseller after three weeks in print, and glamorous Robert Redford, who bought the movie rights, will portray Woodward on the screen.

A lot of people would prefer, if he were alive, to cast Boris Karloff in the role instead. At the very moment of its triumph, the press has become a villain to many, for Watergate has also focused attention on journalism's weaknesses. Despite the accomplishments of the past two years, newsmen have ample reason to feel besieged, and many are torn between self-congratulation and self-doubt.

Legal attacks on rights previously taken for granted continue. The Supreme Court last week turned back one of the most serious of these—a suit to compel Florida newspapers to give equal space to political candidates who have been criticized in print. By a vote of 9 to 0, the court ruled the Florida statute unconstitutional because of "its intrusion into the function of editors." Decisions as to what is or is not published, the court said, cannot be dictated by Government. But other legal problems persist. This spring a committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors warned that press successes in Watergate would not diminish challenges by legislatures, law-enforcement officials and grand juries. Many journalists fear that Watergate has created a backlash against a press perceived as having grown too powerful.

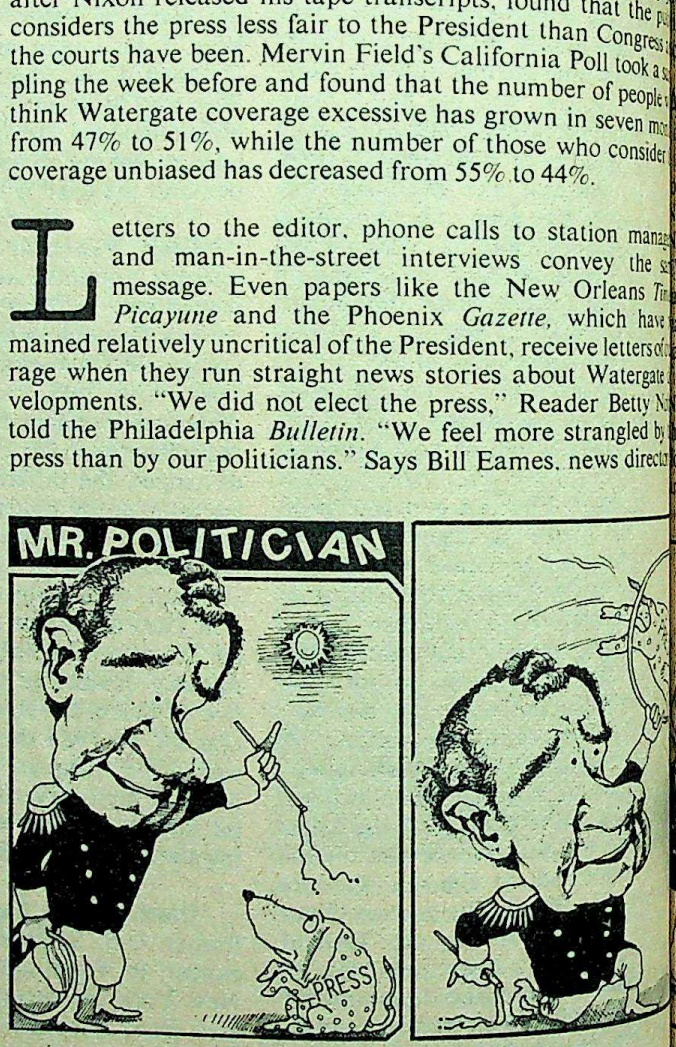
Virtually every turn in Watergate and the related cases produces new controversy about journalism's role. Henry Kissinger's connection with wiretapping in 1969-71 is a minor aspect of the overall scandal, and the press did little to explore it until last month, when congressional leaks prompted several stories (TIME, June 24). But the Secretary's dramatic threat to resign put reporters on the defensive. Many congressional leaders hurtled to Kissinger's side. Barry Goldwater charged the press with "incessant nitpicking" and accused the Washington *Post* of "treason" for publishing a confidential FBI document.

Among columnists, Old-Line Liberal Marquis Childs joined Conservatives James Kilpatrick and Joseph Alsop in the antipress chorus on the Kissinger incident. Alsop gloomed that the treatment of Kissinger—a product of the "enormous, Watergate-induced self-importance of the American press"—might further decrease the value of the dollar and put U.S. foreign policy "on the dung heap of disorder." Well, hardly. But the press—especially Washington newsmen—had indeed given the unfortunate impression of ganging up on the only hero in town.

Is the press biased? Inaccurate? Power-hungry? Poll after poll has shown the credibility problem of newspapers, magazines and broadcast journalism.

In a Gallup survey last January, 67% of those interviewed said they "definitely agree" or "partly agree" that "newspapers are not careful about getting their facts straight." While half of those questioned said newspapers do a good job in presen both sides of controversial questions, 48% rated dailies as "p or "only fair." A TIME/Yankelovich survey taken in May after Nixon released his tape transcripts, found that the p considers the press less fair to the President than Congress the courts have been. Mervin Field's California Poll took a s pling the week before and found that the number of people think Watergate coverage excessive has grown in seven mo from 47% to 51%, while the number of those who consider coverage unbiased has decreased from 55% to 44%.

Letters to the editor, phone calls to station manag and man-in-the-street interviews convey the s message. Even papers like the New Orleans *Ti Picayune* and the Phoenix *Gazette*, which have mained relatively uncritical of the President, receive letters of rage when they run straight news stories about Watergate velopments. "We did not elect the press," Reader Betty N told the Philadelphia *Bulletin*. "We feel more strangled by press than by our politicians." Says Bill Eames, news direct



KNXT-TV in Los Angeles: "Basically, what we hear back f viewers is 'So enough already!' " Station executives all over country report similar sentiment.

In Tulsa, KTEW-TV news was a steady third in the local ings until Anchorman Jack Morris began doing brief comm taries in which he attacked the national press for its Watera coverage. KTEW news is now first in Tulsa. A recent joke t a reporter observing Richard Nixon walking on water. The posed headline in the next edition of the Washington *Post*: NIX CAN'T SWIM.

Editors and publishers are not laughing. Some news e utives indeed agree that biased liberals bent on vengeance using Watergate to bring down an old foe. That is the view, for stance, of Eugene C. Pulliam (Arizona *Republic*, Phoenix *G zette*, Indianapolis *Star*), Franklin B. Smith (Burlington, Vt., *Press*) and William Loeb (Manchester, N.H., *Union Leader*).

While moderate or liberal editors and publishers hardly in that judgment, many of them wonder whether the press gone too far and assumed a role greater than the public is

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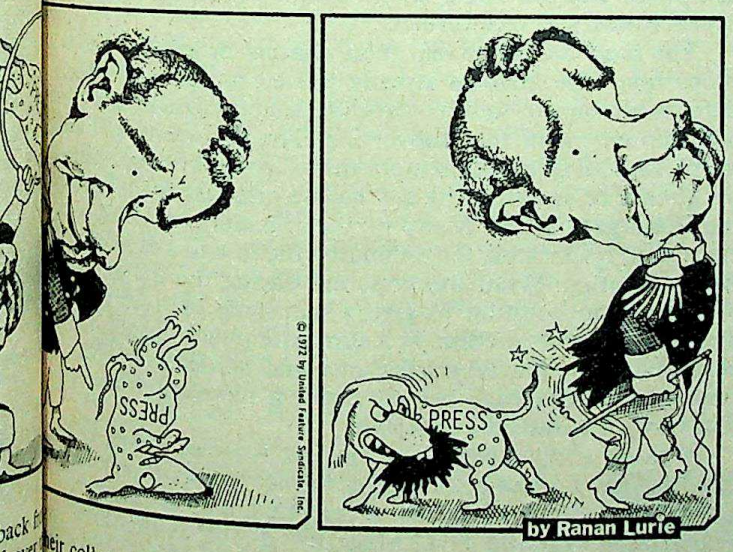
g to tolerate. Says Publisher Marshall Field (Chicago *Daily ews, Sun-Times*): "People feel that we've taken a license that es beyond basic reporting. Belief [in the press] is as low as it er has been." Editor Reg Murphy of the Atlanta *Constitution* rveyed the mood at the recent A.S.N.E. meeting in Atlanta d found it "extraordinarily gloomy." Murphy hardly cheered s fellow editors when he observed, "I'm not sure the First mendment would pass if you had a referendum on it today."

There is no more pugnacious Watergate warrior than *Post* ecutive Editor Ben Bradlee, who insists that Nixon has only mself to blame for his troubles. Yet Bradlee owns that the ess is emerging from the scandal with a "black eye." The vol- me and complexity of the material, he says, have "made public gestion impossible." He also feels that newsmen generally have ne a poor job explaining their mission and methods.

nger before the Scandal

The press is far more diverse, even fractious, than it appears its audience in any one place. There is much talk about a ew York-Washington "liberal axis," denoting primarily the ew York *Times* and Washington *Post*, often including the three V networks, with TIME and *Newsweek* thrown in for good mea- re. These voices do agree on some subjects. All of them, for in- ance, have been sympathetic to the civil rights movement. All ve been more or less critical of Nixon concerning Watergate.

Yet the axis is hardly unanimous. During much of the Viet am War, there were significant editorial differences. In 1972 e *Times* supported George McGovern while Time Inc. en- rsed Nixon. Among *Times* columnists last year, Tom Wicker nd Anthony Lewis were more critical of Spiro Agnew than



eir colleague James Reston was. Further, the liberals—how- er that term is defined—hardly have a news monopoly, even New York and Washington. *U.S. News & World Report* gen- lly takes a conservative line, and the Washington *Star-News* to the *Post's* right. New York is the editorial home of the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Daily News;* the two are conser- tive, though very different from each other, as well as from e *Times*.

In colonial times (when American papers were instrumental fighting British rule) and the early decades of the Republic, e press was highly partisan and rambunctious, often challeng- g authority or otherwise disturbing the peace. But because the unding fathers saw this role of the press as being essential to de- ocracy, even as they were slightly uncomfortable with it, the rst Amendment put a constitutional shield on press freedom, lping U.S. journalism to become the most independent and gorous in the world. In the process, the business of inform- g its audience became far more important than polemics, of "objective" reporting, as distinct from editorial opinion.

Not that newsmen ever forgot their power to campaign for causes. That power has not always been used wisely or in the public interest. Nor has it been used consistently. Investigative journalism, for instance, has run in cycles, flourishing most conspicuously in the first decade of this century, when muckrakers like Lincoln Steffens, Jacob Riis and Ida Tarbell raged against civic corruption, social injustice and industrial abuses. There was some revival in the 1920s, during Teapot Dome and Prohibition, and again, with different stresses, during the Depression. World War II and the cold war created a sense of common goals in the nation, and had some pacifying effect on relations between the press and the Federal Government.

That began to change with Viet Nam, which produced a generation of new skeptics among newsmen. In Asia, young correspondents like David Halberstam of the *Times*, Malcolm Browne of Associated Press and Neil Sheehan of United Press International challenged the efficacy of U.S. policy with mounting impact. CBS showed Marines firing peasant huts with their Zippo lighters. Seymour Hersh, then a freelance, made Americans share the burden of My Lai. Contention over the war dragged on for a decade. The press appeared increasingly to be part of the opposition to two Administrations, a role that was emphasized dramatically when newspapers began publishing the classified Pentagon papers.

At home, even before Viet Nam many newsmen were already emotionally committed to the civil rights movement. George Wallace foreshadowed one of the Spiro Agnew themes as he attacked the Northern liberal press for meddling in the South. As racial tension spread, whites in other regions who felt threatened by minority-group pressure also came to resent the press's role.

By the late '60s, the press was reporting on radical activists who attacked, in one way or another, just about every traditional American value. To many Americans it appeared that the press was simply giving a platform to revolutionaries and crazies. Some radical protests seemed staged to exploit TV network coverage—and the networks went along.

There were conflicting pressures. Restless activists, reviving the charges of the old George Seldes–A.J. Liebling school, insisted that the press was far too cozy with the nation's political, industrial and cultural leadership—even as major news organizations were accused of being too sympathetic to radicals.

Some journalists may have overplayed the turmoil of those years, but the press could hardly have avoided reporting the disquieting events of the '60s and early '70s, which represented the deepest divisions in U.S. society since the Depression and perhaps the Civil War. Increasingly, audiences have confused the reportage and analysis provided by newsmen with the events themselves, mistaking the messenger for the message. *Post* Publisher Katharine Graham quotes Shakespeare: "Yet the first bringer of unwelcome news hath but a losing office, and his tongue sounds ever after as a sullen bell."

Thus the atmosphere was already charged—and the Nixon Administration had for years been using the press as a scapegoat —when reporters began investigating the five bunglers who burglarized the Democratic National Committee headquarters on June 17, 1972. That crime detonated the nation's greatest scandal and journalism's longest-running political story. Yet the tocsin sounded initially by the overwhelming majority of news organizations was neither sullen nor loud.

Even the *Post*, which performed outstandingly throughout, logically viewed the break-in as a local event. The paper assigned two unknowns who were not veteran sleuths or national political reporters and kept them on the story even as it grew. Bernstein, then 28, had been covering Virginia politics. Woodward, 29, an enrolled Republican who had been with the paper only nine months, was reporting on unsanitary restaurants and petty police graft. More experienced investigators like Sandy Smith of TIME, Jack Nelson of the Los Angeles *Times*, Seymour

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"We want the soap operas back on."

Hersh of the New York *Times,* and James Polk of the Washington *Star-News* were later to enter the arena.

Most of the crucial information was assembled by the FBI, the Justice Department, the Government Accounting Office and later, the Senate Watergate committee and the House Judiciary Committee. The reporters probed vigorously in these and other agencies. They analyzed, double-checked and followed up isolated leaks, leads and tips—which is the usual method for investigative reporting. They developed a few prime informants among disaffected Republican campaign staffers. They pursued the disclosures made as a result of Judge John Sirica's pressure on the burglars. By these means the reporters began to reconstruct, artifact by artifact, bone by bone, the mysterious subculture known as Watergate.

The Early Revelations

It was never easy. The White House and the Committee for the Re-Election of the President produced tough, sweeping statements minimizing the scandal in general and denying individual exposé stories specifically. Three days after the break-in, Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler refused to comment "on a third-rate burglary attempt." Nixon himself assured the public "categorically" that "no one in the White House staff, no one in this Administration, presently employed, was involved in this very bizarre incident." Subsequently Ziegler and C.R.P. spokesmen attacked the *Post* for "character assassination" and "shabby journalism." When the *Post* told of the wholesale destruction of C.R.P. records—the purpose was to expunge incriminating material—a C.R.P. spokesman said: "The sources of the *Post* are a fountain of misinformation." The initial stories concerning Donald Segretti's dirty-tricks operation and Segretti's connection to White House Aide Dwight Chapin were denounced as "not only fiction but a collection of absurdities." When Jack Anderson revealed that the White House had decided to "nail" the *Post* for its exposés, Ziegler called the story "flatly incorrect—wrong, wrong, wrong." These stories, and others that were indignantly denounced, were later to be amply confirmed.

The White House tape transcripts would show the Oval Office's private preoccupation with heading off press disclosures and attempting to obtain favorable coverage. On Sept. 15, 1972, Nixon, John Dean and H.R. Haldeman discussed retaliating against the *Post,* perhaps by not renewing the company's broadcasting licenses. Said Nixon: "The *Post* is going to have damnable, damnable problems out of this one." (This passage was not released by the White House, but it turned up in a fuller transcript leaked by sources on the Judiciary Committee.) On March 28 Nixon mentioned the pressure that Charles Colson had allegedly tempted to bring on news executives, particularly the TV networks, and observed, "Well, one hell of a lot of people don't give a one damn about this issue of suppression of the press." On March 27 Nixon advised Ziegler not to say much to White House reporters about Watergate: "Just get out there and act like your usual cocky, confident self."

The reporters working on the story from the beginning—and their publishers—declined to be cowed or bluffed. Thus the *Post* revealed in July 1972 that C.R.P. money had gone to one of the burglars. The New York *Times* reported that funds had been "laundered" through a Mexican lawyer. The *Post* disclosed that the break-in had been part of a larger intelligence-gathering effort and named those who controlled the program's funds. The Los Angeles *Times* got an exclusive interview with Alfred C. Baldwin, the ex-FBI agent who had monitored C.R.P.'s bugs on Democratic telephones. TIME described the links between the White House and the efforts to sabotage the campaigns of several Democrats. Later TIME revealed another phone-tapping operation, one which had newsmen and officials as its target. The Washington *Star-News* reported abuses in campaign contributions, including the famous donation by Robert Vesco.

It will never be completely clear how much information would eventually have come out through official channels in the absence of journalistic pressure. Certainly the initial prosecution, resulting in the indictment of the five burglars plus E. Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy, was limited to the point of farce. The tape transcripts show that the White House hoped these indictments would defuse any accusations of a cover-up. Now a total of 18 important participants in the scandals have either pleaded guilty or been convicted by juries. Three of these men are now being tried on additional charges while seven others who maintain their innocence must still face verdicts.

The press did not invent these charges or inflate them out of proportion. The offenses already proved represent nothing less than an attempt to subvert the U.S. electoral system and then to hide the extent of that subversion. The argument, still widely heard, that all this was no more than dirty-politics-as-usual simply cannot be sustained by any halfway dispassionate student of the Watergate affair. Many of the offenders were public officials, men responsible for upholding the law in a law-and-order Administration. What the press did during the initial phase of Watergate, in addition to giving snapshots of truth to its audience, was serve in effect as a surrogate public agency, filling a void created by official misfeasance and nonfeasance. The continuing press coverage helped create a momentum that eventually overwhelmed the cover-up.

Writing of that period in the Los Angeles *Times,* Edward Jay Epstein, a press critic and a former Harvard political scientist, concluded: "Elements of the press, and in particular the Washington *Post* and TIME Magazine, did an extraordinary job in bringing these facts to the public's attention. Yet . . . the press cannot be assigned exclusive credit." Why only "elements of the press"? Because at first, the great majority of reporters and editors failed to recognize Watergate's significance.

The McCord Milestone

During the summer and fall of 1972, most of the top political reporters were concentrating on the presidential campaign. The biggest headlines were being made by George McGovern's deteriorating position. For one memorable fortnight the country's investigative journalism focused on Senator Thomas Eagleton and his psychiatric history. Political reporters did not know quite what to make of the Watergate business and had relatively little curiosity about it because it was not catching on as a campaign issue. The networks did little original reporting. Reuven Frank, then president of NBC News, says that television's role that stage served as a "national echo chamber" for the work of others.

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Many newspapers failed even to do that. Stories of the Los Angeles *Times*/Washington *Post* news service simply failed to run the early Woodward-Bernstein stories, or else buried them. The New York *Times*, though it did better than most, seemed sluggish. National Editor David Jones recalls: "It was a failure of editing judgment in our Washington bureau and on the national news desk in New York. We didn't perceive early enough the potential ramifications of the story."

That perception changed gradually through the winter, and the major turning point came on March 23, 1973, when James McCord's letter to Judge Sirica was made public. The McCord letter, among other things, confirmed that pressure had been brought to bear on the original defendants to keep silent. It was the most concrete evidence up to that point that a cover-up had been attempted. *Newsday* might have broken some of the same information months earlier because it had access to another of the burglars, Frank Sturgis. Recalls Publisher William Attwood: "He was ready to talk if we had pushed him and if we had come up with money in five figures." Attwood now regrets keenly that his paper did not extract more information from Sturgis.

There was no such hesitancy after the McCord milestone. Now more and more print and TV reporters fastened on the story, and the intensely competitive character of U.S. journalism came to the surface. Exclusives received wide replay. On April 30 Nixon, after stating that he had fresh information about the scandal and announcing the departure of Dean, Haldeman, John Ehrlichman and Richard Kleindienst, saw a few reporters in the White House press room. "We have had our differences in the past," he told them, "and I hope you give me hell every time you think I'm wrong. I hope I'm worthy of your trust."

Questions of Accuracy

Since then, Nixon has been the recipient of daily hell and very little trust. He has responded in kind, attempting whenever possible to depict journalists as biased sensationmongers. In a TV speech ten weeks ago, Nixon protested that "the wildest accusations have been given banner headlines and ready credence as well." He was correct about the headlines. What Nixon did not mention is that most of the "wild accusations" about Watergate have turned out to be true. Considering the complexity of the material and the Administration's obfuscation, it is striking how few important factual errors have appeared in the press.

But there were some. A serious Washington *Post* blunder occurred in October 1972. Immediately after the Los Angeles *Times* interview with Alfred Baldwin, Woodward and Bernstein came back with a story naming three men as recipients of the phone-tap transcripts that Baldwin had delivered to the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. The names were picked up by other publications, but it turned out that the *Post* reporters had grabbed some raw, garbled FBI data. "The decision to rush into print was a mistake," Woodward and Bernstein wrote later.

The Santa Ana, Calif., *Register*, which had tracked Nixon's financial affairs concerning San Clemente, reported on May 13, 1973 that Senate investigators were looking into the possibility that surplus campaign funds had been used to buy the estate. That story got considerable play, but the basic allegation has never been supported. *Newsweek* a year ago reported that John Dean had information to the effect that some "low-level White House officials at one point considered assassinating the President of Panama." Neither Dean nor anyone else ever corroborated that grabber.

More than a year ago, TIME published a report that turned out to be overstated. Jeb Stuart Magruder was said to have told Government investigators that former White House Aide Charles Colson had known in advance of the telephone taps at the Democratic National Committee. As TIME had it, Magruder was saying "that Colson called him in February [1972] and asked, 'When the hell are we going to get this bugging plan approved?'" Colson's denial was printed in the same story. When Magruder subsequently testified in public, he gave a different version of that phone call: Colson did urge him to move quickly in getting information on the Democrats, but "he did not mention, I want to make clear, anything relating to wiretapping or espionage at that time."

Last October, after the Saturday Night Massacre, ABC broadcast a report that Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox had information on a $1 million fund that Bebe Rebozo was allegedly administering for Nixon's benefit. The White House vehemently denied that, and the denial so far has held up.

Not all the mistakes have been committed by "liberal" news organizations. The right-wing Manchester, N.H., *Union-Leader* got off a beaut last spring when it named Murray Chotiner as the "mastermind" behind the Watergate break-in. Chotiner sued for $3 million, and before he died as a result of an auto accident, the *Union-Leader* printed a Page One retraction. Nor have all the mistakes been harmful to Nixon's cause. Last Dec. 20, the *Post* ran a front-page headline saying: HUNT TELLS SENATE PANEL HE SPIED ON GOLDWATER IN '64 ON L.B.J. ORDER. The story, drawn from a leak of confidential testimony by E. Howard Hunt, seemed to indicate that Democrats had been guilty of practices similar to Republican offenses in 1972. In fact, Hunt's testimony was far less exciting than that; in 1964 he had merely collected published Republican material such as press releases and speech texts. The *Post* learned that it had swallowed a phony. Hence the follow-up headline: HUNT'S ROLE IN 1964 MINOR, HILL UNIT TOLD.

After the turning point in the spring of 1973, however, when Press Secretary Ziegler announced that some of the White House's previous denials had become "inoperative," accuracy has not been a major issue in the debate over press performance. Too many of the most damning exposés have been confirmed. Thus Nixon's defenders now concentrate heavily on the presumed motives of the press, on the emphasis given to particular stories, on the general "overplaying" of Watergate and on the means of obtaining information. Says Eugene C. Pulliam: "The establishment press is out to get Nixon because it has never liked him."

Questions of Fairness

Certainly there has been little affection or even rapport between Nixon and most of the journalists who have covered him throughout his career. Nearly all political leaders have their grievances against the press and long-running feuds with particular newsmen, but the Nixon-press antagonism runs far deeper. This is not, as some Nixon apologists argue, because he is a Republican. Though it is true that the majority of Washington correspondents and commentators lean Democratic, such diverse Republicans as Dwight Eisenhower, Robert Taft and Everett Dirksen were personally popular with the capital press corps, as are Gerald Ford and Barry Goldwater. Others manage at least workable press relations.



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Nixon is an exception. He seems less able than most public men to take criticism in stride (despite all the practice) or to accord aggressive journalism a legitimate role in relation to Government. Going back to his days as a young Congressman, he has been quicker than most politicians to question the motives of those who cross him. The lack of understanding has been mutual. Reporters are accustomed to dealing with evasiveness in politicians; poking behind façades is part of their craft. But as most reporters try to figure out Nixon, one façade seems only to hide another. Not only journalists but many Republican politicians are put off by a quality that comes across variously as insincerity, awkwardness, lack of genuine warmth. It would be disingenuous to argue that a certain visceral dislike did not color the professional attitudes of many newsmen. Seymour Hersh is more vehement (and perhaps more candid) than most: "I can't stand him. I hate Nixon. I don't like any man who doesn't pay his taxes and who blames associates for everything."

The unfavorable chemistry notwithstanding, the press gave Nixon generally fair coverage in his 1968 campaign, and considerable admiration during his first term. Even the cartoonist Herblock, long one of Nixon's cruelest antagonists, observed the traditional honeymoon accorded new Presidents by giving the man a decent shave. Nixon hardly reciprocated. He installed an arrogant press secretary who treated the press shabbily. He dispatched Spiro Agnew and other sappers to harass the enemy. Aides like Clay Whitehead and Charles Colson sought to stifle network commentary as unfair.

But a large majority of the country's newspapers (representing more than 90% of the circulation of dailies that made editorial endorsements) supported him for reelection in 1972. Their coverage of Watergate scarcely reflects a desire to see his second term ruined. The Los Angeles *Times* and Time Inc. (by means of LIFE editorials) supported Nixon's election in 1968 and 1972. The Washington *Star-News,* which won a Pulitzer this spring for its Watergate exclusives of last year, had been one of Nixon's favorite newspapers. The Providence *Journal-Bulletin* had been relatively sympathetic to Nixon, but it broke the first important story about the President's amazing income tax returns (that exposé also won a Pulitzer).

ABC's Howard K. Smith had been the preferred network commentator in the White House, but it was Smith, rather than CBS's Eric Sevareid or NBC's David Brinkley, who called for Nixon's removal last fall. The Detroit *News* is a conservative bastion, and its editor Martin Hayden had been on friendly personal terms with Nixon for 25 years; last November the *News* said Nixon could best serve the nation by resigning. Other papers and editors previously more or less partial to the President —including the Denver *Post,* Chicago *Tribune,* Kansas City *Times,* Omaha *World-Herald* and William Randolph Hearst Jr. —have also come out for resignation or impeachment.

Hayden and some of the others who were at first slow to recognize the full significance of the Watergate scandals still feel that the press has been guilty of some serious lapses in judgment. Even journalists who have been critical of Nixon all along have reservations about some aspects of the coverage.

Washington is the world's most densely populated press room, and it sometimes operates with a pack mentality. At the same time, the intense competitiveness of the newsmen—once they are fully aroused on a major story—occasionally makes them reach too far. *New Republic's* John Osborne, perhaps Washington's most judicious Nixon watcher, acknowledges that the press performed a "necessary and proper" function in getting at the basic facts of Watergate. "But," he adds, "I have to say at the same time that they're like dogs who have scented blood and are running the fox right down to the death."

The result can be questionable scoops. In April, for instance, the Chicago *Daily News* and the New York *Post* gave prominent play to a statement that Nixon two years ago met Robert Vesco, the businessman and G.O.P. campaign contributor who was later to become a fugitive from federal prosecution. The story called the development a "new bombshell." In fact, the source was the fallen financier, Bernard Cornfeld, a Vesco enemy fresh out of jail himself. His account lacked proof that the meeting had taken place; even Cornfeld did not claim first knowledge of it. The New York *Times* last January front-p a long piece revealing an investigation into the possi that Bahamian gambling money had found its way into the on campaign kitty. The article was crammed with suspi names and impressive figures, but no proof of wrongdoing been found. The story amounted to an interesting, exte innuendo.

On the part of some editors, there has also been a tend during the latter stages of Watergate to overemphasize de opments damaging to Nixon's case and give relatively scant ment to stories supporting it.

The Leak Problem

Nearly all of the important Watergate revelations, and marginalia as well, have been "source stories"—articles dr from anonymous investigators of, or participants in, the sc dals. The sources have usually been, as reported, "reliab "knowledgeable," "highly placed" or otherwise certified ad tivally as credible. The use of unattributed stories makes press vulnerable. Editorialists across the country demand Nixon reveal all his secret conversations while at the same insisting that journalists have the right to total confidentia The apparent double standard seems all the more blatant w newspapers become preachy on the issue. Last summer, d the height of the Agnew investigation, the New York *Ti* Washington *Post* and Washington *Star-News* agreed in ed rials that the beleaguered Vice President had been abused the stream of leaks from Justice Department sources damag to his public defense. Yet the same three papers (along w other publications, including TIME) had considered it legitim to publish incriminating information in their news columns.

All newsmen would prefer to identify their sources in p rather than mask them. It is often all too easy for sources to without having to take full responsibility for what they say many cases, however, attribution is impossible because pe who possess highly sensitive information cannot be expected sacrifice their careers in order to divulge it. A Capitol Hill st er or an FBI official, for instance, may have evidence of seri abuses that should be aired. If he cannot get a hearing wit the bureaucracy, his only outlet may be a reporter who will p tect his anonymity while publishing the facts. Most newsm feel that without leaks, the Government would simply con all news about itself.

There can be hazards on both sides. The leaker may be fi if discovered; the reporter puts his professional standards on line. There are some situations in which leaks should not be pu ed. If the material contains real national security secrets—th are some—restraint is clearly called for. If a leak clearly olates accepted legal procedure—in a grand jury hearing or trial, for instance—publication is justified only if it serves so obvious and overriding public interest. Such cases are rare, a the leaks that are all too common in criminal proceedings, tho ostensibly published to satisfy the "people's right to know," ten amount to sensationalism.

Those who give out secrets are often serving their own terests. In the late stages of a political campaign, for examp one side will sometimes attempt to smear the opposition w there is no time to reply adequately. Newsmen have an ob gation to consider such motives, check the material with the most care, and give the person under attack a decent chance defend himself. Occasionally journalists fail to take these cautions, and the articles that result are unfair or incomplete.

All this imposes serious moral responsibilities on the repo er and editor, who must judge each case on its merits (see TH ESSAY, *page 38*). But if the journalist does his homework c fully, and if the choice then comes down to killing a signific story or attributing it to unnamed informants, the obligation to publish. Without reliance on such sources, the principal tergate exposés simply would not have been possible. Leaks been commonplace in Washington for generations, and the A on Administration uses them too. The President knows the well. Martin Hayden, who as a correspondent met Nixon 1949, recalls that the young Congressman was a generous, reli

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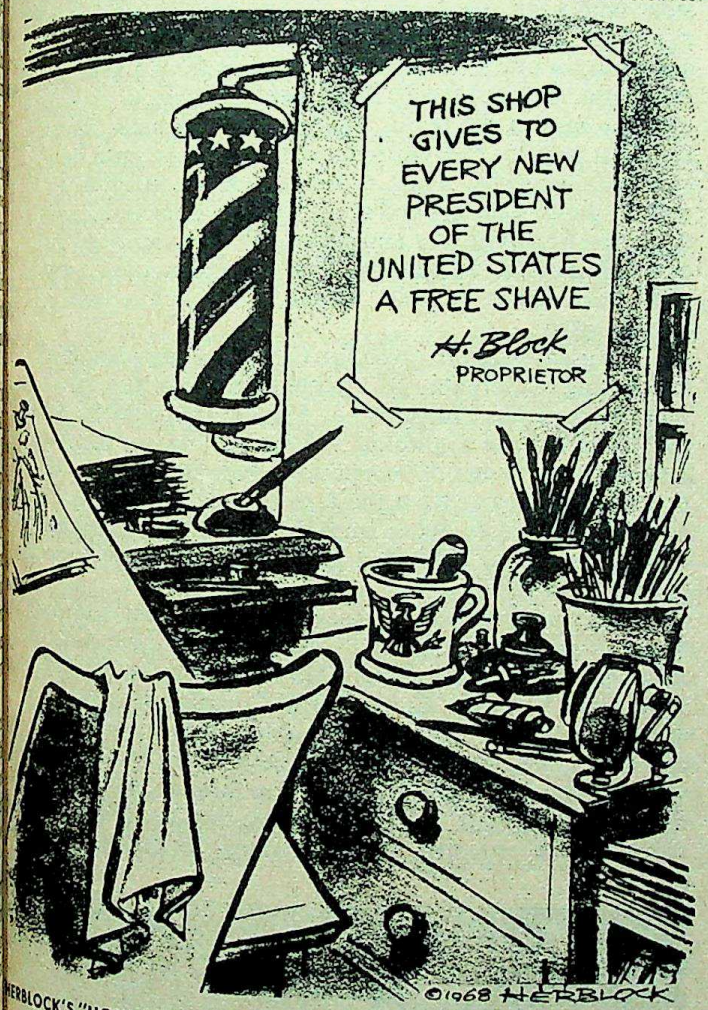
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—and anonymous—source for a few reporters covering the investigation of Alger Hiss.

The use of leaks becomes even more controversial and complex when a case is before a grand jury or about to be presented to one. Most lawyers are horrified by the press's intrusion on grand jury privacy. Jack Anderson published transcripts of some of the testimony given to the Watergate grand jurors. Woodward and Bernstein, desperate for new information when other sources went dry for a while, approached members of the same jury, attempting to get them to violate their oath of secrecy.

A grand jury hearing is not an adversary proceeding with the stringent rules of evidence and the right of cross-examination that exist in a trial. Prosecutors present material that may produce an indictment, but a suspect puts up no organized defense. Says Columbia Law Professor Benno Schmidt: "What you get if the press prints a story about a grand jury proceeding is by definition a one-sided story. The press has always, typically, published that kind of story without

THE WASHINGTON POST



HERBLOCK'S "HONEYMOON" CARTOON, NOV. 7, 1968

built-in qualifications." Many journalists are also uneasy. Howard Simons, managing editor of the *Post,* admits that violating grand jury secrecy "is really an anguishing thing."

The Agnew case last year provided plenty of anguish for all concerned. Even before the prosecutors were ready to go to the grand jury, the substance of their investigation was leaked and thoroughly laid out in the press. The disclosures drew vehement criticism from several sources, including the American Civil Liberties Union, which is hardly an enemy of press freedom. The case was being tried in the press, it was said. Agnew was being denied the protection that liberals demand for ordinary muggers. That argument is persuasive in most situations. But the Agnew case was so extraordinary that different standards might apply. The official who could have succeeded the President at any moment was implicated in gross venality. It can be argued that the national interest was best served by Agnew's rapid removal. Intense publicity probably hastened the process.

In the Watergate scandal, while the Administration was in its see-no-evil stage, newsmen who suspected that monstrous wrongdoing had occurred were justified in getting information as best they could. It was sometimes argued that a leak from a committee or an investigation merely got out news a little earlier than it would have been published anyway; but it is also possible that without publicity, the outcome of the proceedings would have been different and the facts would never have been disclosed. That justification, however, diminished as the official inquiry became more vigorous. Joseph Kraft and others have argued that after the special prosecutor's office demonstrated that it would be thorough, the press had an obligation to respect grand jury secrecy—to cease speculating, for instance, about the number and identity of those about to be indicted.

There are still many dark corners in the Watergate maze, however. The Los Angeles *Times* pried out another grand jury secret when it finally confirmed that the jurors had voted to name Nixon as an unindicted co-conspirator. That put to rest months of rumor. The transcripts of Nixon's conversations with his aides, as released by the White House, were ostensibly a full and accurate account intended to set the record straight on many disputed points. But when the House Judiciary Committee began comparing the written version with the actual tape recordings from which they were drawn, discrepancies arose. The L.A. *Times*—taking advantage of another leak—recently reported new evidence that the texts as edited by the White House were misleading in some important respects.

Should the press have refused to print these leaks and waited for the Judiciary Committee's own report? Few editors would think so. The President put the original transcripts out as part of his defense, along with other statements and documents at various times. He was appealing to public opinion, which is his right. It is the press's right—and obligation—to explore the truth of his appeals.

Presidential Power

The notion that the President cannot be heard in the roar of negative stories is of course a myth. The Nixon Administration, any Administration, has vast powers of communication. Nixon can and periodically does command network prime time to present his case. He can hold press conferences as often (or seldom) as he likes, schedule speeches before predictably friendly audiences, grant interviews to sympathetic correspondents. Like his predecessors, he can release information selectively, announce new programs that must get serious coverage. He can take a journey abroad that assures him of day after day of upbeat print and television treatment.

Against these powers, the press responds with its own relatively limited resources—and its will to see the Watergate story through. In declining to give Nixon the benefit of the doubt, in refusing to yield him the last word, the press has become—as its critics contend—more than an observer and expositor. It has become, quite involuntarily, a participant in a phenomenon that is partly a complex whodunit and partly a historic test of the U.S. system's ability to cleanse itself through constitutional machinery. The press is no more accustomed to this function than Congress is to running an impeachment proceeding.

One part of the press's role is to attempt to solve the mystery. The other is to assure that the test is run through to a final conclusion. It is this that accounts in large measure for the massive volume of Watergate coverage by many news organizations. Certainly most readers and TV listeners cannot absorb that mass of detail (newsmen themselves have trouble keeping up). Certainly some of the stories reach too far and some of the interpretations are off base. The preoccupation with Watergate has also distorted network news programs, the front pages of newspapers and the opening sections of newsmagazines, often squeezing out other stories. Yet the alternative at this stage, to rest on the original exposés and now allow official proceedings to take their course, would be an intolerable evasion. If the press were to stop digging, analyzing and attempting to keep the record straight, the investigative momentum could easily falter once more. The press can help assure that the constitutional process continues to function. After all that has happened, the country is entitled to a definitive verdict.

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DON'T LOVE THE PRESS, BUT UNDERSTAND IT

Americans have always had mixed feelings about their press. In folklore, the reporter is Superman's alter ego, but he is also the *Front Page* cynic who would trade in his grandmother for a scoop. By way of a more elevated example, almost everybody (at least among journalists) remembers Jefferson's famous remark that if he had to choose between a government without newspapers and newspapers without a government, he would pick the latter. But few recall that Jefferson also wrote on another occasion: "Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper."

Thus attacks on the press are a good old American tradition, and the press should be able to take it. Journalists deserve much of the criticism directed at them and ought to examine themselves and their practices far more carefully rather than wrapping themselves in the First Amendment at any sign of hostility.

But in recent years, attacks on the press have taken on a new dimension and, particularly over Watergate, they have become mindless and reflexive. This is true not only of Richard Nixon's bedrock supporters but of many others—including, recently, Archibald Cox. The press should never expect to be loved or admired. But it has a right to be understood, and too many Americans do not seem to understand what the press is about and what part it must play in the American system. An estrangement between the press and large numbers of Americans is dangerous, not merely to the press but to the country.

True, the nature of the American press is confusing. It is a profitmaking enterprise, but it is not judged chiefly by commercial success. It performs a public service, but it is neither regulated nor licensed. Journalists have considerable power to help or hurt, but there is no code, no professional association to judge their performance. Paradoxical though all this may appear, it simply means that the American press is free—and would lose all its value to the country if it were otherwise.

That freedom raises many moral ambiguities about the source and limits of the authority of the press. One way in which these are frequently expressed is through the question hurled at newsmen: Who elected you? The answer is nobody—and that's the way it should be. No one should want a society in which all positions of influence and power are filled through the political process alone.* A diverse society needs all kinds of people—businessmen, professionals, artists—who are not chosen by the ballot. But while not formally elected, they all have their constituencies upon whose approval they ultimately depend. If the approval is withheld, they can hardly continue to function—and this is true of the press.

Further moral doubt about the way in which the press exercises its power is summed up in another frequent question: Why don't you treat a man as innocent until he is proved guilty? In short, the press is widely accused of having already condemned Richard Nixon in print. The fact is that the innocent-until-proved-guilty rule is a courtroom rule that does and should apply in judicial proceedings, where both sides have certain rights, including subpoenaing evidence, cross-examining witnesses, etc. It cannot apply in situations that are essentially political debates, and it certainly should not prevent newsmen from using their eyes, ears and heads to form conclusions. Actually, even the most hostile segments of the press have not proclaimed Richard Nixon's "guilt." Those who believe that he should resign have concluded from the known facts that the country would be better off without him—an opinion shared for some time (according to the polls) by a majority of Americans. Those who call for his impeachment without his guilt or innocence established by a trial in the Senate.

Not that the moral dilemma ends there. Newsmen constantly wrestle with the problem of how to find their way among the innumerable shadings of truth and the often agonizing choices about what to print and what not to print. Despite the public's frequently naive faith in "objective," just-the-facts reporting, the newsman must interpret and judge; which things to put in and which various indisputable facts and what to leave out often constitutes the most important form of judgment of all.

In the Watergate coverage, such judgments must be made repeatedly in connection with leaks. As the accompanying cover story points out *(see pages 32-37)*, the reporter's and editor's decisions must depend on many factors—the nature of the leak, its apparent accuracy, on whether it comes from a judicial body or otherwise. He must weigh the possible damage to individual reputations against the public interest. The journalist cannot claim the right to print everything and anything; he must decide each case on its merits, while remaining accountable to his editor and, ultimately, to his audience. The decision is usually a matter of conscience waged by journalists far more seriously than most outsiders realize. In general, the American press today is far more responsible, far less "yellow," than at any time in its vilified history.

The great freedom given the U.S. press requires self-restraint and during Watergate—an exceptional national crisis—some that restraint has disappeared. Against this must be poised the fact that from the beginning, the Administration had conducted a massive campaign of deception to hide its actions and deceive the press. It is clear from the tape transcripts that the President himself withheld evidence from the public. It has long been known that his principal aides lied and lied again while accusing the press itself of lying.

If the press sometimes seems obsessed with Watergate, the reason is partly to be found in the default of other American institutions, including Congress. No thunderous moral voices have lately been heard on Capitol Hill. Congress seems to be floundering, anxiously listening for public opinion. Any one of several Watergate developments was devastating to Nixon—including the Saturday Night Massacre, the famous "gap" in the tapes, the tape transcripts so strongly suggesting the President's complicity in the payment of hush money, his indisputable

BETTMANN ARCHIVE



BEN FRANKLIN WORKING IN HIS BROTHER'S PRINT SHOP

*The French utopian socialist Etienne Cabet (1788-1856) actually proposed that in the ideal society, editors should be chosen by popular ballot.

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nation to cover up the entire affair, even to the point of conning perjury by his aides. Yet Congress, and to some extent country, has become so inured to these enormities that it ems hard to sustain indignation or even attention. To an apently irreducible number of Nixon supporters, the President erally can do no wrong; for many others, in and out of Con-ss, it almost seems as if new outrages were required each ek to keep the whole case real. This has created a moral and chological vacuum that the press has filled. Congress, long bdued by the presidency and unaccustomed to lead, has been ite content to sit back and let the press perform as the cutting ge against the Watergate scandals.

The entire debate is beclouded by the tendency to see the hole press—or at least the "Eastern liberal wing" of it—as a nolith and a monopoly. That picture is grossly misleading. ue, there are more cities now than ten years ago with only e major newspaper publisher (the total number of papers has yed about the same in the past decade; current total: 1,774). ue, TV news is largely controlled by three networks. But the merican press is in fact extraordinarily diverse. This is the se both as to ownership and intellectual attitudes. People tend overlook this, in part because of the ghastly term "the me-," which suggests that all conveyors of information are alike one great impersonal blob. The barbarism of speaking of the edia in the singular ("the media is . . .") reinforces that im-ression. Americans have fought and even died for free presses d a free press; can one fight and die for something called the edia?

At any rate, "the media" are a great many large and small, en contradictory if not warring, newspapers, magazines, broad-sters, columnists, editorial writers, reporters, publishers—to-ther providing a mass of reportage and opinion that defies y single bias.

Ultimately, Watergate raises the question of what role the press is to play in American political life. To an extent, the adversary relation between the press and Government is right and traditional. But it is a relation sily forgotten in quieter times. In the past the press has often en faulted for being too complacent and too easily accom-odating to power. Thus, in a sense, Watergate has distorted e true challenges that face the press. When Watergate is be-nd us, the American press will have a twofold task. It will ve to carry out investigative reporting in areas far less obvious an the Watergate abuses. Even more important than inves-gation will be explanation. A shortcoming of the American ess probably graver than any faults displayed during Water-gate is the lack of expertise in many fields, a failure to develop the techniques necessary to inform the public on highly complicated subjects, to lay out the alternative choices and possible solutions in an increasingly baffling world. Cliché thinking and reporting are a far greater danger than bias.

At the same time, the press will have to re-establish some sort of balance with Government. As Paul Weaver, associate editor of *The Public Interest,* points out, in the American liberal tradition "the relationship between newsmen and source, between press and government, is one of structured interdependence and bartering within an atmosphere of amiable suspiciousness. Each side knows its role." The U.S. Government has generally been far readier to give access to the press than governments in Europe or elsewhere; at the same time the American press is far less ideological. Continues Weaver: "The press can make its contribution to the system only by maintaining close access [to government]—a closer access than can ever be provided by law. The price of such access is some degree of cooperation and sympathy for government—not a slavish adulation, as it is sometimes said, but a decent respect for authority, a willingness to see government and persons in government given the opportunity to do their job."

This will be possible only if the Government in turn is reasonably open, does not cheat as a matter of habit, does not use appeals to national security and secret classifications as a means to hide from the people or protect itself politically.

Beyond all this, the press will have to help rebuild an American consensus, a new agreement as to the country's meaning and goals. That will require a tremendous effort, perhaps some new habits of thought and work on the part of the press and new, broader ways of giving the public access to print or to the air. While last week's Supreme Court decision struck down the notion that the Government can enforce anyone's "right to reply" in the press, a responsible press will have to ask itself whether it offers enough chances for "replies" to be heard.

The public in turn will have to make a greater effort at understanding where the press fits in our system. Mark Twain said that the most important function of the press is to keep people in love with their country. This statement is wrong if one assumes that love is blind. It is a fetching definition if one assumes that love includes being critical. The audience will have to learn, or relearn, that printing optimistic pap is no service to the country, while exposing the dark side of a society or a government can indeed be an act of love and loyalty.

An occupational disease of journalism is self-righteousness, an occasional belief that the Constitution was created only for the sake of the First Amendment and that to paraphrase Charlie (General Motors) Wilson, what's good for the press is good for the country. Yet with all these qualifications duly made, it is still true that when people irrationally attack the press, they attack America, or at least a vital part of it. Though they may pay lip service to a free press, they perhaps fail to understand not just the press but freedom. It is no trick to believe in freedom when it is comfortable. The whole point about freedom is that it must include the uncomfortable, the disturbing, even the dangerous. Freedom of the press exists not for the pleasure and profit of journalists but for the benefit of the nation. James Madison wrote: "Some degree of abuse is inseparable from the proper use of everything, and in no instance is this more true than in that of the press. It has accordingly been decided by the practice of the States, that it is better to leave a few of its noxious branches to their luxuriant growth, than, by pruning them away, to injure the vigour of those yielding the proper fruits. And can the wisdom of this policy be doubted by any who reflect that to the press alone, chequered as it is with abuses, the world is indebted for all the triumphs which have been gained by reason and humanity over error and oppression?" Hardly anyone would dare talk so glowingly about the press these days. But the principle still applies.

■ Henry Grunwald



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From the Dark Garden of the Mind

"Although the grave has not actually closed over him, he must be classed among the dead." Few English artists can have received a more crushing valediction than this, written in an art journal in 1843, on a 26-year-old painter named Richard Dadd. He probably never read it, for he had just been bundled off to Bethlem Hospital (whose lugubrious halls of madmen had given the word "bedlam" its English use) in a strait-waistcoat.

That August, the young artist—of whom an acquaintance testified that "a person more invariably gentle, kind, considerate and affectionate did not exist"—had tucked a spring-loaded knife into his pocket and gone for a walk in Cobham Park with his father, a retired chemist and seller of "fine, healthy leeches." Under the delusion that he was an avenging agent of the Egyptian god Osiris and his father a demonic envoy, Richard stabbed him. By the time Robert Dadd's gory corpse was found in the grass, the young man was on his way to Europe, planning to kill the Emperor of Austria. He was arrested in France, after trying to cut the throat of a stranger in a coach with his "excellent English razor," and shipped back to Britain. Dadd spent the last 40 years of his life in madhouses, dying all but forgotten in Broadmoor in 1886. One of his infrequent visitors wrote that though he was still plagued by "thick-coming horrors and portentous visions," Dadd was by then "a pleasant-visaged old man with a long and flowing snow-white beard with mild blue eyes that beam benignly through spectacles when in conversation, or turn up in reverie until their pupils are nearly lost to sight."

Oedipus into Santa Claus—yet the fact was that Dadd, far from becoming one of those psychotic artists whose scribbles are only, or mainly, of interest to analysts, painted many of his best works in the asylum. He labored in a solitude, a vacuum of response, which might have crushed another artist. But it may be that Dadd's enforced seclusion helped sharpen the obsessive quality of his inner vision. Behind bars, time and detail never end. The evidence is up in London's Tate Gallery this summer through August: poor Dadd's first one-man show, more than 200 oils, watercolors and drawings, including a series of mysterious "sketches for the passions" that record Dadd's tormented self-examinations and still belong to Bethlem Hospital. Almost all his known work is at the Tate, and it acquaints us with the most tragically fated and one of the most brilliant talents in all English 19th century art. As Patricia Allderidge, Bethlem's archivist, remarks in her scrupulous and absorbing catalogue: "One did not have to be mad to escape the toils of Victorian genre—but it probably helped."

Dadd's mental collapse had taken place in Egypt (hence, presumably, his "possession" by Osiris), where in 1842

PRIVATE COLLECTION



A SELF-PORTRAIT BY RICHARD DADD, CIRCA 1841
His gaze conferred a disturbing presence.

he had gone as traveling artist and companion to a doughty Victorian tourist named Sir Thomas Phillips. The exotic vistas dumbfounded Dadd. "The excitement of these scenes," he wrote to a painter friend in England, "has been enough to turn the brain . . . and often I have lain down at night with my imagination so full of wild vagaries that I have really and truly doubted my own sanity . . . for I've got opened my mind."

Before this *Wanderjahr*, Dadd's early reputation had been based on painting fairies, elves, goblins and other more or less demure inhabitants of the Victorian psychic zoo. This was not entirely a personal quirk. Fairy pictures, usually based on Shakespearean the... (*Midsummer Night's Dream, The T... pest*), had been popular in England s... the late 18th century. Dadd's A... 1841, was actually based on a ve... Sir Joshua Reynolds, the preside... the Royal Academy, had painted ... decades earlier. It is a curiously t... rical piece—dark leaves pearled ... glistening dewdrops, tiny Italia... nudes, and a moony Puck grinning ... some fat little maharajah under the ... ple canopy of a morning-glory flowe...

What Dadd, in the full stride of ... obsession, would finally do with ... motifs is shown in two of his ma... pieces, the *Fairy Feller's Master-Str...* which he worked for many years, ... *Contradiction: Oberon and Titan...* 1854-58. *Contradiction* is an astoun... synthesis of decorative impulse, teem... fantasy and minute observation. In s... details it recalls the delirious garden... Hieronymus Bosch. The greenstone ... and a tiny figure huddling in a bro... eggshell remind one that, before m... dering his father, Dadd had alarmed ... friends and family by living like a h... mit in a studio crammed with hund... of eggs, which constituted his sole ...

Coiling Lines. The details of lea... grasses, butterflies and flowers are ... with a molecular precision that exce... even the English Pre-Raphaelites. ... this hallucinated undergrowth, ... dreds of tiny figures (the popula... good and evil, of Titania's kingdom ... flitting, slithering, prancing and figh... —they merge with the grass stalks, ... from the edge of a leaf or flex their ... concertingly sexy little bodies in ... overwhelming display of Dadd's in... tion. If ever an English painter wen... work a millimeter at a time, it was D... —he was the Van Eyck of paranoia.

When dealing with a standard c... sical theme, such as the *Bacchana... Scene*, 1862, he produced an im... whose presentiments of evil and supe... ly rhythmic, coiling line seem to an... ipate Aubrey Beardsley. But the ob... ness of Dadd's gaze conferred ... disturbing "presence" on even the m... ordinary—and, one would have thou... benevolent—subjects. His *Portrait o... Young Man*, 1853, probably depicts ... of the Bethlem doctors, Charles Hi... a mild, compassionate intern wh... Dadd liked and trusted. On that w... ing rustic bench in front of those fo... and bedewed leaves with the oppres... ly large lawnroller in the backgro... the man seems about to implode. ... garden is imaginary, for Dadd's only ... cess to the outside world was the ... lum exercise yard. With his wa... craziness, labyrinthine involution ... thought and pale, exquisite colors, D... is as much a testament to his time ... its sublimations as the gentler and ... or Lewis Carroll.

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Clearing the Calendar

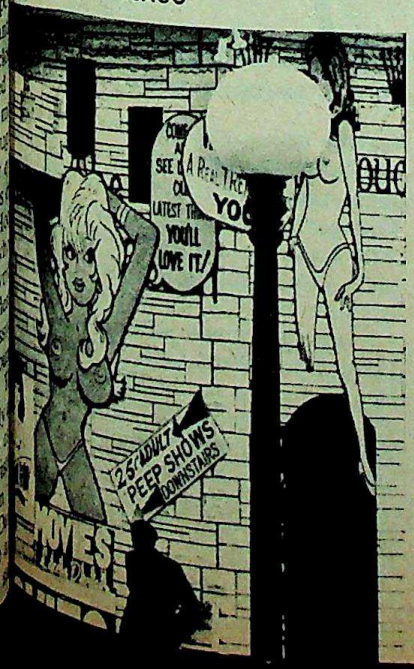
Warren Burger's Supreme Court is winding up its current term with a flourish. Driving to clear the court calendar by July 8, when they face the momentous confrontation between the President and the Watergate prosecutors, the Justices last week handed down rulings in half a dozen important cases. All of them involved the First Amendment right of free expression. The nation's press may well be most deeply affected by the Tornillo decision sharply limiting citizens' right of reply to critical editorials (see cover story page 32).

The other decisions:

I. BACK TO PORNOGRAPHY. It was only a year ago that the Supreme Court, in *Miller* v. *California*, laid down one more set of guidelines for legislators and prosecutors dealing with illegal obscenity. The hope was that by using those guidelines, local judges and juries, exercising local standards of taste, would be able to dispose of a vast and growing glut of pornography cases. That hope was short-lived. Merely by considering the case of *Jenkins* v. *Georgia*, the court was, in effect, admitting that it had yet to find an escape from its unwanted role as the nation's chief censor. Once more the Justices found themselves reviewing a movie. This time, in a unanimous decision, they overturned the conviction of a Georgia theater manager who was found guilty of exhibiting obscenity because he had shown the 1971 film *Carnal Knowledge*.

The movie deals with the sex lives of two old college chums, and it includes shots of Actress Ann-Margret in the buff. To a Georgia jury, the film was hard-core porn. The high court Justices, who had it run off in their own pri-

PORN SHOP IN CHICAGO



vate screening room, firmly disagreed. Mere "depiction of a woman with a bare midriff," said Justice William Rehnquist speaking for the court, would not disqualify a film from the protection of the First Amendment. While the *Carnal Knowledge* narrative fairly seethes with sex, he noted, "there is no exhibition of the actors' genitals, lewd or otherwise, during these scenes." Local juries, Rehnquist concluded, should not assume that they have been given "unbridled discretion" in judging obscenity cases.

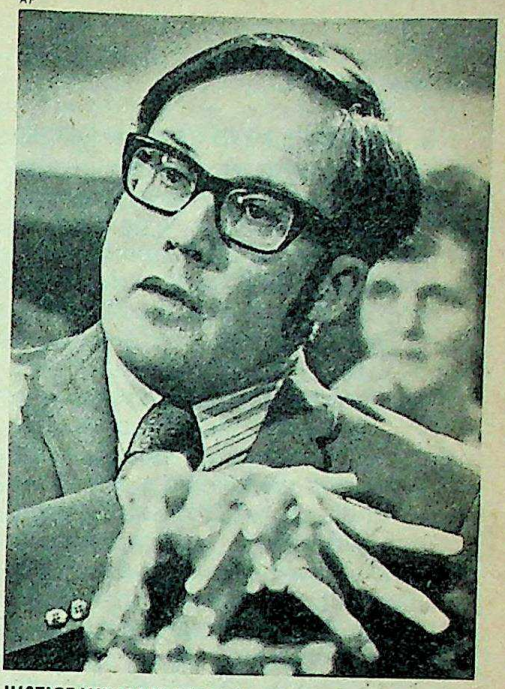
Though the Justices all agreed that *Carnal Knowledge* was permissible soft-core porn, they are still split on the basic strategy for dealing with obscenity. Justice William Brennan, who feels that Government would do better to abandon the field altogether, filed a brief opinion gloomily noting that the court had once again fallen back into "the mire of case-by-case determinations of obscenity." Brennan's I-told-you-so was aimed mainly at Chief Justice Warren Burger, who wrote the previous porn opinions that encouraged local courts and prosecutors to take off after whatever books, movies and plays seemed offensive when judged by "contemporary community standards."

This time Justice Rehnquist tried again to make the high court's definition of hard-core porn sharp and clear. Communities, he repeated, can prosecute "representations or descriptions of ultimate sexual acts, normal or perverted, actual or simulated, [or] masturbation, excretory functions and lewd exhibition of the genitals."

Echoing Brennan. Some publishers and movie officials felt the decision might help force porn-hunting prosecutors to distinguish between purple movies and publications and those that are merely blue. The ruling, said Film Industry Spokesman Jack Valenti, had strengthened "the freedom of the film maker to tell an honest story without hard-core pornography." Others were less enthusiastic. Echoing Justice Brennan, Playboy Enterprises' Robert A. Gutwillig complained that *Carnal Knowledge* was "a pitching back to the case-by-case review. The court is saying we don't know what it [pornography] is, but we'll know it if we see it."

The court did indeed see hard-core porn in a companion case. As if to emphasize that they had not really gone soft on obscenity, the Justices upheld the conviction of William Hamling and five other defendants from the Los Angeles area for mailing some 55,000 copies of an advertisement for *The Illustrated Presidential Report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography*. The obscene ad included pictures "portraying

AP



JUSTICE WILLIAM REHNQUIST
Purple or blue?

heterosexual and homosexual intercourse, sodomy and a variety of deviate sexual acts."

Having been urged by the high bench to establish their own community standards, many states have been rewriting their obscenity laws—often to the distress of serious publishers and film makers. Last week Massachusetts enacted a law that will allow district attorneys to order arrests on pornography charges without a prior court ruling on whether the material involved was in fact obscene. Publishing executives worry that the mere threat of such arbitrary arrests will have a "chilling effect" on the industry.

In most places, however, a chill has yet to be felt. Contrary to the expectations of civil libertarians, smut peddlers and bluestockings alike, last year's tough anti-obscenity rulings have had relatively little effect. The first few months after the *Miller* decision did see a rash of hasslings, raids, busts and prosecutions in Los Angeles, Tulsa, New Orleans, Tampa, Montgomery, New York, Bangor, Detroit, Chicago, Kankakee and elsewhere. Books were quietly shelved in many libraries and even burned (32 copies of Kurt Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse Five)* in Drake, N. Dak. But, by and large, even smutty books and magazines still sold; the X-rated movies still showed. Says Barney Rossett, head of erotically oriented Grove Press: "Despite the fears, nothing much happened."

Why not? Beyond the legal confusion, some credit the failure of the porn crackdown to the quiet spread of a kind of laissez-faire attitude toward pornography below the level of judges and prosecutors. It may well be that both the Supreme Court and its critics have

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lagged behind the country. The national mood could be pointing to an uncensored future, envisioned by Justice Brennan, in which consenting adults will be free to decide for themselves what they will read and see.

II. ON LIBEL AND PRISON INTERVIEWS. The court was sharply divided in each of three cases involving the press. One decision turned back an effort by *American Opinion,* the monthly magazine published by John Bircher Robert Welch, to invoke the so-called New York *Times* libel rule in a defamation suit brought against the magazine by a Chicago lawyer. The *Times* rule (named after a 1964 case) virtually immunizes publishers and broadcasters against libel suits by public officials and public figures except in instances of reckless disregard for the truth. In the *American Opinion* case, the court refused to accord the same protection to the press in libel suits by private individuals, even in cases of great public interest.

The decision was not all that ominous for the press. It made proof of both liability and damages more difficult to establish. Private individuals can no longer collect punitive damages in libel cases except when the conditions of the *Times* rule are met. And even compensatory damages can be collected only on proof of actual harm—such as pecuniary loss or humiliation. Thus the net effect of the decision is to cut back on the chance that any newspaper, magazine, book publisher, TV or radio station acting in good faith will ever have to pay any substantial libel claims. The decision drew Justice Byron R. White's wrath. He heatedly insisted that the ruling "goes far toward eviscerating the effectiveness of the ordinary libel action, which has long been the only potent response available to the private citizen libeled by the press."

In two cases concerned with prison interviews, the press fared less well. A divided court decided against the Washington *Post* and three California reporters by ruling that federal and state prison regulations banning interviews between inmates and reporters did not violate the First Amendment.

Justice Potter Stewart, ordinarily a champion of press rights, wrote both opinions. He held that the problems of deterrence, rehabilitation and the maintenance of order in prisons outweigh any infringement of free speech. Inmates, said Stewart, have alternative ways in which they can exercise their First Amendment rights (such as writing letters), while reporters were not denied any access generally available to the public. Stewart's argument did not convince the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, one of several press watchdog organizations. The committee denounced the decision as "a major constitutional defeat for the right of the public to know what is happening in our prison system."

A World Time-Out

When Neil Armstrong set foot on the moon in 1969, half-a-billion people watched him on TV. This weekend, when 22 athletes step onto the turf of a West German soccer field in the quadrennial battle for the World Cup, an estimated 600 million people will be looking on. The difference in statistics is not altogether surprising. With the possible exception of the Olympics, there is no event that so intensely commands the attention of the world.

The winner of the Cup will hold unchallenged ranking as the planet's best soccer team. In a sport that is actively played by 16 million people on 600,000 teams in 141 countries—six more than belong to the U.N.—that is no minor claim. Indeed, a large part of the world takes time out for the Cup. Since the final rounds began in West Germany three weeks ago, Rio de Janeiro factories have shut down, and criminal activities in the city have hit an alltime low. In Rome, efforts to restore a moribund government were disrupted when three Socialist leaders walked out of negotiations to watch a match. In Australia, people stayed up all night to see broadcasts from West Germany, and in the African nation of Zaïre, bus drivers abandoned their vehicles when the Zaïre Leopards took the field 4,000 miles away.

"Total Football." In West Germany, where the matches are being played in nine cities, sports pages—and front pages—have carried a flood of words describing the action both on the field and off. A banner headline in *Bild Zeitung,* the nation's largest paper, reported that a German soccer star had shaved off his mustache. A nervous West German government has spent millions of marks to prevent terrorists from seizing the Cup as their latest forum for guerrilla attacks.

Despite the trappings, this year's Cup playoff has been something of a disappointment. Competition began two years ago with elimination rounds that eventually pared 90 national teams down to the 16 that reached Germany. Predictions were legion that this playoff would have exceptionally exciting, high-scoring battles reflecting a new, wide-open soccer style popularized by Holland and West Germany. That so-called "total football" involves mobilizing an entire team for rushes against an opponent's goal. But total football is apparently a forgotten strategy. Staid defense quickly took over the competition. In the opening game, defending champion Brazil played Yugoslavia to a limp 0-0 tie. Eight other uninspiring ties followed.

Early on, the Brazilians missed their superstar Pele, who retired from international competition after helping to win the last World Cup. Despite ... sional flashes of individual brill... the Brazilians barely squeaked int... semifinal round that began last wee...

The favorites turned out to be a... erful Dutch team and the Po... surprise contender. The Dutch, wit... cer's finest player, Johan Cruyff, s... gled through some ragged early g... but by last week they were attac... with precision. The Polish team, w... upset England in the elimin... rounds, arrived in West Germany...

WITTERS—SPORT PRESSE



DUTCH STAR JOHAN CRUYFF

...atively unknown. Though the Pol... not favor the star system, not ever... most solid collective front could ... Grzegorz Lato, a great right for... who leads the team's bruising, tirel... tack. Going into last weekend, the ... ish team had the best record in Cup...

As the finals approach, the ... team from West Germany also p... ises to make a strong bid. For good ... son: losers face national disgrace. ... Zaïre team, trounced in first-round ... went home to a nation in mourning. ... the defeated Italians tried to slip ... the Milan airport—flanked by no ... than seven police cars and two bus... of armed carabinieri—they were ... sued by scores of hooting fans who ... out of cars yelling, *"Buffon! Buffon!*

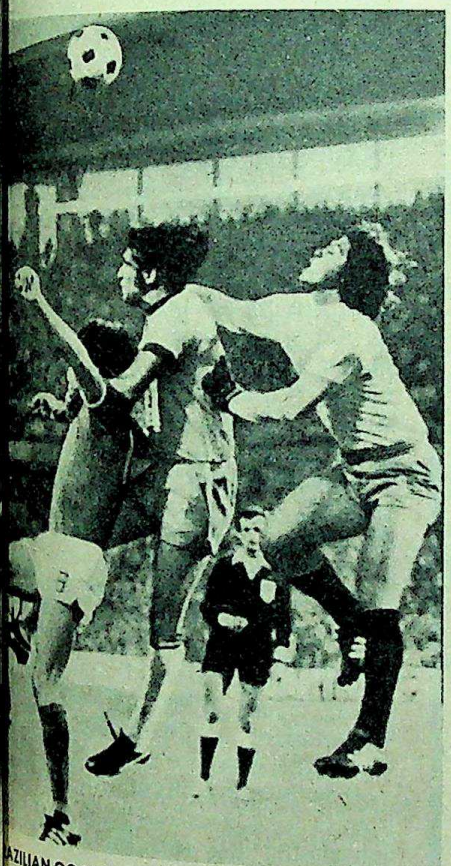
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An Ancient Kickaround (Updated)

As the climax of World Cup competition approached, it seemed that the momentous events strained conventional reporting techniques of factual description and analysis. What was required instead was the imaginative reach of a fiction writer. TIME *asked British Novelist Anthony Burgess, from whose eclectic mind have sprung such novels as* A Clockwork Orange *and* Enderby, *to comment on the Cup. Burgess watched some of the early action in Germany. Here are some of his thoughts:*

In West Berlin, the restaurant of the Kempinski Hotel was serving a World Cup Cocktail—equal parts of curaçao, vodka and orange juice—at 5½ Deutsche Mark a throw, or kick. On the Ku-



BRAZILIAN GOALIE BLOCKS SCORING TRY

damm you could buy a record of the West German eleven trolling "Football is our life . . . King Football rules the world." Democratic Germany, as opposed to the German Democratic Republic, was taking the footballworld-mastership to her uncorseted and friendly bust. The spirit of internationalism was stretched so far that even selected chain gangs from the workers' paradise over the Wall were clanked into the corruptive world of blue films and blue jeans, then—on the final whistle of the match they witnessed—knout-ed off again. Frankfurt airport, with team supporters looking for planes to Dortmund, Munich, Stuttgart, Dusseldorf and Hannover, was a Brechtian fantasy of chauvinistic headgear and rosettes. Among the major nations unrepresented in the jostle there seemed to be only the Americans, who have never taken to the game, and the English, who invented it, but whose team lost out in elimination matches.

To any Englishman who happened to be caught up in the crowd and whizzed off to one of the stadia, there was the bittersweet sensation of seeming to hear, sung by millions, a song he had composed himself and for which he was getting no royalties. Not that England ever forced football on anyone except savages who had to be weaned from bloodier sports: the game has sold itself to civilized countries as effectively as whisky or Coca-Cola. Indeed football is the only international language, apart from sex.

■

Rudyard Kipling, England's national, not to say nationalistic, poet, dismissed England's two national games very scornfully: "The flannelled fools at the wicket, the muddied oafs at the goals." There was a flavor of sour grapes there. Though most will admit the gentlemanly folly of cricket, the imputation of oafishness to football was, even in Kipling's own day, a bit anachronistic. Kipling seems to have had in mind the ancient bloody kickaround of the village green with a dead dog or severed head for ball, not the modern game that started to shape itself in 1863.

Few history books acknowledge the importance of that year. Before 1863, all the public schools of England—public, of course, meaning private—had had a ball game of some kind, but rules, when they existed at all, were strictly local. The desire of old Harrovians and Etonians to go on playing the game in adult life drew them to a conference at Cambridge, where an attempt was made to hammer out rules. The big question was: Should the ball be primarily handled or primarily kicked? Some said handled, and so evolved rugby football. Rugby has become the main game for other public schools. There the sons of gentlemen, who will never have to soil their hands in mine or factory, knock hell out of each other passing the ball backward. Americans, in their own padded and armored version of the game, pass the ball forward. This has always been taken by the British as typical American perverseness, like icing drinks and signing a Declaration of Independence.

The other kind of football, association or soccer, is mainly for the lower orders. The ball can be thrown into play, but play itself is a matter of booting. Most nations cling to the original English name—futbol or fussball or, for the Scots, fu'bo'. But the Italians logically call it *il calcio* (or if they're Roman, *er carcio*), meaning "the kick." It is perhaps the only human game theoretically playable by birds.

■

Soccer is traditionally crude, and it attracts roughs, drunks and roarers. It cannot be discussed in pubs without passion and obscenity. It is certainly not a gentleman's game. Even its subtlety and skill have failed to recommend it.

For those of us who are not gentlemen, the paradox of football delights and intrigues. Albert Camus played goal. Sir Frederick Ayer, the philosopher, is a fan, and there is a sense in which soccer is a fair subject for a logical positivist. It is, after all, a precise and yet various system of semeiotics.

And yet the game suffers more than it ever did from its bloodied-oaf *aficionados*—the rough, vulgar, vandalistic, stupid, even murderous. British supporters have become notorious for their train ripping, window smashing, bovver booting, bottle fights. Recent British fan conduct in Holland led to *Times* editorials and high-level apologies on behalf of the whole British nation. Volatile Latins, though less ebullient than the stolid Anglo-Saxons, have been known to bite ears off referees.

Here is an account of the news in Graham Greene's *The Honorary Consul:* "A retired general had died in Córdoba at the age of eighty; a few bombs had exploded in Bogotá, and of course the Argentine football team was continuing its violent progress through Europe." Of course. The old innocent view that the game itself could be, to its supporters and players alike, a purge of violent emotions has long been exploded. Soccer is not the poor man's Sophocles.

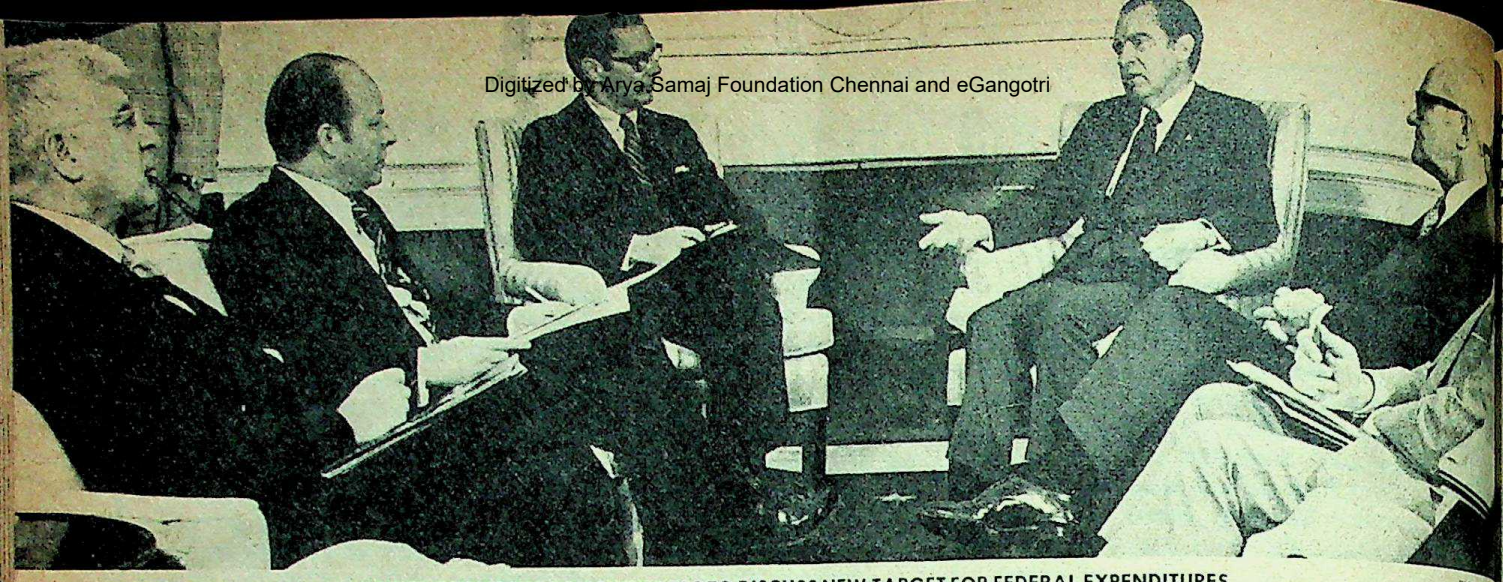
■

It is all but over now for another four years, and the winners will not noticeably earn for their country increased political prestige or an unwonted influx of tourists. Soccer remains a closed language, an alternative to politics, and perhaps after all a harmless substitute for war. For the *aficionados* of the working and middle classes, it is art, poetry, music, the sole palliation of the boredom of the office and workbench.

More than anything, it is a temporary way out of news that is always bad. The World Cup this summer has made it easier to stomach inflation and the defections of the politicians. Whether it is right in terms of the potentialities of the human soul for people to think more of the kicking around of a chunk of leather than of *Hamlet* and Bach's *B Minor Mass* is a question best not argued. The *Fussballweltmeisterschaft* has brought nations together in unlethal rivalry, and that cannot well be shrugged off as a lot of fussball about nothing.

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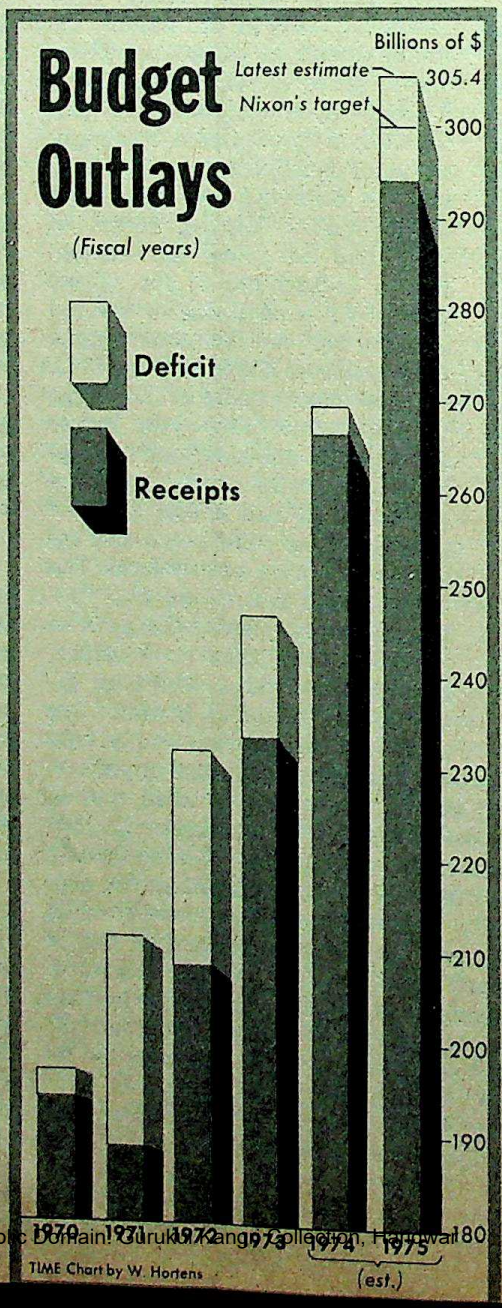
PRESIDENT NIXON MEETING WITH ECONOMIC POLICYMAKERS TO DISCUSS NEW TARGET FOR FEDERAL EXPENDITURES

POLICY

How Real a Spending Cut?

In its long and losing struggle to manage an unruly economy, the Nixon Administration has at one time or another applied the diverse economic theories of Milton Friedman (concentration on money supply), John Maynard Keynes (liberal spending) and John Kenneth Galbraith (price control). Last week, still seeking an effective anti-inflation strategy, it went back to Adam Smith. In a bow to the oldtime, laissez-faire religion of reduced Government spending, the White House announced that it would try to trim more than $5 billion out of the budget for fiscal 1975, which starts this week. If the cuts are actually made, spending would still rise to a record $300 billion, but the deficit would drop from a projected $11 billion to $6 billion. The White House further announced that it would attempt to balance the budget for fiscal 1976, a feat that has not been accomplished since 1969. Where this year's cuts would be made is unknown. Presidential Economic Adviser Kenneth Rush said that the $85 billion defense budget was a possible area for savings, such as "the reduction of personnel that is not needed."

Raging Debate. In an effort to determine specifics, President Nixon is scheduled to meet next week with economic policymakers again to get suggestions. But already a debate is raging among Administration budgetmakers as to how much trimming is really feasible. Office of Management and Budget Director Roy L. Ash said after the White House announcement last week that only about $2 billion could be cut by "tightening the screws." The remaining $3 billion, he said, would have to come through sale of federal assets, such as oil leases. In the convoluted semantics



of budgetry, money from such sales counted not as federal income but "negative expenditures" and thus serves to reduce officially reported spending.

The idea of making such [illegible] "cuts" does not please Herbert Stein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, or Treasury Secretary William E. Simon. Both want more real spending reductions than Ash says are possible. Simon was reported to be so irked by Ash's stand that at one point he exploded to Ash in language reminiscent of the White House transcripts: "I would think this [expletive deleted] budget was your own."

Small Impact. Whatever genuine cuts the Administration can make may be both proper and timely. Last week First National Bank of Chicago raised its prime lending rate to an all-time high of 11.8%, and many other major banks went back up to 11¾%, an increase of one-fourth of a point. In theory at least, lower federal spending should relieve the pressure for still higher rates by lessening the need for the Government to borrow in competition with private borrowers for scarce funds. A thinner deficit should also ease inflationary pressures, which continue frighteningly strong. U.S. Steel and Bethlehem have raised prices 5% to 15% for many products (U.S. Steel for the third time in seven weeks), and Chrysler boosted its prices $60 a car, its fourth increase on the 1974 models.

Even a $5 billion budget cut, however, would probably have only a marginal impact on the rate of inflation. Rush conceded that the initial effect would be mostly psychological. That effect is already observable in Congress, which is in a parsimonious mood in this election year. A majority in the Senate has signed a resolution calling for a balanced budget in fiscal 1975, and the House last week trounced by 65 to 1 an amendment to a debt-ceiling bill that would have cut personal income [illegible]

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SCANDALS

Gulling the Beautiful People



ROBERT TRIPPET
Inspired salesmanship.

Getting Penny Pincher Jack Benny to kick $300,000 into a shaky oil scheme was no easy job. Enticing Financial Cognoscente George J.W. Goodman ("Adam Smith," author of *The Money Game*) to chip in $110,000 seemingly should be even harder. Or consider trying to gull $211,000 out of Walter Wriston, chairman of the First National City Bank.

All three—and 2,000 other investors from show business, sports, politics, the law, business and banking—succumbed to the inspired salesmanship of an Oklahoma lawyer named Robert S. Trippet. By last summer, when he resigned one step ahead of a barrage of civil suits and a criminal investigation, Trippet sold $30 million worth of subscriptions in oil-drilling funds. Trippet denies charges that he handled the money illegally, but when asked how much oil he has found, he replies cryptically: "That's relative." In any case, his Tulsa-based Home-Stake Production Co. (no relation to Homestake Mining Co. of San Francisco) is now bankrupt. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, which first reported the story last week, Home-Stake pulled off one of the biggest swindles of any kind in history; some $100 million that it took in has not yet been accounted for.

Certainly no questionable operation has ever matched the star quality of Home-Stake's investor list. Singer Andy Williams' stake ($538,000*) was among the largest, but he had plenty of celebrity company: Alan Alda ($145,000), Mia Farrow (amount unknown), Barbra Streisand ($28,500), Barbara Walters ($28,500), Bob Dylan (who now has $78,000 more reason to sing of capitalist exploitation). New York Yankee Catcher Thurman Munson put up an unknown amount; Republican Senator Jacob Javits of New York, $28,500; Federal Judge Murray Gurfein, who wrote the decision in the Pentagon-papers case, $70,000. Most astonishing is the list of astute businessmen like Wriston who invested their personal funds. Fred J. Borch, former chairman of General Electric, put up $440,920; William H. Morton, president of American Express, $57,000; Donald Kendall, chairman of PepsiCo, an unknown amount; James R. Shepley, president of Time Inc., $68,500; Thomas S. Gates, who was once Defense Secretary and chairman of the Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., $133,000.

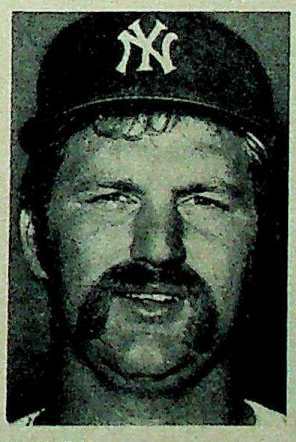
Some Action. One secret of Trippet's success was his skill as a name dropper. Lawrence Kartiganer, a partner in a Beverly Hills law firm that invested in Home-Stake and suggested it to Benny, Williams, Director Mike Nichols and Singer Bobbie Gentry, says that Trippet, a man of some aplomb, would let slip "oh, casually" the names of celebrities he had already signed up. Says Kartiganer: "When investors of the caliber of the top executives at the First National City Bank have a piece of the action, there is a tremendous psychological effect." (Wriston says that First National City itself never recommended investments in Home-Stake to anybody.)

Some of the investors doubtless knew that the venture was risky but figured that they had little to lose. In order to encourage oil exploration, the Government allows part of the money invested in drilling funds to be written off on income tax returns, so many of Home-Stake's victims were putting in money that they would otherwise pay out in taxes. Trippet for a while surprised them by paying handsome dividends, so many upped the ante, investing more than they would have for tax purposes. Apparently, Trippet did it by running a Ponzi scheme, a type of swindle named for Charles Ponzi, a con man who used it to shake more than $10 million out of the citizens of Boston in 1919 and 1920. The principle is simple: the first group of investors are paid dividends out of the money contributed by newer investors. Eventually, such an operation has to collapse of its own weight, but the rewards can initially look good. In 1970, for example, Western Union Chairman Russell W. McFall invested $60,000 in Home-Stake and got a dividend of $6,220, or 10.4%.

At least some of Home-Stake's victims now admit embarrassedly that they should have known better. Hoyt Ammidon, chairman of U.S. Trust Co., concedes that the oil department of his own bank took a dim view of Home-Stake, but he disregarded its opinion and invested $114,000. A revised Home-Stake prospectus issued in 1971 should have raised red flags for



DYLAN

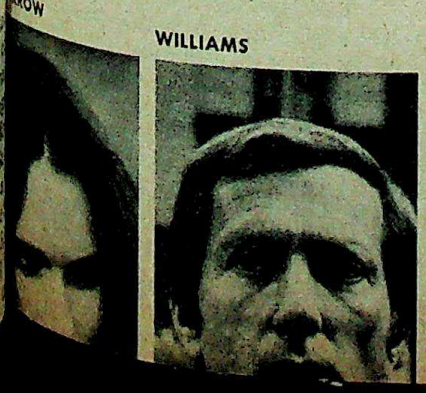


MUNSON



WALTERS

*All investments are as computed by the *Wall Street Journal* and do not necessarily represent potential losses. In some cases, investors put up less than the full amount in cash, and some got part of their money back.



FARROW

WILLIAMS



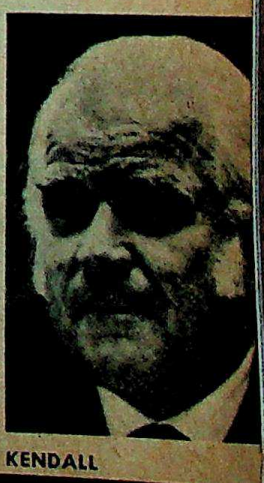
ALDA



WRISTON



BENNY



KENDALL

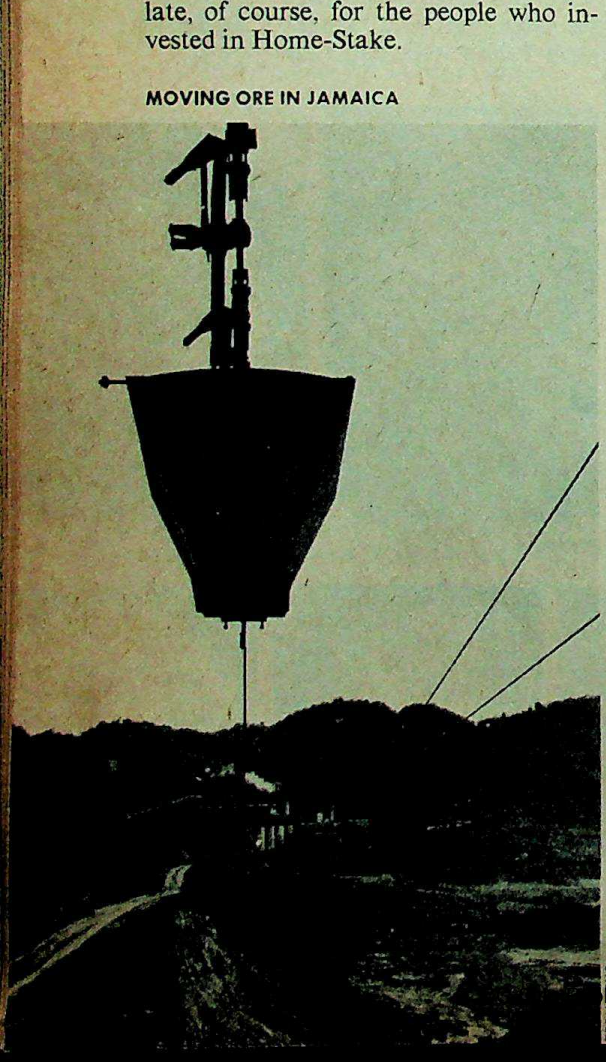
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businessmen, if they read it. Robert Metzger, president of Resource Programs, a firm that sells advice to investors in oil and gas, says that he and his colleagues used to "sit down and read the Home-Stake prospectus and laugh." Among other things, the prospectus admitted that estimates of oil and gas reserves cited by Home-Stake in promotional materials "were extremely uncertain and speculative" and that Home-Stake's managers were permitted to do whatever they pleased with funds that were left over after drilling costs were met.

Get Rich. People who took the trouble to look at Home-Stake's oil operations sometimes found them impressive, but if they had looked more closely they might have changed their minds. The *Wall Street Journal* reports Home-Stake employees persuaded a California farmer to let them paint his irrigation pipes orange so they would appear to be part of an oil-pumping network.

Beyond its picaresque aspects and the individual investors' losses, the Home-Stake affair has broader implications. Officials of the Securities and Exchange Commission worry that such glittery schemes are siphoning away investment capital needed badly by legitimate businesses to expand or modernize their enterprises. Late last week the SEC issued an unusual public warning to investors not to fall for "get-rich-quick schemes, promising spectacular returns without any basis of fact." It came too late, of course, for the people who invested in Home-Stake.

MOVING ORE IN JAMAICA



GREENVILLE

MINING

Battling Over Bauxite

The Caribbean island nation of Jamaica is small and poor—but it also is the source of 60% of the bauxite that U.S. companies use to make aluminum. That gives it power that under the leadership of Prime Minister Michael Manley, it is starting to use. Last week, after three months of futile resistance, the companies coughed up the first $39 million due under Manley's plan to multiply eightfold the taxes and royalties on bauxite mined out of the Jamaican earth. The payments presage substantial price increases in the U.S. on aluminum products ranging from lawn chairs to beer cans—and foreshadow difficulties industrialists may encounter from now on in dealing with poor countries that possess vital raw materials.

In Jamaican eyes, Manley's power play is only an attempt to redress a neocolonialist relationship. Between 1949 and the mid-1960s, five American corporations and one Canadian firm bought 225,000 acres of bauxite-rich land, or 13% of the island's total land area, mostly from private owners. Ore exports from the mines reached 7.4 million tons in 1973, and taxes and royalties on the shipments that year brought in $25 million, roughly 40% of Jamaica's foreign currency. But under the complicated tax system, the Jamaican take on each ton shipped dropped from $2.83 in 1971 to $1.61 in 1973. Moreover, the companies could determine how much ore they would mine and export without consultation with Jamaican authorities. Says Manley: "They were able to exploit the fields without regard to Jamaican economic interests."

Jamaica needs money. The nation of 2 million people is suffering vicious inflation, now racing along at an annual rate of 25% to 30%, and more than one-fourth of its work force is unemployed. Revenues from bauxite exports have not risen as quickly as the prices of imports —including oil, for which Jamaica will pay $150 million this year, *v.* only $50 million in 1973.

New Taxes. Three months ago, Manley demanded that the aluminum companies renegotiate their contracts. But after ten weeks of vitriolic argument, the talks broke off. Manley professes astonishment at the companies' attitude. "They just would not offer a realistic figure," he told TIME's Bernard Diederich. Company executives insist that they did not oppose higher payments—only the tough tactics that Manley adopted. In fact, the companies say, they offered to agree to a tripling of payments, but Manley refused.

Manley finally rammed through the Jamaican Parliament a set of new taxes and royalties calculated to raise Jamaica's revenues from bauxite to $200 million this year, eight times as much as in 1973. Though the companies are paying, they protest: Alcoa, Kaiser minum and Reynolds Metals hav nounced their intention to take case to the International Center for tlement of Investment Disputes branch of the World Bank, for a vation on the ground that the new violate a lawful contract.

Manley has made it clear that will not obey any adverse decision that body and has told the alum companies that a new round of ne ations, aimed at securing a 51% ernment interest in all the compa Jamaican operations, must now be He also demands that the companies the government their land, thoug says that Jamaica will pay a fair and give the companies continued cess to the bauxite. Manley also agreed with the governments of neighboring countries of Trinidad Guyana to build two new alumi smelters in those nations—so that companies turn elsewhere for their Jamaica can process bauxite into minum on its own.

MERGERS

A More Permissive View

Writing eight years ago about trust cases that came before the Supr Court, Justice Potter Stewart grum "The sole consistency that I can f that . . . the Government always w His implication was that the high c liberal majority, then headed by Warren, would strike down any co rate merger that federal trustbu challenged on any grounds at all. ly, however, the court, now incl four conservative judges appointe President Nixon, among them C Justice Warren Burger, has been ing to a considerably more permi view of mergers.

In February 1973 the court fail sustain a Government challenge t merger of Denver's First National corporation and the First National of Greeley, Colo., and in March it mitted General Dynamics Corp. t quire United Electric Coal Cos. linois. Last week, in what many law and businessmen regard as a dec turn in the court's attitude, it voted 3 to let two banks in the state of W ington merge.

Lawyers for the Department of tice argued that if Seattle-based Na al Bank of Commerce, the state's ond largest, were allowed to Spokane's Washington Trust Bank ninth largest, the combination would fle "potential competition" betwee two. The Justice Department has held that companies should not be lowed to buy into new geographical kets by acquiring big potential riva should be forced to open their branches in competition with firm

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at state law would have made it difficult for the Seattle bank to open anches in Spokane.

In dissent, Justice Byron White protested that the court was "chipping way" at a fundamental antimonopoly rinciple: two companies should not allowed to merge when they could ompete.

Curious Engagement

Big mergers have proved disappointing lately for such huge European companies as Dunlop Pirelli and British Leyland, but France's second and third biggest auto makers remain undaunted. Last week Peugeot and Citroën announced a kind of corporate engagement. Financial terms and most other aspects of the proposed merger were left vague by the companies' spectacularly uninformative statement, but one thing is clear: the merged firm will be a giant. Sales of the two companies now total about $4 billion a year, a figure running fender-to-fender with Daimler-Benz and outranked in the European auto industry only by Volkswagen.

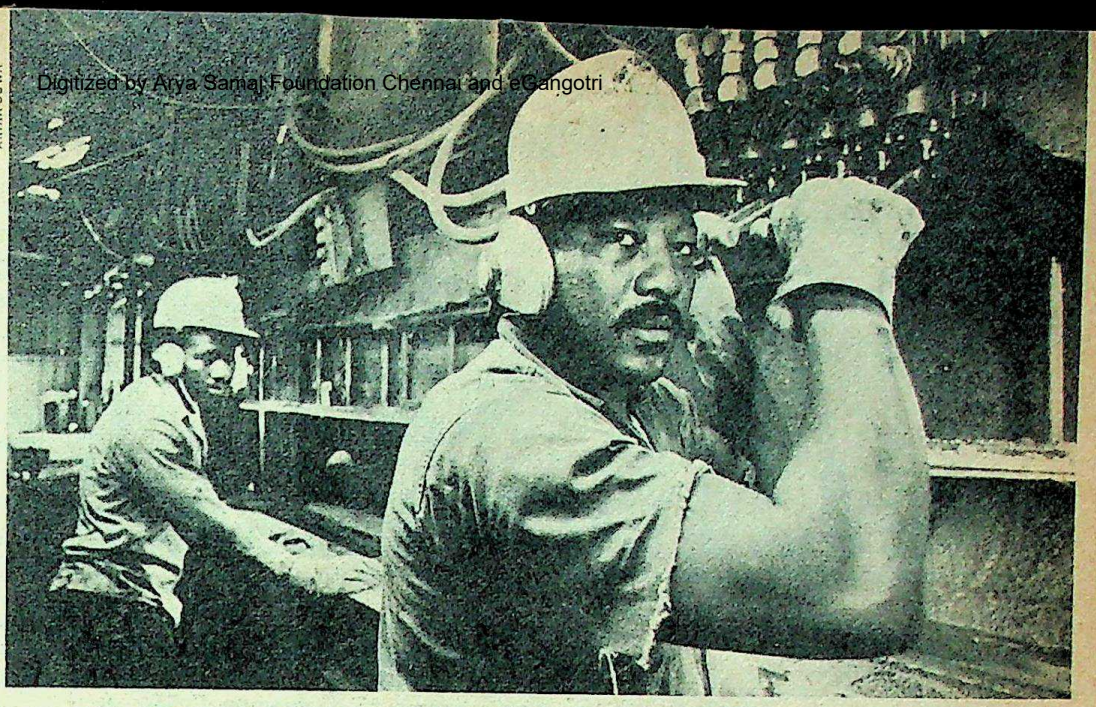
Still, the combination seems curious. Citroën is obviously ripe for merger. The company in 1972 earned only a pathetic $6.3 million profit on $2 billion sales; last year it nearly doubled its earnings, but it recently announced that it expects a loss in 1974. The company has been hit hard by credit restrictions and high fuel costs, and its managers are more adept at engineering than at marketing. If the left had won the French presidential elections in May, Citroën would almost certainly have been a prime candidate for nationalization.

Peugeot seems to have less to gain from a merger. It has been doing very well on its own; in 1972 it earned $65.3 million, or ten times Citroën's profits, on almost about the same sales: $2.1 billion. Peugeot offers a complete line of cars, in contrast to Citroën, which has concentrated on the upper and lower ends of the market with its avant-garde luxury lines and spartan, eccentrically styled Deux Chevaux. The merged company will be headed by Peugeot Director-General François Gautier, 67, but Michelin tire company, which owns a controlling share of Citroën's stock, is expected to retain a similar position in the combined enterprise. Not surprisingly, French investors reacted to the engagement by bidding up the price of Citroën's stock and bidding down Peugeot's.

AFETY

SHA Under Attack

When Congress created the Occupational Safety and Health Administration four years ago, it acted out of justifiable concern about the shockingly high rate of U.S. job-caused injuries and illnesses (some 2.4 million disabling industrial injuries were reported in 1972 alone; many others doubtless went unreported). OSHA was empowered to set national standards to replace a welter of conflicting health and safety guidelines, send inspectors to factories, stores and offices to check on compliance, levy stiff fines on violators and even order unsafe businesses to close down. In operation, however, OSHA has pleased almost no one. Labor leaders complain, correctly, that job-accident rates have not dropped, and charge that OSHA lacks the money and manpower to begin to do its job adequately. Many businessmen protest that OSHA inspectors often enforce arbitrarily regulations that are too strict and prohibitively expensive to obey.



AKIRA SUWA

WORKMEN WEARING EAR PROTECTORS AGAINST NOISE AT PLANT NEAR TAMPA, FLA.
An effort to improve job safety that pleases almost no one.

Last week the businessmen pressed their complaints at two sets of hearings. One was called by OSHA itself to hear comments on a proposed regulation that factory air must be cleansed of all "detectable" amounts of vinyl chloride, a gas that has been linked to liver cancer (TIME, May 13). Plastics executives testified that technologically such perfect purification is impossible. At the other hearings, held by the House Select Subcommittee on Labor, representatives of the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce voiced more general gripes. Speaking for the N.A.M., for instance, Michael Stinton, safety manager of Dow Corning Corp., contended that lowering factory noise levels from 90 decibels to 85, one proposal OSHA has studied, could cost U.S. industry a ruinous $31 billion.

Some of the business complaints seem clearly exaggerated. Big companies generally have little trouble complying with OSHA rules. The loudest protests come from medium-sized businesses—which have the highest accident rates. Many owners of these firms complain that the cost of obeying OSHA rules could drive them into bankruptcy. But when Democratic Representative Joseph Gaydos of Pennsylvania pressed Richard Berman, director of labor law for the Chamber of Commerce, to name a firm that had been put out of business by OSHA rules, Berman admitted he could not cite even one.

Yet some OSHA rules seem contradictory. For instance, at construction sites OSHA requires back-up alarms on vehicles—and also requires some employees to wear earplugs (as a protection against noise) that might make it difficult for them to hear the alarms. The critics' most telling complaint is that visiting OSHA inspectors by law cannot advise businessmen how to clear up unsafe conditions; they can only mete out fines. George Peters, president of Aurora Metal Co., a foundry in Montgomery, Ill., fumes: "If you call OSHA in for advice, they will issue you a citation."

Hearing Alarms. OSHA Chief John H. Stender, an Assistant Secretary of Labor whose former career as a boilermaker left him partly deaf, stoutly insists that no changes are needed in his agency or the law that set it up. He insists that the agency's 700 inspectors are enough —even though they have visited only 145,000 U.S. workplaces in the past three years, or a mere 2.9% of all those in the country—and contends that few businessmen want advice on how to remedy unsafe conditions.

Congressmen seem unpersuaded by Stender's defense. They have introduced no fewer than 90 separate bills to amend the OSHA act. Some would toughen enforcement, others loosen it. Republican Representative Steven Symms of Idaho is leading a drive to abolish OSHA entirely, with strong support from the John Birch Society, which likens OSHA inspectors to Gestapo agents. Fortunately, Congress is unlikely to do anything so extreme. It would be better advised to give OSHA more inspectors, increase its funding ($102.5 million for fiscal 1975) —and allow the inspectors to tell businessmen how to comply with safety rules rather than fine those seeking advice.

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ADVERTISEMENT FOR HERSTATT BANK IN COLOGNE*

BANKING

Collapse on the Rhine

Like many another middle-income West German, Klaus Gördel sought to put his savings in a bank that would pay the most interest. So several months ago the 45-year-old government official switched his life savings of $12,000 from a government-owned bank to Bankhaus I.D. Herstatt KGaA, one of the country's largest private banks, with 31 branches chiefly in the Rhineland city of Cologne. Last week Gördel and thousands of other Herstatt depositors had their dreams, and quite possibly their savings, wiped out in the most disastrous German banking collapse since the turmoil of the '30s.

West German banking authorities suddenly and dramatically revoked Herstatt's license to do business; they also locked its doors. The news caused hundreds of angry, shouting depositors to mill round the bank's headquarters, trying to find out if they could get any of their savings back. Police with bullhorns managed to calm them but could not answer the question. Germany has no equivalent of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, which insures bank deposits in the U.S. On the West German stock exchanges, jittery investors bid share prices of banks and insurance companies down to seven-year lows.

The reasons for Herstatt's demise do nothing to bolster confidence in the German banking system, or indeed banking generally. Herstatt had incurred and concealed, massive losses through speculation in foreign currencies. Similar fates have overtaken banks in other countries. In the U.S., currency trading has cost the Franklin National Bank dearly (TIME, July 1); in Switzerland, the Union Bank reportedly dropped $50 million; in Germany, Westdeutsche Landesbank Girozentrale has lost perhaps $110 million.

*The ad says: "My father is more farsighted. He is a Herstatt customer."

Free Float. Currency trading was a relatively riskless operation during the long era when values of major currencies were fixed. But now that they are free to float up and down in response to supply and demand, trading has become chancy indeed. Herstatt apparently contracted to deliver huge quantities of U.S. dollars and other currencies to corporate customers on fixed future dates at highly speculative prices.

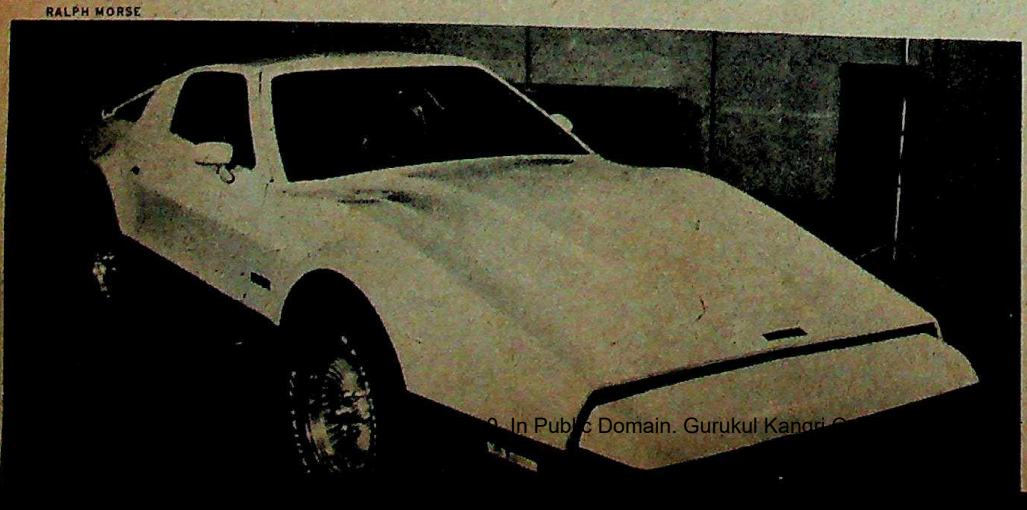
Just how much Herstatt lost is not known, but one estimate puts the red ink at $200 million, equal to a fourth of the bank's reported assets. In theory, the bank's founder, I.D. Herstatt, is personally liable for all losses, but he and other shareholders have only $30 million capital equity in the bank.

The Herstatt scandal also exposed a dubious aspect of the German banking system, one of the least regulated in Europe. In recent years, many German banks have been speculating heavily in currency, gold, real estate and commodities. For more than a year, other European bankers have been voicing worry about the size of the risks. Now, more Herstatt cases are expected.

Henry or Edsel?

Amid a DeMillean display of press-agentry, the Bricklin car—product of cowboy-booted, Indian-beaded Millionaire Malcolm Bricklin, the first American to start an auto manufacturing business from scratch in 28 years (TIME, May 27)—made its official debut last week at Manhattan's elegant Four Seasons restaurant. Though its stress is on safety, it turned out to be a sporty-looking, high-priced ($6,500) vehicle with several unusual features. Its gull-wing doors need only a 10-in. clearance to open fully, minimizing the risk of sideswipes. Polyurethane bumpers are designed to absorb the shock of a 10-m.p.h. collision, double the legal minimum, by receding into the body. The Bricklin's body is made of a corrosion-proof, vacuum-formed acrylic that is impregnated with color (Safety Red, Safety Green, etc.) rather than painted. Bricklin will put the new car, which is being made in Saint John, N.B., on sale in the Northeastern U.S. next month. He expects to make 1,000 cars a month initially, 100,000 a year eventually. But it remains for the consumer to determine whether Mal Bricklin is the new Henry Ford or his car is the next Edsel.

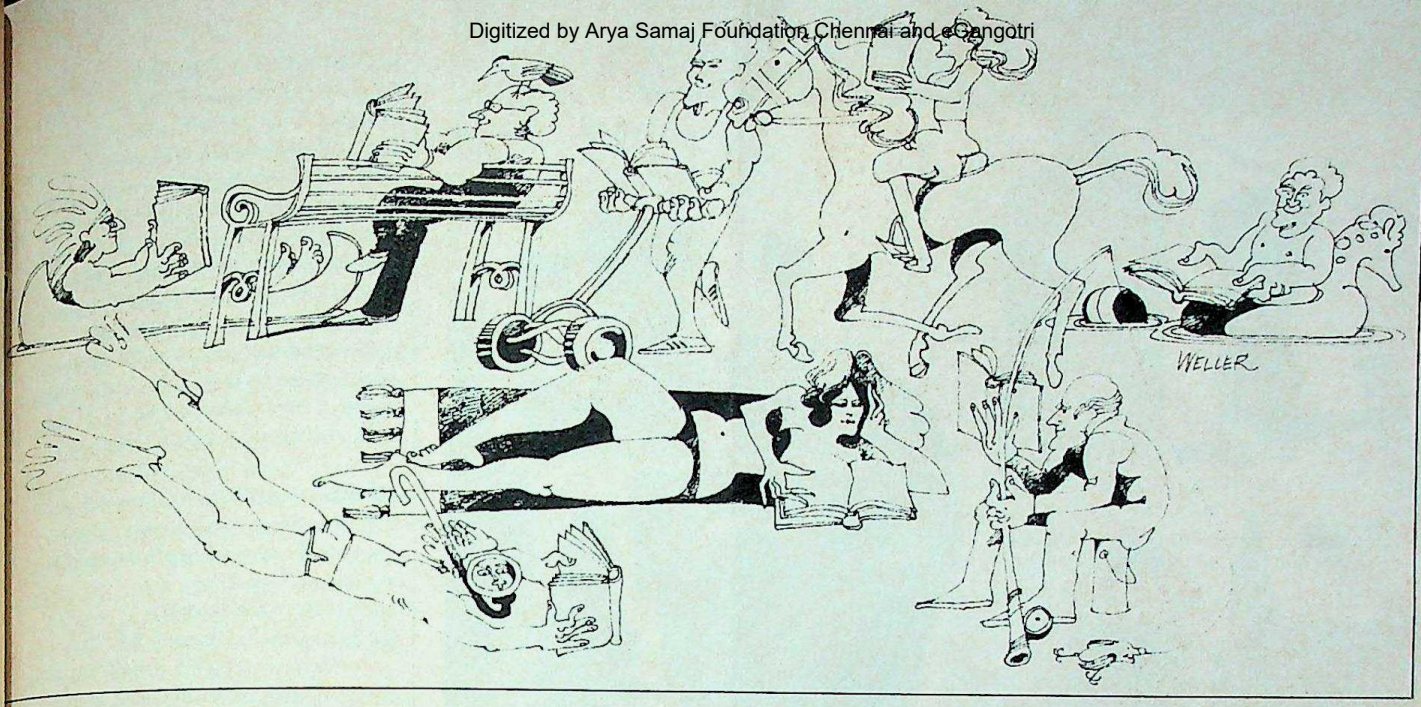
RALPH MORSE





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amplings for the Summer Reader

TURN JOURNEY
by R.F. DELDERFIELD
18 pages. Simon & Schuster. $8.95.

R.F. Delderfield is to the novel what *pstairs, Downstairs* is to television. The an is a good read, and for the kind of od-read addict who hates himself the ext morning, Delderfield can be jus- fied as literature too. "A modern Trol- pe, a latter-day Galsworthy!" the crit- s cry, while his stories slip down as oothly as soap opera.

Return Journey was published in ngland in 1967 but is now being of- red to American fans for the first me. It shows Delderfield up to his virtues, dealing with people up to vices. In an English seaside resort ore than 30 years ago, "Pip" Stuart, young photographer, seems about to arry the ironmonger's daughter and ttle down to a lifetime of prams with w and then a pint at the corner pub. t a West Country Emma Bovary puts p's still-life future out of focus. Bored a frenzy by small-town domesticity, rna, a doctor's wife, passes on to the 20th century's most commu- able disease: restlessness. With her sports car, and golden hair, Lorna mes close to parodying a jazz-age flap- r. Still, while the lowerbrow in the hizoid Delderfield reader may thrill such blood-stirring experiences as nny dips and off-coast storms, his herbrowed self can find plenty of so- l realism. Delderfield makes his read- see—and even smell—boarding- uses with names like Resthaven and angri-La.

The story is told in flashback as Pip, w in his 50s, returns to a home town ed by trailers and transformed by car and the tourist agencies." The author's moral: They don't make small towns the way they used to. Delderfield died in 1972. But as long as his books flourish, nobody will be able to say that about the novel.

THE DOGS OF WAR
by FREDERICK FORSYTH
408 pages. Viking. $7.95.

With each successive story, Novelist Frederick Forsyth *(Day of the Jackal, Odessa File)* grows richer and more book clubbable. He also finds it harder and harder to get his action to explode without leading up to it with an interminable train of exposition—in this case short lectures on every conceivable subject from the state of the world's platinum market to exactly how a consignment of German Schmeissers for an African *coup d'état* should be welded into oil drums—the better to foil the customs with, my dear. Forsyth's fact-filled thriller about a bad moneyman in London and how he uses a white mercenary to topple an African dictator and get the local platinum concession does not really get going until about page 384. The last 24 pages are almost worth waiting for, though, and the far-flung film sure to result will no doubt be galvanizing.

IMPEACHMENT: A HANDBOOK
by CHARLES L. BLACK JR.
90 pages. Yale University Press. $5.95. $1.95 paperback.

In impeachment, says the author, the civil trial standard of "preponderance of the evidence" should not be enough to remove a President. On the other hand, strictly applying the "beyond a reasonable doubt" standard of criminal cases could mean limping along with a President who the Senate and nation are convinced is guilty though not convicted. Black, a Yale law professor, suggests the test should be "overwhelming preponderance of the evidence."

His timely volume clearly and lucidly covers everything from what constitutes "high crimes and misdemeanors" to the scope of Executive privilege. It would be natural to wonder if the author is pro- or anti-Nixon. The measure of his book's achievement is that it tells the reader not what to think but what to think about.

HENRY AND OTHER HEROES
by EZRA BOWEN
246 pages. Little, Brown. $6.95.

The author is a sports nut now edging toward 50. He grew up in fashionable Merion, Pa., member of a distinguished, divided and furiously competitive clan. His mother, Historian Catherine Drinker Bowen *(Yankee from Olympus)*, apparently never lost at any sport. Bowen dreamed of becoming a triple-threat back at Princeton but became a pedestrian first baseman at Amherst, then an editor in New York. Years passed. Sports stars grew younger. Bowen grew older. Came the day when he could no longer take comfort even from the presence on the sporting scene of elderly prizefighters like Archie Moore, or the ageless prowess of Stan Musial.

This slender and often charming autobiography, in short, is about growing up, and the author admits that Peter Pan had absolutely the right idea about the whole painful subject. There are moments when Bowen cannot seem to decide whether to remember the past as Huck Finn or Holden Caulfield. No matter. He spares us any anguished memories about teen-age sex. He is full

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You may think it's "heartburn" ...but you could be dead wrong

If you have these symptoms, you may be having a heart attack.

1. Prolonged, heavy pressure or squeezing pain in the center of the chest, behind the breastbone.
2. Pain may radiate to the shoulder, arm, neck or jaw.
3. The pain or discomfort is often accompanied by sweating
4. Nausea, vomiting and shortness of breath may also occur.
5. Sometimes these symptoms subside and then return.

Don't wait. Call your doctor immediately and tell him your symptoms. If he isn't available, get to a hospital emergency room at once.

and anecdotes are often sharp and ny. "If thee marries for money, Quaker stepfather once admon him, "thee surely will earn it." Mo portant, Bowen writes about small his own children included, with tion and dignity. His wife, he admit cently complained that while he passed 40, he had passed it going wrong direction because he never p with anyone who was more than years old. "All of which may have quite true," says Bowen. "I mean else will have a catch with you?"

MOUNTAIN SPIRITS: A Chronicle of Corn Whiskey from King James' Ulster Plantation to America's Appalachians the Moonshine Life
by JOSEPH EARL DABNEY
242 pages. Scribners. $8.95.

"Whiskey and freedom gang gither," declared Robert Burns—a and drinking man who turned out a verse against Scotland's "Act of cyse." Usquebaugh distillers in Sco and Ulster generally felt the way did. In the early 1700s most of them grated to the American colonies, ing their whisky-making tools and niques with them. By 1750, moons was a necessity of life on the fro and brewing corn whisky was a industry. From fusty books and hand interviews with oldtimers, many facts and much affection, J Dabney has put together a splend often hilarious history.

A "bootleg bonnet" is a black hat used to strain the fresh brew barrel. The term "100 proof" was inally known as "gunpowder proof cause the British found that whisky about 50% alcohol, when mixed gunpowder, would burn with a s blue flame. Moonshining is not a of the past, either. As late as 197 U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco Firearms destroyed more than 2,0 licit stills, and admits it barely scra the surface of the trade.

As to what "white lightning" tastes like, opinions differ. Irvin S compared a swig to swallowing a ed kerosene lamp. A North Ca moonshiner says simply: "Hits a b ugly drink." And then there is Co Leland DeVore, whose throat in tarily contracts whenever he thi moonshine: "I hear, as if from far the gagging whisper of a long-lost whose favorite saying was 'Vile st wish I had a barrel of it!' "

THE MEMORY BOOK
by HARRY LORAYNE and JERRY LUCAS
237 pages. Stein & Day. $7.95.

This book is a recipe for m Common sense and ancient w agree that the secret of a happy a ductive inner life is to forget as m possible—forget time's winged c forget that your child needs ortho forget that you have forgotten

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ou hold as you watch the evening news which itself must be forgotten) will demolish a billion brain cells.

Harry Lorayne, a mentalist and magician, and Jerry Lucas, the 6-ft. 8-in. basketball player and mnemonist who just retired from the New York Knicks, have devised a pernicious never-fail system for remembering everything—from them for remembering everything—from the names, faces and phone numbers of everyone in a TV audience of 400 people to, in Lucas' case, the essential contents of an issue of TIME.

Reading the book suggests that the system may work as advertised. The basketball player and what's-his-name unseal the reader's memory with a Tinker Toy assortment of mnemonic links and pegs. Assume, they say, that you want to memorize a random list of ten words: airplane, tree, envelope, earring, bucket, shing, basketball, salami, star, nose. Form a series of visual incongruities—a ree riding in an airplane, say, and then another picture of envelopes growing on trees, and another one in which millions of earrings fly out of the envelopes, and so on. The more grotesque and childish the mental picture, the stronger and more indelible the link.

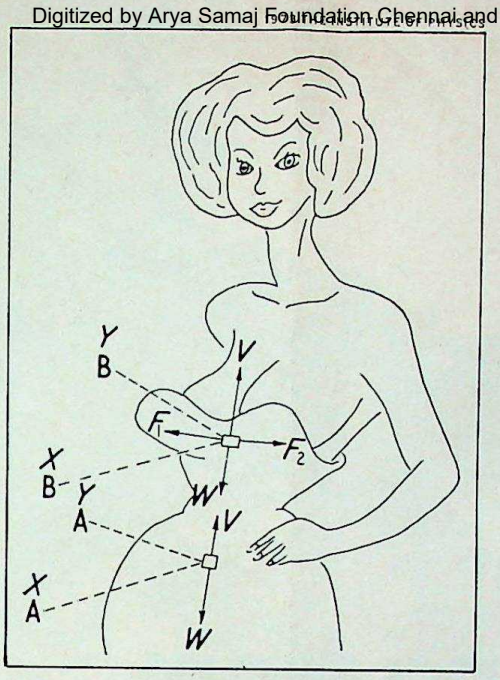
Only in one area does the book seem misguided. "The French phrase *rien de grave* is idiomatic for . . . 'It's nothing serious.' Associate 'Ran the grave' to 'It's nothing' in some ridiculous way and you've memorized it." Yes, you have, and in a flawless Kankakee accent.

A RANDOM WALK IN SCIENCE
Compiled by R.L. WEBER
206 pages. Illustrated.
Crane, Russak. $12.50.

By culling the *Journal of Irreproducible Results* and the *Journal of Jocular Physics* as well as more sober publications, R.L. Weber, an associate professor of physics at Penn State, has turned up more than 100 examples of the scientific mind at play. Against considerable odds, the result is a collection of short pieces that are funny and reassuring. If the future cloners and behaviorconditioners of society have a sense of humor, all may yet be well.

One of the best is the classic *Stress Analysis of a Strapless Evening Gown,* in which a structural engineer confronts the problem of designing a dress which appears as if it would fall at any moment and yet actually stays up with some small factor of safety." The solution lies in understanding the principle of the cantilever beam.

Equally good as satires of scientific logic are an essay that postulates the existence of the Infinite Zipper and another that proves heaven is actually hotter than hell. The reasoning goes like this: heaven, which the Bible says receives 49 times as much radiation from the sun as the earth does *(Isaiah 30:26),* would therefore have a temperature of 25° C. Hell, where the main topographical feature is a lake of molten brim-



THE STRESS ANALYSIS OF A STRAPLESS
Cantilever construction, anyone?

temperature of no more, no less, than 444.6° C. Above that temperature, the brimstone would vaporize; much below it, the lake would harden.

And so forth.

STRINGER
by WARD JUST
199 pages. Atlantic-Little, Brown. $5.95.

A certain vagueness about the title character raises the suspicion that this tough novel about an American guerrilla-warfare expert who cracks up in an Asian jungle may be a parable of the American Viet Nam disaster. Indeed, it might be entitled *The Gray Badge of Pragmatism.*

The hero, a 35-year-old civilian technician named Stringer, is attached by the terms of a lucrative contract to a special Army unit. His task: to plant sensing devices near an enemy supply trail so that "smart" bombs can home in on military convoys. He knows how to survive in the bush and is not afraid of spiders or the Viet Cong. But his motivation is uncertain, and this earns him the contempt of his partner, a hard-case Regular Army major named Price.

Price senses that Stringer is a member of nothing. He has no use for military form; the possibilities of the civilian world seem to him narrowing spirals of delusion. Although he appears humane and sensitive, his compass swings powerfully toward chaos and war.

Despite danger and disease, Stringer carries on, planting sensors and calling in air strikes. Sick from rotten water, he hallucinates a slippery dialogue with an imaginary captor. The jungle becomes his world and his home. When Army helicopters come to rescue him, he shoots them down.

Novelist Just finesses most of the moral and artistic questions that could be asked about his book and his character's situation. The reader will find himself wavering between conflicting ing piece of surrealism or it is a neat con job. The compromise view—that the book is a bit of both—leaves Ward Just (author of *The Congressman Who Loved Flaubert,* an excellent collection of several stories published last year) as one of several promising American writers now creeping up on the big novel.

BREAKHEART PASS
by ALISTAIR MACLEAN
178 pages. Doubleday. $5.95.

Here it is again—that sinister, faintly claustrophobic ship of fools venturing on wintry wastes, those corpses that start mysteriously appearing, the urbane and ruthless government agent who is everything that E. Howard Hunt once hoped to be. This time, though, Alistair MacLean operates, not from some place like Bear Island or Ice Station Zebra, but in the American West (circa 1875).

What we have is a troop train carrying relief and medical supplies to a snowy Nevada cavalry fort supposedly afflicted by an outbreak of cholera. As the train chugs onward through the mountains, bodies proliferate like *Ten Little Indians,* telegraph wires go dead, troop cars are uncoupled and plunge spectacularly into ravines. As always in MacLean, alarming quantities of wine and whisky are consumed.

Never mind that it often seems a parody of Zane Grey. MacLean's tale gleefully highballs along at a brisk, cinematic clip. Funny touches are provided by the English understatements of MacLean's Pinkerton-man hero. He is the sort of chap who, on examining an arrow embedded in the heroine's shoulder, might mutter, "Mmmm, Apache, I shouldn't wonder."

A CRY OF ANGELS
by JEFF FIELDS
383 pages. Atheneum. $8.95.

This first novel works the boundary between the Old and the New South, keeping a steady, contemptuous eye on the treachery of progress.

Earl, a raggedy 14-year-old orphan, lives in his great-aunt's tumble-down boardinghouse in the black section of Quarrytown, Ga. It is, in effect, a nursing home; the boarders are all geriatrics cases. Earl's best friends are Em Jojohn, a giant, anarchic Indian who works occasionally as handyman, and Tio, a black grocery clerk with the practical native genius of Ben Franklin.

All that may sound icky and derivative. But ten or 20 pages along, the author seizes the reader with a Southern gift for storytelling and never lets go. Fields relates how Jayell Crooms marries the snotty "brass cracker" Gwen from Atlanta, how the sinister Doc Bobo, Georgia's answer to Papa Doc Duvalier, proceeds toward his doom. Rich and full of color, character and moral drama, *A Cry of Angels* is an authentic cry of American innocence uttered just as the bulldozers knock down Tom Saw-

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SIEMENS

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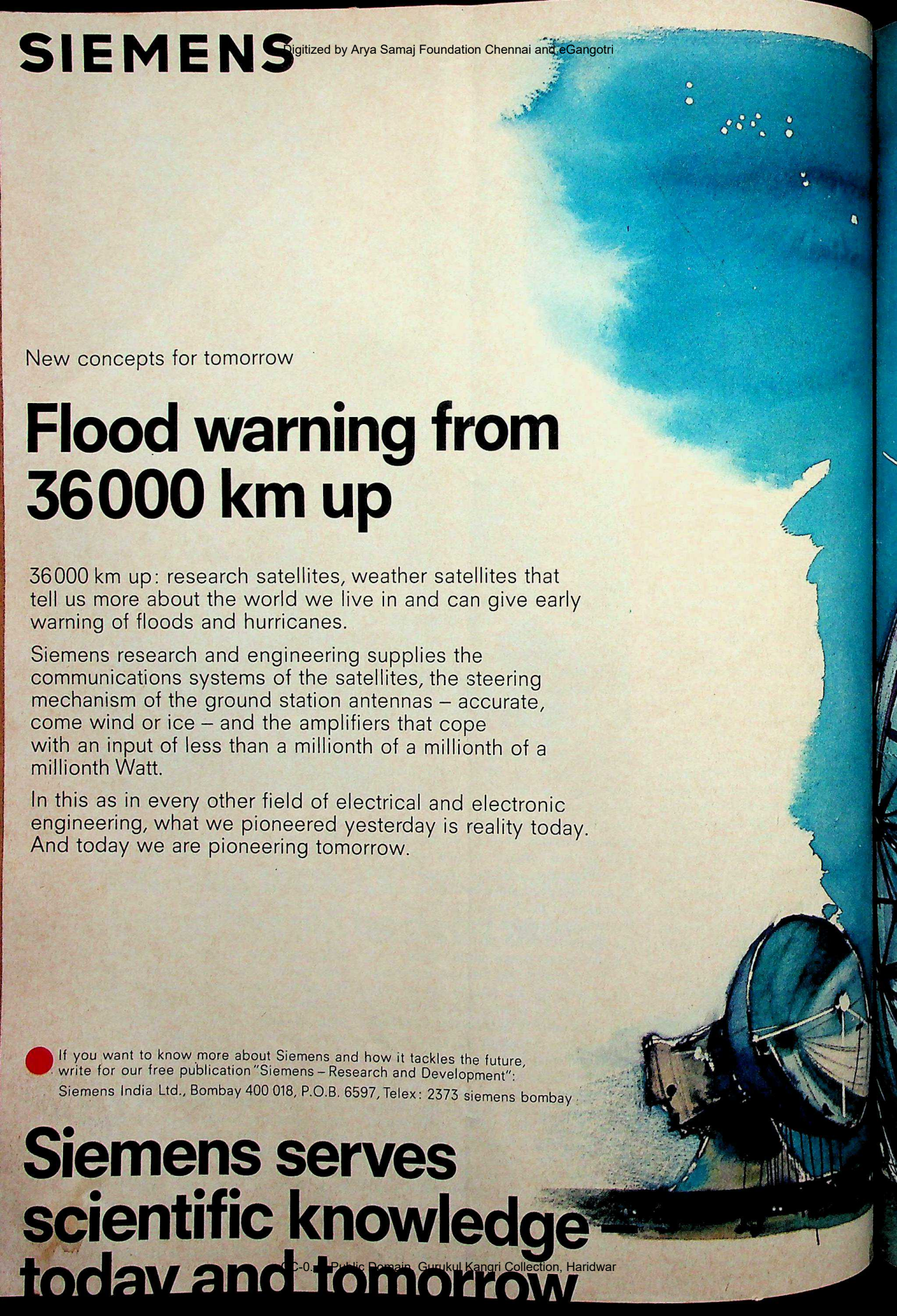
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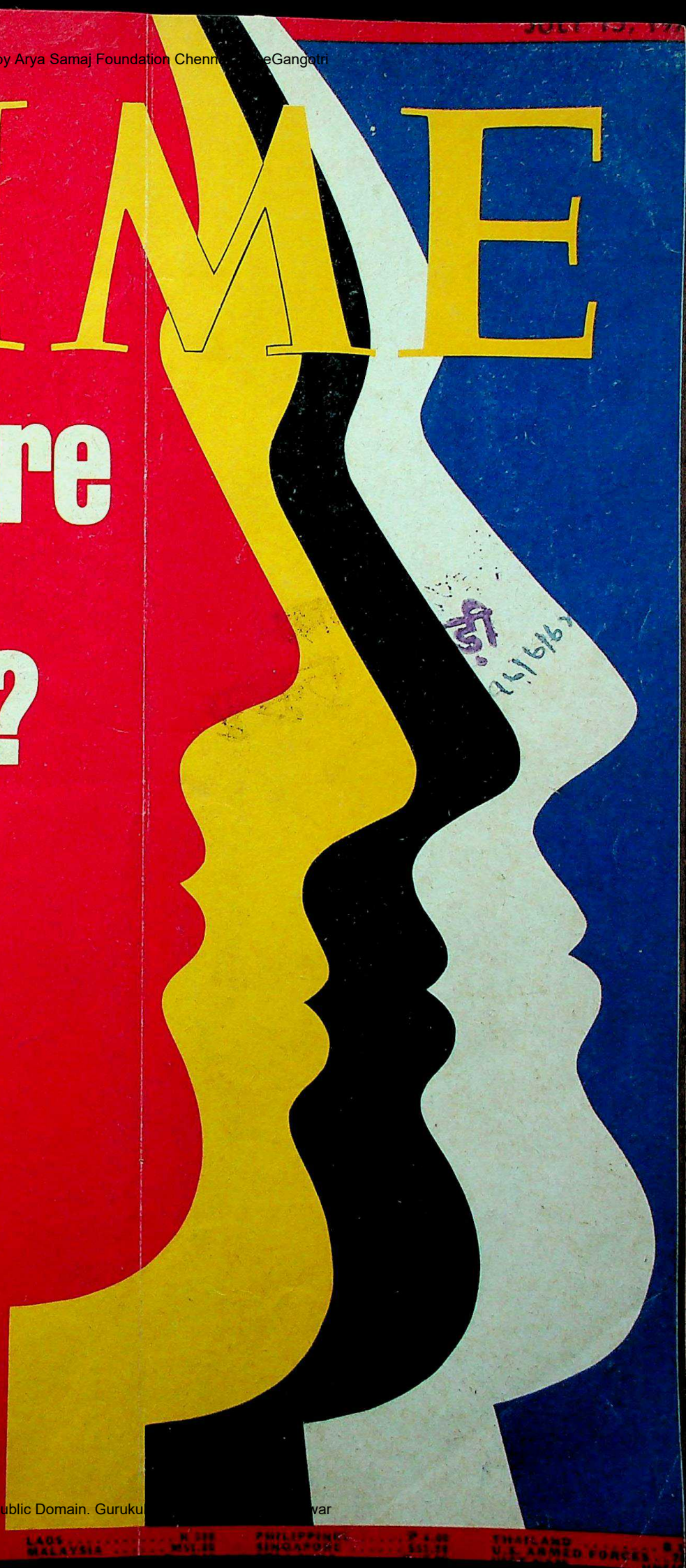
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TIME

Where Are The Leaders?



Special Section: 50 Rising World Leaders

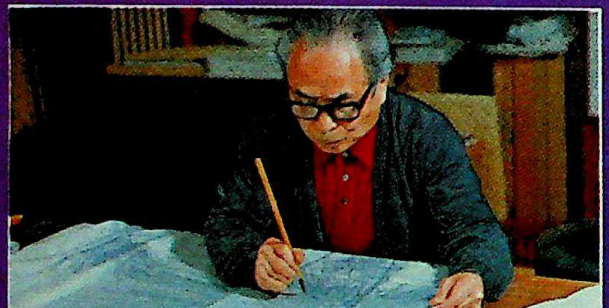
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A MASTER'S TOUCH

The weavers and dyers of Kyoto have been noted from ancient times for the richness and extravagance of their kimono fabrics. Mr. Kako Moriguchi has devoted a lifetime to the refinement of 'Yuzen' design, and these artistic efforts earned him the title of Living National Treasure in 1967.

The 'Yuzen-zome' method of dyeing silk fabric first appeared towards the end of the seventeenth century. In this method the boundaries of the pattern are limited by a resist of rice paste applied by hand. Then the details of design are developed by the brushwork of the artist. Finally the dyes are fixed by steam, after which the traces of the paste resist are washed away by water.



Mr. Moriguchi's themes are typically taken from nature and this water-chestnut motif was inspired by flowers he saw blooming in a quiet pond near his home.

"My materials," he says, "are offered as a tribute to feminity. They are intended not only to enhance beauty but to encourage the warmth and tenderness that lies in every woman's heart."

NIPPON STEEL

TOKYO, JAPAN

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Nixon Abroad

Sir / On the cover of the June 24 issue appear these words: NIXON'S TRIP, and beneath them, Seeking a Needed Lift. This is truly malodorous. Here are more honorable captions that could have been used: they would have been more truthful: 1) Diplomacy at Work, 2) Reasons for It, 3) A Valuable Lift, 4) Praise Where Due.

CHARLES L. SANDERS
Mifflinburg, Pa.

Sir / President Nixon did not fly through the Middle East on Aladdin's magic carpet. He rode on Henry Kissinger's coattails.

SAUL KAHAN
West Los Angeles, Calif.

Sir / I wouldn't mind paying higher taxes and higher prices if our fatuous leaders wouldn't squander the money. Giving nuclear reactors and know-how to Arab nations is like giving a razor blade to a baby.

Nixon was prepared to sacrifice most of his staff to get the Watergate heat off his back. Is he preparing to sacrifice U.S. prosperity and world security too?

ALAN G. SCHAFFERT
Williamston, Mich.

Sir / You said that "Nixon went to the Middle East to seed the fields so brilliantly plowed by . . . Henry Kissinger." A more realistic assessment would be that Nixon went to the Middle East to sign the blank checks so generously left by Kissinger.

LAWRENCE A. GAMBINO
Beacon, N.Y.

A Typical Peace?

Sir / Is the American press mesmerized by the Kissinger approach to peace? Apparently so, for none of the foreign press have reacted so jubilantly to the casualties of "peace" in both Viet Nam and the Middle East. The pilot of President Nixon's aircraft hardly had time to retract his landing gear after leaving Israel before the Israelis launched an air strike against Lebanon. Another typical Kissinger "peace"?

RICHARD P. SULLIVAN
Villennes-sur-Seine, France

Sir / Henry Kissinger is not just an astute mediator. He has become a symbol of hope in a cynical and violent world. He has proved that expertise, patience and good will can reconcile apparent irreconcilables.

VERONICA SOMERVILLE
Salisbury, Rhodesia

God's Plan

Sir / Regarding the question of Britain's membership in the EEC [June 17], Mary Wilson claims that "if God had meant us to be joined to the Continent, he would have joined us on." Then it is also logical that Northern Ireland should not be subject to British rule because if God had meant Ireland to be joined to Britain, he would have joined it on.

MAURICE BAUMGARTEN
Baltimore

Beginning of Life

Sir / I have been involved in the Pro-Life Movement for three years, and by now most articles hold nothing new for the seasoned veteran. "The Beginnings of Life" [June 24] did. I was completely unaware of the filming technique developed by Dr. Motoyuki Hayashi. We need to read more positive articles like this one.

(MRS.) JOAN SOLMS
Oak Park, Ill.

Sir / Dr. Hayashi's film showing conception and fetal development must be fascinating. But there is tragic irony in his statement about the film teaching youngsters to be "awed by the value of life." The youngster who starred in the film was aborted.

JIM LINN
Milwaukee

Searing Picture

Sir / That picture of "the underclass" [June 17] really seared, accusatory and tragic, in our vaunted affluent society. Thank you for bringing it home in your cover story.

Progress is being made—thank goodness—but we should still be ashamed of ourselves.

MRS. GEORGE WHITTINGHILL
Nice, France

Sir / America's black middle class, it appears, is not learning to live with whites but rather like whites. Hence the greater acceptance of blacks by the white middle class. One can only hope that blacks will not deny their heritage a proper, active part in their lives.

CAROL BENDETSON
Haverhill, Mass.

The Sense of Belonging

Sir / Well, of course we adoptees want to know who we are [June 24]. What about our heredity, our roots, our sense of belonging? Give us what you have always had—a real identity!

DONNA CULLOM
Evanston, Ill.

Sir / As one who has no desire to locate my natural parents, I can only hope that the laws that protect our records will not be amended. For some reason, I had to be given up. I was placed with the two most wonderful parents anyone could hope for. I can think of nothing worse than some woman coming up to me and telling me she is my natural mother.

VICKI WAGNER ROGERS
Dallas

Yellowstone Uniform

Sir / As two seasonal park rangers who have worked for the Park Service for a total of ten years, we wish to point out that the two photographs [June 24] contrasting Ranger Jerry Ford in 1936 to Son Jack in 1974 show that standards in the proper wearing of the National Park Service uniform seem to have dropped. In reality, they have not. Name tag and badge should be worn on the outside of a Park Service jacket. The tie tack should be located midway between the buttons of the breast pocket. In addition, moccasins are not considered proper footwear.

It is no wonder that grizzlies in Yellowstone thought their eyes were deceiving them.

TIM PATTON
STEVE MOREHOUSE
Mineral, Calif.

The Ware Case

Sir / Spiro Agnew (powerful) accepts bribes while lecturing the nation on morality. Punishment: loss of job.

Richard Kleindienst (powerful) perjures himself before the entire nation. Punishment: suspended sentence.

Lillian Ware (powerless) is late in paying a tax of $41.57 [June 24]. Punishment: loss of a $25,000 home.

In America today there are only laws; there is no justice.

JEFFREY MYERS, M.D.
Philadelphia

Scribbling

Sir / I am bored and rather disgusted at the pains you take to euphemize modern artistic techniques.

You mention Pollock's dependency on "fluid, spontaneous and unrepeatable movements of the hand" [June 17]. Why not be realistic and call it scribbling?

SALAHUDDIN SHAH
Zug, Switzerland

Zex

Sir / I was very surprised and amused to find the word zex in the sampling of terms used by prison inmates [June 17]. This was one of the jargon words used by children in Lithuania at least 36 years ago. The meaning was the same ("Careful. Someone's coming"). There must be one of us in a New York prison.

JONAS KOVA
Rocky Hill, Conn.

Intuitions, Not Institutions

Sir / It may be due to my French accent that you report me as saying [June 10] something that doesn't make sense at all. I said that the book *President Kissinger* was to be seen as a vibrant homage to Kissinger's intuitions—not institutions.

You also kindly dismiss my ouster from this country as something that can be remedied easily by paying $10 and applying for a fresh visa. My U.S. visa is now stamped in big fat letters CANCELED —DEPARTURE REQUESTED.

MAURICE GIRODIAS
New York City

■ *According to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Girodias could have received a stay of his original January departure date if he had applied for it before the deadline and paid $10. He recently married an American and hopes to remain in the country indefinitely.*

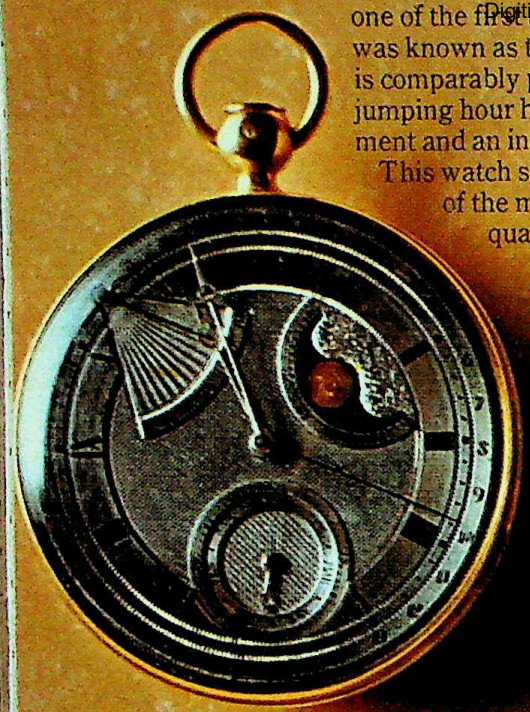
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A watch by Breguet, of about 1825. It has one of the first automatic movements and was known as the 'perpetual' (a name which is comparably prestigious today). It has a jumping hour hand, a shock-resistant escapement and an indicator of mainspring tension. This watch shows the day, the phases of the moon, and strikes the hours, quarters and minutes.

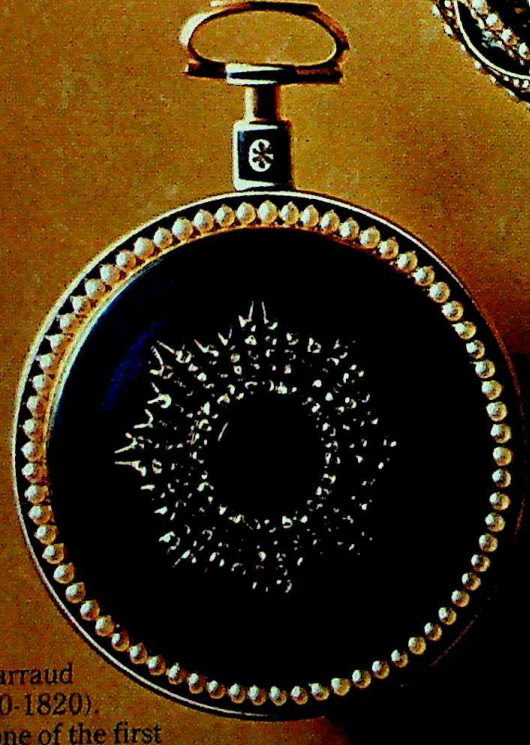


A watch by J. Wikelman of London, da... 1783. The movement is very fine. It ha... a verge escapement and the driving po... transmitted from the barrel to the fus... by a chain. The double case was made... Geneva, and the embossing is the repo... chasing of the Louis XV rococo perio... It depicts Joseph and his brethren



A bonbonniere-shaped watch of about 1810. The painted enamels are highlighted by 750 pearls. The frame of the inside of the case is formed by champleve enamels and paillons, with flowers of rubies and emeralds encircled by gold.





watch by Barraud
London (1810-1820).
This was one of the first
atches contrived to look flat, anticiing the creation some years later of the Lepine calibres. It has a 19-line movement and is in the Empire style. The sun is of diamonds.



A watch by Breguet, about 1785. This type of watch was called Martin
Martine because it contains miniature male and female bell-ringers, who

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The world's most superb watches have always been rather costly.

The watches on the left form a small part of one of the world's finest private horological collections.

It's called the Wilsdorf Collection, in honour of the founder of the Rolex Watch Company, Hans Wilsdorf, and is housed inside our headquarters in Geneva.

These virtually priceless museum pieces are superb examples of the watchmaker's craft. Even when they were new, they were extremely costly. Because true craftsmen are rare, and their work takes time.

Which is why Rolex watches are also extremely costly.

Each one takes a year to make. During that year, some of the finest craftsmen in Switzerland build watches which are a perfect blend of the ultimate in modern technology and the traditional skills of the Swiss watchmaker.

Work starts on the Oyster case, which is carved from one single solid block of 18ct. gold or surgical stainless steel. The making of the seamless Oyster case requires 162 entirely separate operations.

Into it is fitted one of our patented inventions: a special winding crown, which actually *screws* down onto the case and is internally sealed for extra protection against water, dust and dirt. In most watches the winder is the weakest part. In a Rolex Oyster it is an additional strength.

Inside this virtually indestructible shell our craftsmen carefully fit the rotor self-winding Perpetual movement, so precise that the Swiss Institutes for Official Chronometer Tests have seen fit to award it the title of Chronometer.

To pass all of these tests the movement, unguarded by its case, is hung in every wrist position, at various extreme temperatures, for 15 days and nights.

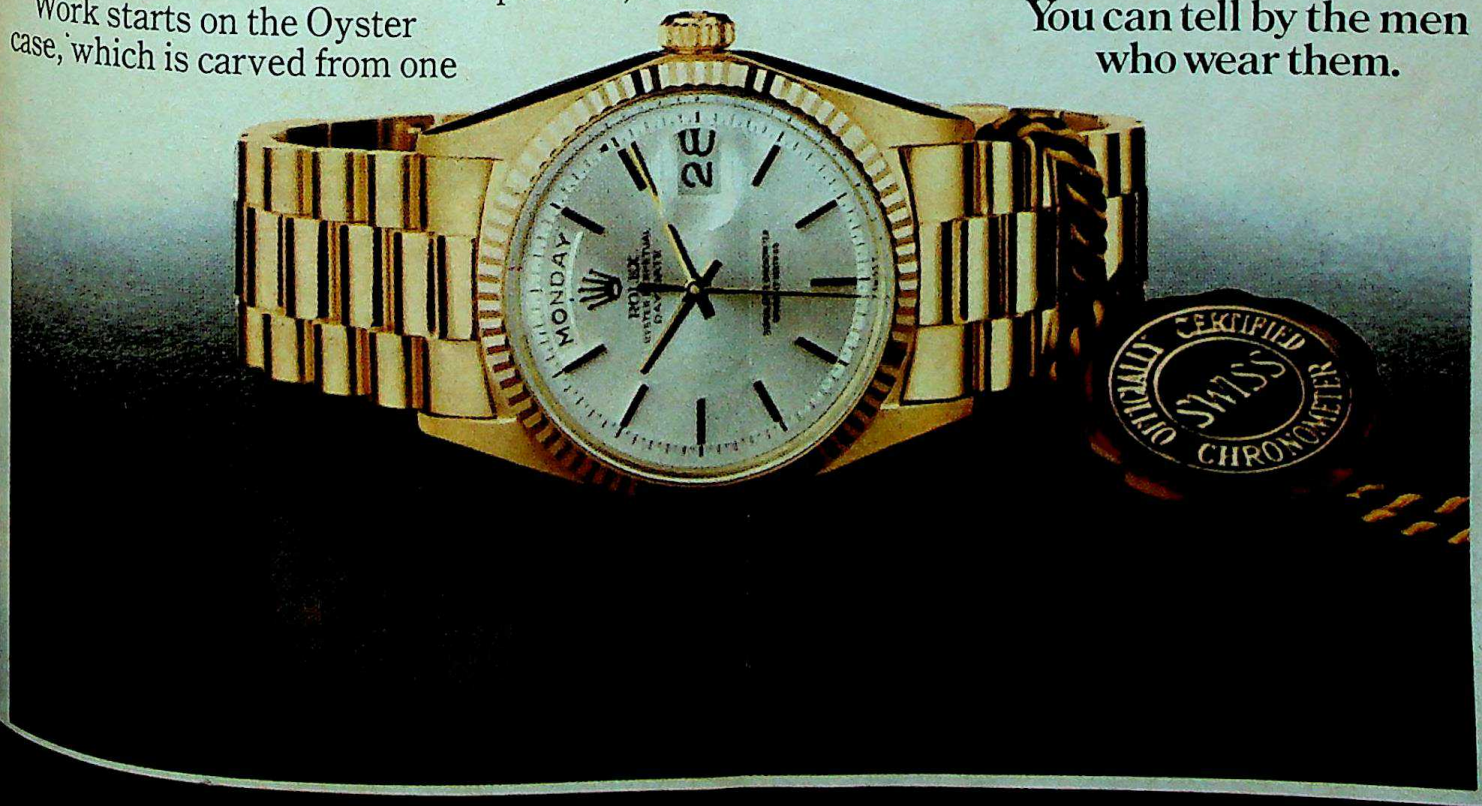
A member of the British Antarctic expedition advance party was so impressed by the reliability of his Rolex that he wrote to us: "...In an environment where most scientific instruments give trouble it seemed remarkable that one could wear a watch and not give it a moment's thought from one month to another yet be sure of its absolute accuracy..."

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"My Datsun-just call it the body beautiful"



Maria Baptista (left) with her husband, who is an architect, and her children stand in front of her Datsun

"Ladies or cars—they look that much better if they're the right shape. In my massage salon I cope with the ladies. I'm glad to say my car's the right shape already!

"And it's the right size too. The family can come with me on trips to my parents' house in Caparica—just 30 minutes from Lisbon. A lovely place to get away from it all.

"Not all the roads in Lisbon are so lovely though. Sometimes I think they could do with a bit of knocking into shape too. But one thing I particularly like about my Datsun is that it hugs the most unhuggable road. And it's got the power and economy as well.

"In some ways it's a real man's car, the Datsun 1600. Funny thing is my husband has the 1200. I wanted the extra power of the 1600 and I got it. And lots more besides. Good styling, nice colour, comfortable seats and brave enough to tackle the wild hills of Portugal.

"In our first 27,000 kilometers together it hasn't complained once. And I've had it just six months. My Datsun. My body beautiful. Six months hard labour!"

A car for all reasons

DATSUN

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A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

The starting point of this week's special section on leadership came earlier this year, when a group of Time Inc. editors spent several days in Cambridge, Mass., listening to academics from many fields. Again and again the specialists ended their description of America's problems with a call for leadership.

The call heard at Cambridge has been echoed in many ways across the country and the world. So pervasive and so pertinent to the lives of all of our readers is the leadership crisis that we decided that it required unusual treatment. Thus we present a ten-page cover story in which we discuss the essence of leadership and explore the reasons for the loss of authority as well as what can be done about it. We also present a 21-page biographical album of 150 men and women who we feel are the world's rising leaders. We do this because we believe that while the cry for leadership suggests trouble, it also offers opportunity. Appearances to the contrary, we feel, there are indeed leaders in the world—actual or potential—who will assume their roles given the right situation.

TED THAI



KRISS, GORDON, MORROW, CASTRO & McINTOSH

Our special section represents months of effort by a large task force working in New York City as well as scores of correspondents who nominated candidates for the portfolio. A team of reporter-researchers headed by Leah Gordon also proposed names and verified the accuracy of the short biographies written by Neil D. Gluckin, Roger Wolmuth and other writers. We include some nominations for the greatest leaders of all time by prominent thinkers in various fields.

With the help of Researcher-Reporters Janice Castro and Gaye McIntosh, Associate Editor Lance Morrow wrote the lead story. The son of two Washington journalists, Morrow has been interested in politics since childhood. He served a few summers as a Senate page and was fascinated by such figures as Joseph McCarthy, then in the midst of his downfall, and the young Senator John F. Kennedy. After graduation from Harvard and a year with the Washington *Star*, Morrow joined TIME in 1965. The author of dozens of covers and TIME Essays, he was aptly suited for an assignment that straddled both genres.

The task of overseeing the entire leadership project fell to Senior Editor Ronald P. Kriss. A Harvard graduate, Kriss worked for two years as executive editor of the *Saturday Review* and has been at TIME for ten years. Says Kriss: "Our portfolio went through five versions—which shows that there's a tremendous pool of talent around." We don't suggest that readers will agree with every choice, but we do hope that they will be stimulated to think about who the nation's leaders are—and what their roles should be.

Ralph P. Davidson

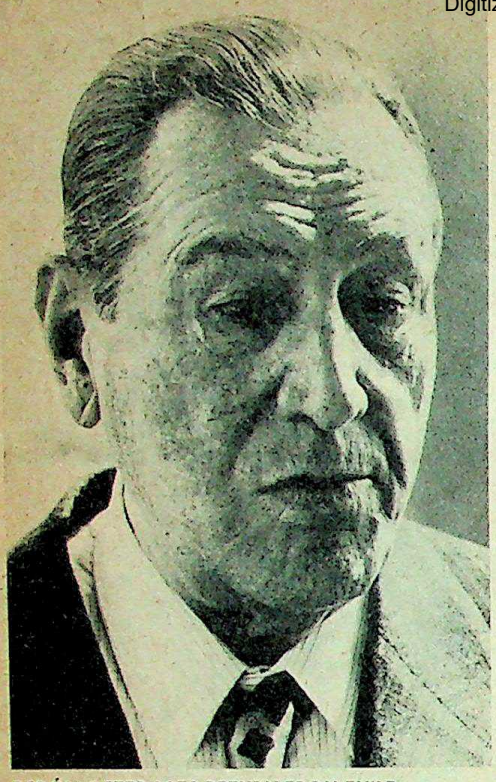
INDEX

Cover Story 21
Books 58
Cinema 59
Economy & Business 54
Leadership 21
Education 48
Letters 1
Market Week 53
Medicine 52
Milestones 50
Music 50
Sport 49
Television 56
U.S. 12
World 6

The Cover: *Design by Dennis Wheeler.*

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NOGUES—SYGMA
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PERÓN AFTER 1973 RETURN FROM EXILE



ISABELITA TELLING NATION BY RADIO & TV THAT SHE ASSUMES THE PRESIDENCY

ARGENTINA

The Death of *el Líder*

Offices and banks shut down, most buses and trains stopped running, many food stores closed. Except for the vigil by mourners, Buenos Aires last week came to a standstill in grieving for Juan Domingo Perón. His death at 78 from severe influenza followed by cardiac arrest plunged the nation into sorrow and anxiety over the future of Argentina without Perón.

Hundreds of thousands of mourners lined up eight abreast for miles in a warm winter rain outside the Congress Hall where the body of *el Líder* (*see following story*) lay in state in the Blue Chamber. They waited for up to 24 hours for a glimpse of his body clad in army uniform, medals and sash of office. Many fainted from emotion or exhaustion. Government aid stations treated no fewer than 17,800 people as the original one day of viewing was extended to two because of the miles-long crowd.

The funeral procession moved from the President's house at Olivos outside Buenos Aires to the city's cathedral and then to the Congress. Atop Perón's casket, which was wrapped in Argentina's blue and white flag, were his general's cap and saber. Men and women lining the five-mile route burst into tears. Some tossed flowers at the coffin; others simply waved their handkerchiefs. There were plaintive cries of *"Adiós, mi general"* and *"Chau, viejo,"* meaning, affectionately, "Goodbye, old man." There was also the repeated chant *"Perón está presente,"* a rephrasing of the old cry that arose 22 years ago, after the death of Evita, Perón's popular second wife, when devoted Peronists insisted that she was still with them.

Evita's successor as the President's wife, Isabel, 43 *(see box page 9)*, acted as principal mourner—and as Vice President, she succeeded Perón in office. Isabelita had been in Europe on an official tour when Perón was taken ill. She flew home hurriedly after receiving reports of his declining health. In a weekend address to the nation, she announced that until he recovered she was temporarily assuming his duties as "Chief Magistrate of the nation." Two days later, Isabelita returned to television and radio to inform the nation that "a real apostle of peace and union has died."

Array of Problems. Perón himself had ordained Isabelita's succession last fall when he chose her to run for Vice President and together they received 62% of the vote. There were doubts even then about her ability to lead the troubled country if he died in office. Many *macho* Argentines rejected the idea of a *Presidenta*. There was also dissatisfaction with her dance-hall background and limited education. "Personally, I am ashamed," said one retired general. "Not because she is a woman, although as an Argentine I do think Presidents should be men—but because she has no education." Even some who accepted Isabelita as Juan Perón's heir and who applauded the dignity with which she faced a difficult period last week questioned her ability to stand up to the bewildering array of problems facing Argentina.

Not least among them is the future of the heterogeneous Peronist movement. It was the man and his grandiose style that kept Peronism together. After his return to Buenos Aires last June, ending 18 years of exile, even Perón had difficulty enforcing peace and unity among his disparate followers. On the one side was a powerful conservative bloc made up of unionists, military men, landowners and businessmen. A new group of younger Peronists—mainly students, intellectuals and young professionals—appeared on the radical left. The two sides increasingly moved from enmity to open warfare. In the past year alone there were at least 100 political assassinations.

Toward the end, Perón sided more and more with the right. In a recent speech, he dismissed the young leftists as "jerks." Inevitably, the feuding factions will threaten Isabelita's power. One person already suspected of trying to become the power behind the throne is Minister of Social Welfare José López Rega, 54, who was Perón's private secretary and astrologer in exile. López Rega stood prominently behind Isabelita each time she addressed the nation

Perón lying in state in Congress ha

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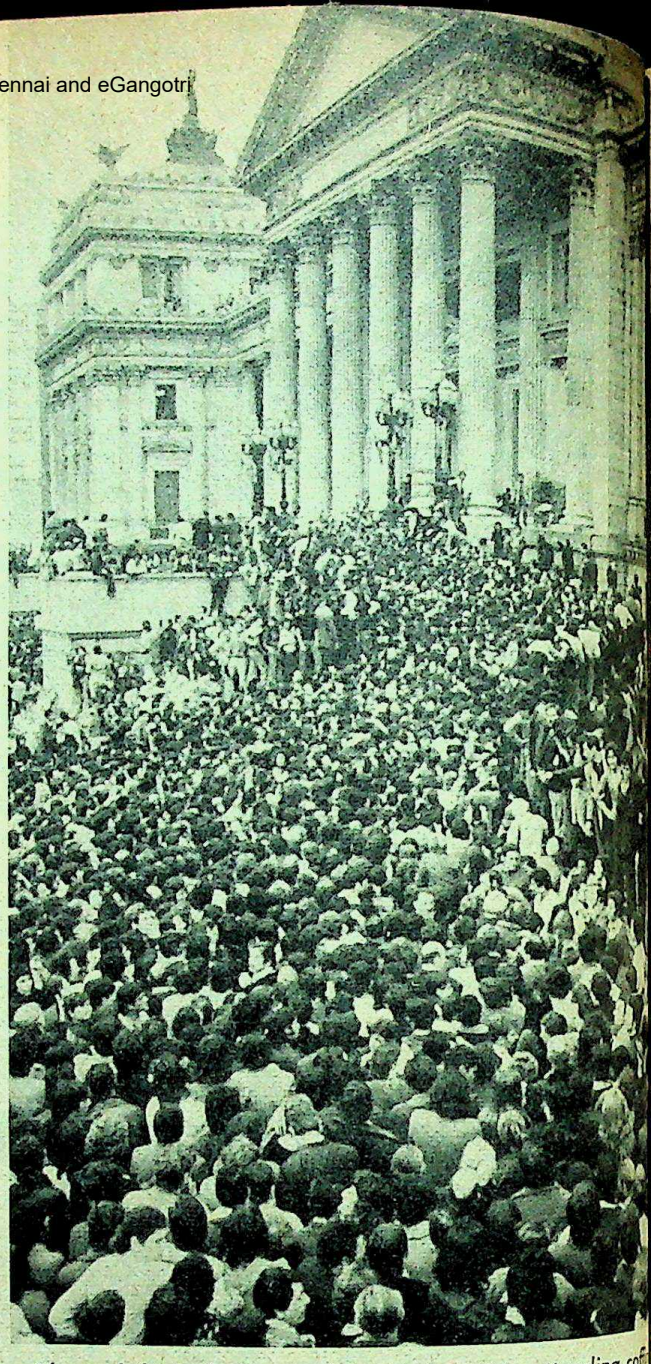
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Above left, Isabelita and Perón loyalists attending coff
at right, crowds outside National Congress; below, you
who fainted is passed over the crowd to aid statio



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on television last week, and except for her, he was the only Cabinet member to make a TV speech after Perón's death. Radical leftist Peronists despise the ultra-conservative López Rega and have threatened to assassinate him. Last week, in a warning aimed at him, the leader of the radical leftist Montoneros (bush fighters), Mario Firmenich, condemned "adventurists and unscrupulous persons" who might make plans to take power in "the political vacuum left by General Perón's absence."

If the problems and intrigues become too intense, Isabelita Perón may exercise her constitutional privilege of stepping down. In that case, Senate President José Antonio Allende (a member of the Popular Christian Party and no kin to Chile's Salvador Allende) would become interim President of the republic until new elections were held. In the first days following Perón's funeral, Isabelita showed no signs of wanting to exercise her constitutional option. The idea of being Latin America's first *Presidenta* was obviously a powerful pull. Still undecided, however, was whether she would be astute enough to withstand the divisive forces known as Peronism.

Perón: The Promise Unfulfilled

He had dominated Argentina's politics for three decades and was South America's most famous contemporary figure. His erratic career took him from obscurity to the peak of power, to exile and then to one of this century's most remarkable political comebacks. Through it all, Juan Domingo Perón remained his country's symbol of national unity. He was *el Líder*, the *caudillo* who held out the perennial promise that the feuding privileged and underprivileged of Argentina would one day coalesce and turn their richly endowed country into the leading nation of South America. When he died last week that promise remained unfulfilled.

Although nearly two-thirds of Argentine voters elected him to a third term as President last September, after 18 years in exile, he was unable to reconcile the smoldering class differences that have brought the nation of 24 million to new civil chaos. While retaining some of his old flair, Perón seemed to lack his old ruthlessness. He hesitated to take strong action against the terrorist leftist guerrillas, whose kidnapings of businessmen had frightened away foreign investors. He wisely imposed a tough "social pact," an agreement between employers and workers that amounted to a wage-price freeze, momentarily reducing inflation from 80% to 30% annually, but then gave in to demands for enormous wage hikes by journalists, the military and the police.

Perón will be best remembered for the successes—and excesses—of the nine years of his first two presidential terms, before a coup sent him into exile in 1955. A professional soldier and son of a moderately wealthy landowner, he rose to power as a champion of the exploited urban workers, the "shirtless ones" as he affectionately called them. Flanked by his wife Evita, a former actress whose compassion for the poor earned her an immense following, Perón enthralled the masses with his speeches from the balcony at the Casa Rosada, Argentina's Government House. He followed up his pledges of social change with real reforms: the establishment of

Isabelita Perón: *La Presidenta*

From an object of curiosity, and even scorn, she has suddenly become the focus of her countrymen's attention. It was she who appeared on television to reveal the seriousness of her husband's illness. It was she who, choking back tears, announced that he had died. And it was again she—dressed in black unadorned with jewelry—who symbolized Argentina's sorrow. The icy smile, the tightly pulled-back hair dyed dark blonde and the slightly strident voice of María Estela ("Isabelita") Martínez de Perón, 43, last week dominated the thoughts of Argentines nearly as much as did the death of her husband Juan Perón.

Elected Argentine Vice President last September (at Perón's insistence), Isabelita constitutionally succeeded her husband as president, thus becoming the first woman chief of state in the history of Argentina and the Americas. Although her education never progressed beyond high school, she is not without political experience. During Perón's exile in Spain, she twice returned alone to Argentina to end squabbles among the Peronistas. She acted as Perón's intermediary with the endless stream of supporters who visited him in Spain, and even represented him in China, where she had talks with both Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai.

As Vice President, she has presided at Cabinet meetings and sessions of the Argentine Senate, now speaking out boldly instead of whispering shyly as she used to do, thus confusing her early audiences. On the stump to support Perón's "social pact" economic program, she lashed out at black marketeers and hoarders. Last month, with a hairdresser and assistant hairdresser in tow, she made state visits to Spain's Generalissimo Francisco Franco and the Pope.



ULUC DOGAN

ISABELITA DELIVERING SPEECH (1973)

This increasingly impressive public performance eventually stilled much of the early criticism of Isabelita, especially by old Peronistas, who resented her obvious attempt to imitate Evita Duarte,

Perón's immensely popular second wife. Like Evita, Isabelita wears her hair in a bun and has courted the trade unions. Even most of the left-wing Peronista youth, who suspected Isabelita of being too conservative, are now at least temporarily willing to give her a chance.

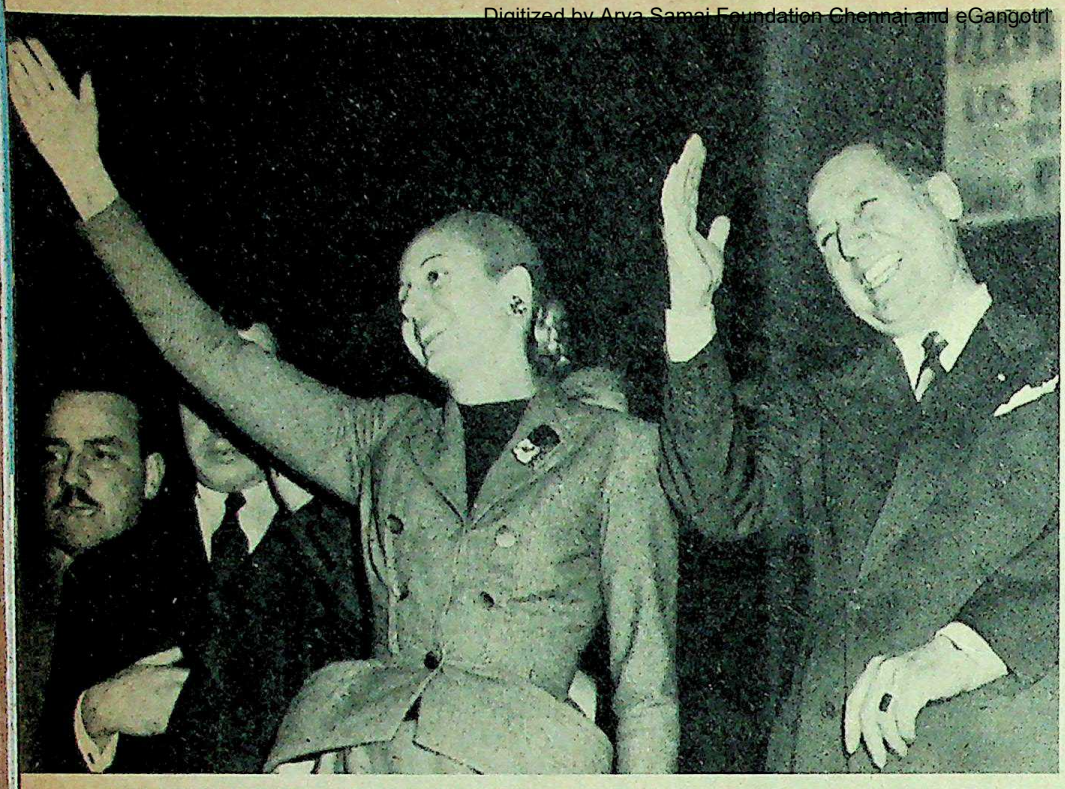
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Yet many Argentines still feel uncomfortable with Isabelita as *La Presidenta*. They distrust a woman in such a high position and question her background. Born in Argentina's impoverished La Rioja province, the daughter of a bank executive, she left home in her 20s to join a troupe of traveling folk dancers. In 1956, after finishing a performance in a Panama City cabaret, she was introduced to the exiled Perón. They soon began traveling together, living luxurious lives that took them from one Latin American city to another, until 1960, when they settled in Madrid. The following year they were married. During the years in Spain, Isabelita became indispensable to her husband as his confidante, secretary, nurse, dietician and even occasional chauffeur.

"Up to now, Argentines have always dismissed Isabelita as the pale shadow of her flamboyant husband and the dim echo of her exuberant predecessor," reports TIME Buenos Aires Bureau Chief Rudolph Rauch. "Until this week she has never had to stand alone. A good many of her countrymen are startled to find that 15 years of taunts and jeers have given the former dancer a steely and resilient will of her own. But to remain *La Presidenta*, she will need all the steel and resilience in her command."

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JUAN PERÓN & WIFE EVITA GREETING CROWD OF ARGENTINE SUPPORTERS (1951)
Creating a movement that still dominates their country's politics.

a social security system, construction of low-cost housing, wage hikes and the lengthening of workers' vacations, public health programs against tuberculosis, malaria and leprosy, and the encouragement of collective bargaining.

Evita, worshiped by the masses as the "little Madonna," bolstered Perón's popularity. She was head of the Eva Perón Foundation, a lightly audited charity that she used to pass $100 million annually to the poor. After she died of cancer in 1952 at age 33, Argentines petitioned the Vatican to canonize her. Although Rome refused, a secular cult has formed to revere her memory; it is still going strong.

Third Position. During his first two terms, Perón stripped the political power of the hated *latifundistas,* the landowning oligarchy that had dominated Argentine politics. He moved against unpopular foreign business interests by having the state buy the British-owned railways and ITT-owned telephone system. In foreign affairs he was the first postwar advocate of nonalignment, urging a "third position" as an alternative to joining the blocs led either by the U.S. or the Soviet Union. He conducted a vociferous anti-U.S. campaign, alleging that there was a "gigantic North American plot" to seize Cuban sugar, Bolivian tin, Chilean copper and Central American bananas. To the dismay of South America's upper classes, Perón encouraged the growth of labor unions all over the continent.

The rhetoric and even the idea of a "third position" probably reflected Perón's strong sympathy for Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, two governments that saw themselves as a "third way" between Communism and capitalism. After experiencing Mussolini's regime in the early 1940s—he observed Italian Alpine ski troops—Perón called *il Duce* "the greatest man of our century." He later turned Argentina into a haven for suspected war criminals.

Perón returned to Argentina in time to take part in the 1943 colonels' coup that overthrew the constitutional government of Ramón Castillo. Rewarded with the post of Secretary of Labor, he carefully cultivated a following among the working masses. Their support helped him survive another coup in 1945 and brought him the presidency in the election of 1946. He became an accomplished practitioner of crowd manipulation—staging mass demonstrations —and propaganda. To gain control of the courts and universities, he fired judges and teachers suspected of favoring the political opposition. He harassed and imprisoned his opponents and abolished press freedom. His dictatorial techniques, while less brutal and bloody, were reminiscent of his fascist heroes.

Perón alienated the pious masses in 1955 when he challenged the Roman Catholic Church. He ended religious instruction in the schools, permitted divorce and took steps to legalize bordellos. After 100,000 Catholics demonstrated against these measures in June 1955, the Peronistas retaliated by sacking and burning some of the most beautiful churches in Buenos Aires. The Vatican responded by excommunicating him, a banishment it did not lift until eight years later when he confessed that he had erred by acting against the church.

Finally Perón lost popular support by his erratic economic policies that depleted most of the country's foreign reserves, caused a drop in food production and sparked inflation. The military became increasingly distressed by his whimsical use of power and by economic malaise. In September 1955, all three branches of the armed services colluded to take control of the government. Perón fled, first to Paraguay and then to other Latin American countries. He finally settled in Spain in 1960. There he lived in a $500,000 villa. Despite rumors that he had sacked Argentina's treasury, Perón's apologists insisted that his supporters bankrolled his regal lifestyle in exile.

Despite Perón's departure, Peronism proved to be an amazingly durable factor in Argentine politics—increasingly so as the years passed and his legend became romanticized. Peronism soon claimed the loyalty of about half the population, a spectrum that included neo-fascists, far-left urban guerrillas and trade unionists. From exile, the ousted President stayed in touch with his loyalists in Argentina through lengthy letters, taped messages and personal emissaries. He remained the most important single factor in Argentine politics. A succession of five military and three civilian governments found themselves unable to govern effectively, partly because of the discontent—and promise—fomented by Perón. With each failure the alternative was clear: Perón.

Even in old age he looked impressive, with his 6-ft. 200-lb. frame and his graying hair dyed black. When he returned home last year in response to his countrymen's desperate summons, his appearance triggered a paroxysm of jubilation. Hundreds of thousands turned out to cheer him, but more than 100 were killed as rightist and leftist Peronistas ended up fighting each other. The violence was symbolic of Perón's last reign: he was too old and too ill to solve Argentina's festering problems.



***EL LÍDER* AS ARMY SKI INSTRUCTOR**
Hero of the "shirtless ones."

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TURKEY

Opium's Lethal Return

By late next September, the soft, white flowers will once more bloom in the valleys and flatlands of Turkey's Anatolian heartland. For the region's farmers, the harvest of poppies will mean a return to a treasured crop that yields such vital uses as morphine, fuel, cooking oil and animal feed. But angered U.S. drug and law enforcement officials also fear that Turkey's decision last week to resume planting opium poppies after a two-year prohibition will soon cause another deadly byproduct, "Turkish white" heroin, to appear back on the streets of New York City, Chicago and Los Angeles.

Turkey's decision to legalize poppy crops represents the worst setback yet in what has been an effective Nixon Administration crusade against the worldwide drug trade. Before Turkey originally agreed to halt its planting in return for a three-year, $35 million aid program from the U.S., its annual crops followed a trail that led through the processing labs of Marseille ("the French connection") to the U.S. Turkish-grown heroin accounted for fully 80% of the total U.S. supply.

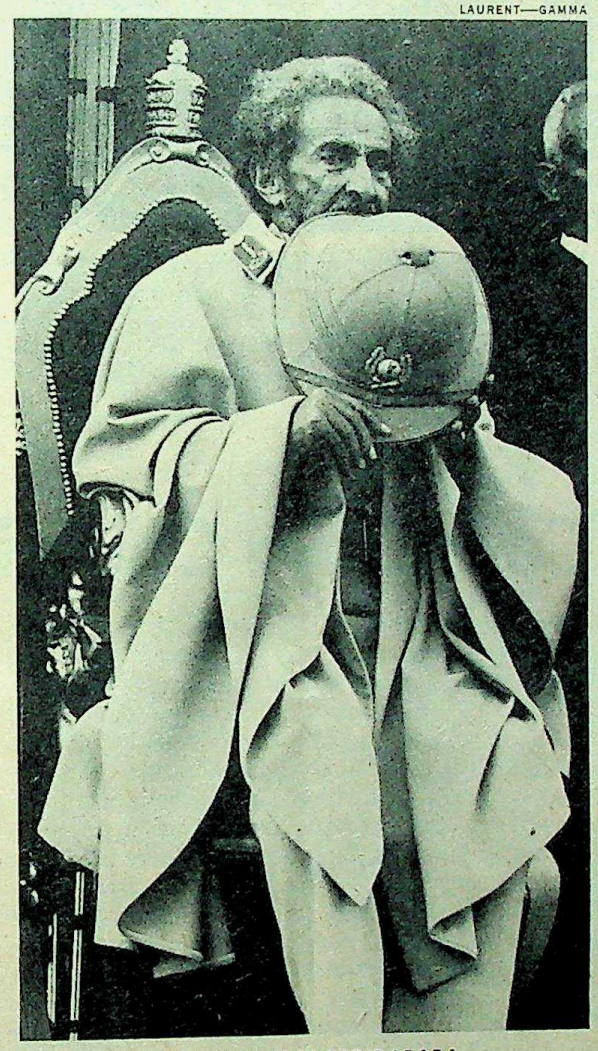
With limited supplies, increased enforcement by U.S. agents, and a vigorous federal antidrug educational program, the number of U.S. addicts dramatically fell from around 600,000 in 1971 to 200,000 this year. American officials are convinced that a critical factor was the Turkish link. Its revival now threatens the entire control program.

The chilling prospect of a revived drug network delivering its small packets of white powder back into the bloodstream of the nation's cities has caused the House Foreign Affairs Committee to call a meeting this month. The prime topic: a bill to suspend the $236 million military- and economic-aid program to Turkey unless poppy growing is halted. But such retaliation is unlikely. Turkish officials have already suggested that if U.S. aid is cut off, the country will consider removal of the 24 American military installations based there as part of the NATO defense system.

Way of Life. Turkey's decision to end its ban on opium production was based on compelling—if shortsighted—domestic considerations. The U.S. compensation to the peasant was ten times more than the profit earned from the annual legal exports of opium—but far less than the farmers could make on the illicit market. Moreover, poppy growing had been a way of life for centuries for 100,000 Turks, and neither the U.S. or Turkey was able to find a substitute crop for them to cultivate profitably. With no addiction problem in Turkey, the growers saw themselves as victims of an "American problem."

Turkey insists that it will closely supervise the crops. U.S. officials are less sanguine, for good reason. Turkey has been notoriously lax in controlling opium smuggling in the past, and its actions so far hardly indicate that it will change. It has already turned production back to the private two-acre farms rather than trying to limit opium growing to state-run agricultural enterprises, where control is easier. It has also granted amnesty to hundreds of convicted opium smugglers. All this adds up to a triumph for Turkish pride and nationalism—and Turkey's deadly white flower.

LAURENT—GAMMA



HAILE SELASSIE ON THRONE IN ADDIS ABABA

ETHIOPIA

The Creeping Coup

It was called the creeping coup. Tanks and armored personnel carriers rolled through the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa last week, but despite a general curfew, few of the city's 725,000 residents seemed aware that anything unusual was happening.

No one was bothered except a select group of officials and aristocrats who were on a 200-name master list of wanted men. Soldiers stood guard at banks and at the airport—to prevent rich depositors from closing out accounts over $5,000 or fleeing the country. Radio and television stations were under military control but no mention of the quiet takeover was broadcast. Aging Emperor Haile Selassie, who was crowned the nation's absolute ruler in 1930, made no effort to oppose the military.

The reason behind the creeping coup was distaste at the slow pace at which the Prime Minister, Endalkachew Makonnen, 47, has been carrying out reforms. The army has agitated for change since February, when soldiers protesting poor pay and the country's feudal political system forced the resignation of then Prime Minister Aklilu Habte Wold, 62. They accepted Endalkachew as his successor and gave the new government six months to reform a country that for decades has been systematically milked from the top.

Little change has been accomplished since then. Corruption has continued, including the imposition of exorbitant landing fees on planes bringing relief supplies for victims of a famine that has already killed an estimated 100,000 Ethiopians, and threatens 500,000 more (total pop. 26 million). The fees reportedly line government pockets.

No strongman has yet emerged. Negotiations with the government are handled by a ten-man committee that includes a sergeant and a private, as well as young majors and captains. The principal activists are apparently army officers assisted by the police, the navy and the imperial guard. The air force is being kept out of the action only because airmen are so dissatisfied that they want to overthrow the Emperor now.

Toothless Lion. The slow, low-keyed coup is working; by week's end the leaders were reaching their goals. They had arrested most of the people on their list, including former Foreign Minister Menassie Haile, 44, onetime ambassador to Washington, and Ras Asrata Kassa, 56, who is Haile Selassie's closest adviser. In meetings with Endalkachew and the Emperor, the committee dictated terms that were hastily accepted. These include an imprimatur over six key ministries, including Defense and Interior; amnesty for political prisoners; plus a special session of Parliament to carry out constitutional reform.

Haile Selassie, who celebrates his 82nd birthday later this month, continued at his normal pace last week in spite of the events around him. Precisely at nine each morning the Emperor was driven in his red Mercedes one mile from Jubilee Palace to the Grand Palace to put in what an aide described as "his customary day of work." Politically, however, the Emperor has become "as toothless as those old lions that guard his palaces," as one Western diplomat in Addis Ababa rudely put it.

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COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN PETER RODINO (LEFT) & RANKING REPUBLICAN EDWARD HUTCHINSON DURING BREAK IN JUDICIARY COMMITTEE HEARINGS

THE UNITED STATES

WATERGATE

Facing the Court and Counting the House

As Richard Nixon came home from the limited accomplishments of the Moscow summit last week, he found little comfort in the news that awaited him. A Gallup poll taken two weeks ago, after his Middle East tour, showed that his approval rating in the nation stood at 26%—two percentage points lower than in the most recent poll a month earlier and only one point above his all-time low last April.

The President's physician, Dr. Walter Tkach, underscored the importance that Nixon had attached to his foreign trips, and the determined—even incautious—way in which he had declined to delay them. Contrary to previous White House reports, said Tkach last week, the blood clot loose in the President's left leg "could have killed him." Tkach, who has been criticized for allowing the President to travel while suffering from phlebitis, had urged Nixon to go into a hospital in Salzburg, Austria, during the early stages of his first trip. The President refused, saying that he had an "obligation" to proceed to the Middle East. Later, said Tkach, the clot became "fixed"—attached to the wall of the vein—and the danger to the President's life was now "pretty much gone."

Test and Trial. This week, after four days' rest in Key Biscayne, the President will return to the sweltering capital to face a test that may well prove crucial to his—and the nation's—future. The U.S. Supreme Court, after hearing two hours of oral arguments, will decide whether the President must release 64 White House tape recordings *(see story next page)*. The court's decision could come as early as this week, but might drag on for several weeks.

A victory for the President would give his cause a tremendous lift. But in the more likely event that the court orders public disclosure of the tapes—and if they provide further damaging evidence—the pressure to remove the President from office would be greatly increased. Any refusal by Nixon to obey the court's order would lead to impeachment and very likely to conviction by the Senate.

In the meantime, the trial of John Ehrlichman, Nixon's former top aide for domestic affairs, and three erstwhile White House "plumbers" was continuing in Washington. Ehrlichman is charged with one count of conspiracy and four counts of perjury: authorizing the plumbers' burglary of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist in September 1971 and then lying about his involvement in the affair to the FBI and to a Watergate grand jury. Ehrlichman maintains that he knew nothing about the break-in until after it had occurred.

Some of the testimony most damaging to Ehrlichman was given last week by Egil Krogh, former head of the plumbers unit. He told the court that Ehrlichman admitted to him that he had been forced to "dissemble" in discussing the break-in with the FBI. Assistant Special Prosecutor William Merrill asked Krogh to define "dissemble." Said Krogh: "To be less than candid."

In mid-April 1973, said Krogh, Ehrlichman phoned him to say that President Nixon was aware of the burglary and considered it a matter of national security; Nixon did not want Krogh to discuss it with anyone. About a week later, shortly before Ehrlichman resigned, he called once again to reaffirm the message. According to Krogh, Ehrlichman said that the President wanted to "reyou that personally."

"Seamy Things." While Watergate cases were being played out in the courts, the impeachment of the President was proceeding in the House of Representatives with growing partisan bitterness. Two weeks ago, the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, New Jersey Democrat Peter Rodino, announced that the committee would attempt to speed its impeachment hearings by calling only two of the six witnesses requested by the President's defense lawyer, James St. Clair. Last week Rodino reversed himself and said that all six would be called. He made this conciliatory gesture in return for a concession from House Republicans on their support in suspending a House rule that gives each of the committee's members the right to question witnesses.

The procedural change seemed eminently reasonable. Congressman Edward Hutchinson, senior Republican on the Judiciary Committee, gave it strong support—though he has disagreed with Rodino on some other matters. "I never heard of a judicial or even a quasi-judicial proceeding," he said, "where witnesses under oath would be questioned by 38 or 40 people." But many other House Republicans were angry at Ro

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dino, and they rebelled against their own leadership. The change would amount to "parliamentary suicide," declared Congressman David Dennis of Indiana. In the end, 120 Republicans (out of 187) opposed the rules change, and the motion fell 81 votes short of the necessary two-thirds majority.

With the procedural points out of the way, the committee began to call witnesses. Two of them were former officials of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, Paul O'Brien and Frederick C. LaRue, who were connected with the $75,000 that was paid from Nixon campaign funds to E. Howard Hunt, one of the convicted Watergate burglars. O'Brien testified that Hunt had demanded $120,000 for legal fees and support for his family while he was away in prison. Hunt then alluded, O'Brien testified, to the "seamy things" that he had done for the White House as a member of the plumbers, and added that he might be obliged to "reconsider" his "options." Neither O'Brien nor LaRue could answer the most important questions: whether Nixon himself ordered, or silently permitted, the payment to Hunt; and whether the President intended that the money be used to keep Hunt from testifying freely about the activities of the plumbers.

Still to be heard from are such Watergate heavyweights as former Attorney General John Mitchell and John Dean, the former White House Counsel. One who will not be testifying is H.R. Haldeman, the former White House chief of staff. His attorneys said that, if subpoenaed, he would invoke the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination, presumably because he faces trial in the Watergate cover-up conspiracy case.

Impeachment Vote. The impeachment question may preoccupy the House for most of the summer, but the Democratic leadership believes that, barring some dramatic turn in favor of the President, the outcome is virtually decided. After an informal member-by-member analysis, the Democrats concluded that the House is now disposed to vote for impeachment by a margin of at least 55 votes. The lineup, according to the Democratic count: 245 (including 210 Democrats and 35 Republicans) for impeachment; 190 (38 Democrats and 152 Republicans) against. "That's our minimum figure," declares a ranking Democrat, insisting that the leaders counted only the sure votes for impeachment.

The survey indicates that the House will probably vote to impeach Nixon by more than a narrow margin. On the other hand, it suggests that the vote may not be spectacular enough to move the Senate to convict the President by the necessary two-thirds majority and thereby remove him from office. In any event, the mood in both chambers of Congress will be greatly influenced by the historic decision now facing the Supreme

Showdown Before the Justices

The case called *The United States of America* v. *Richard Nixon* raises an ostensibly simple question: Does Federal Judge John Sirica have the right to review 64 still-secret White House tape recordings for possible use in the Watergate trial of six former Nixon aides? In fact, the issue on which the U.S. Supreme Court begins final deliberations this week is far more complex and far reaching. The ultimate ruling—and how Nixon responds to it—may vitally affect the impeachment proceedings and conceivably could alter the constitutional relationship between the Judicial and Executive branches of government.

Despite the masses of evidence already on the public record, the 64 tapes are widely believed to hold answers to some of the Watergate mysteries still unresolved. That is why Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski subpoenaed the material —and perhaps why the President refused to comply with Sirica's order to produce it for judicial inspection. The White House tried to take the case to the Circuit Court of Appeals, which would have meant still more delay. Jaworski persuaded the Supreme Court to take the case directly.

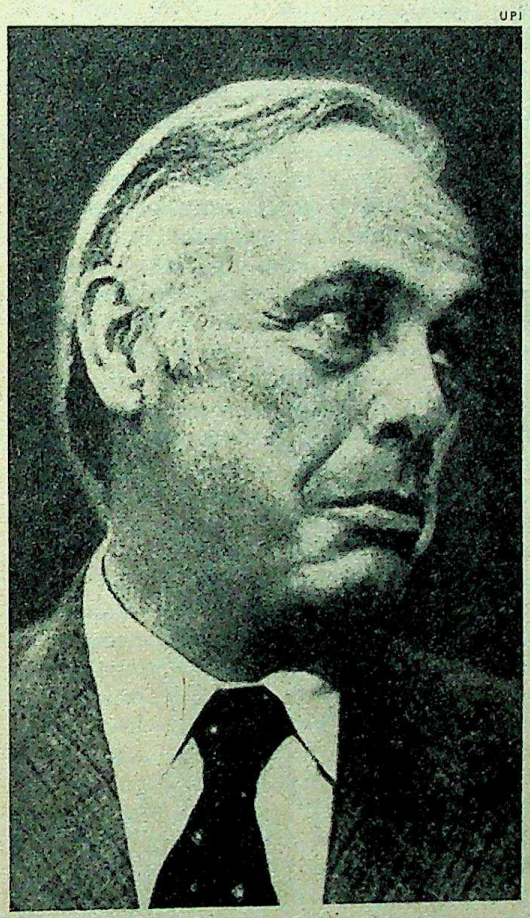
The high court then called for and received lengthy written briefs from both sides. After the oral arguments in the tense and jammed chamber—there were 6,000 requests for 300 seats—the wait for a decision begins.

The two legal camps have been working under intense pressure to meet deadlines for two rounds of written briefs, then to prepare for the oral arguments. The President's lawyers have been operating under serious handicaps. His chief Watergate counsel, James St. Clair, overburdened on multiple fronts, was tied down to regular attendance at the Judiciary Committee's impeachment hearings. As the Supreme Court asked for briefs, Nixon's chief constitutional consultant, Charles Alan Wright, was off on a Baltic vacation cruise. Another top Nixon lawyer, J. Fred Buzhardt, was disabled by a heart attack.

The result was a wordy and unpolished main brief, written primarily by junior staff lawyers who worked through two all-night sessions to meet the deadline. Too late for normal printing, it was photocopied—and initially rejected by the court because the type was too small. The haste showed in the final printed copy too: the attorneys submitted the document "respectively," instead of "respectfully." By the time reply briefs were due, Wright was back at the White House temporarily, and under his direction the President's arguments were considerably strengthened.

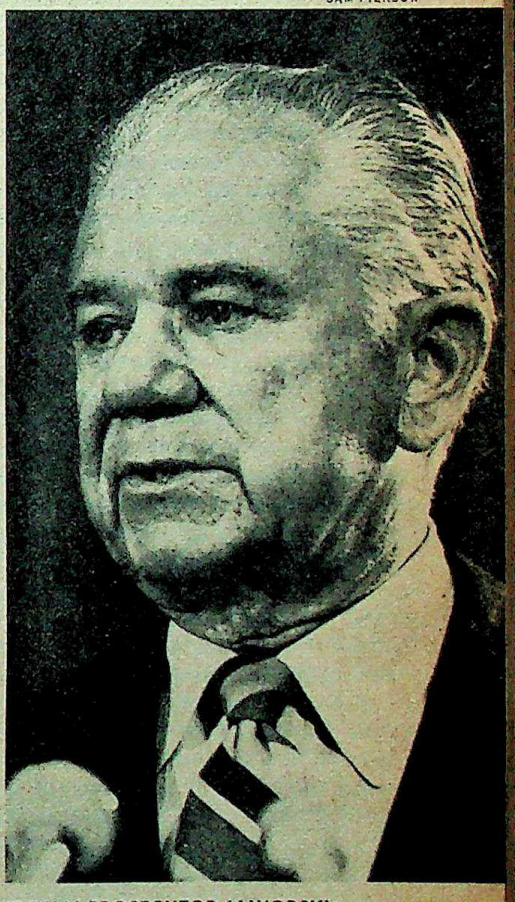
The Jaworski staff had fewer problems. Although under the same time pressure, eight topflight lawyers divided the research chores by subjects and produced a more tightly reasoned and precedent-studded brief on time. Busy supervising the various Watergate inves-

UPI



PRESIDENTIAL LAWYER ST. CLAIR

SAM PIERSON

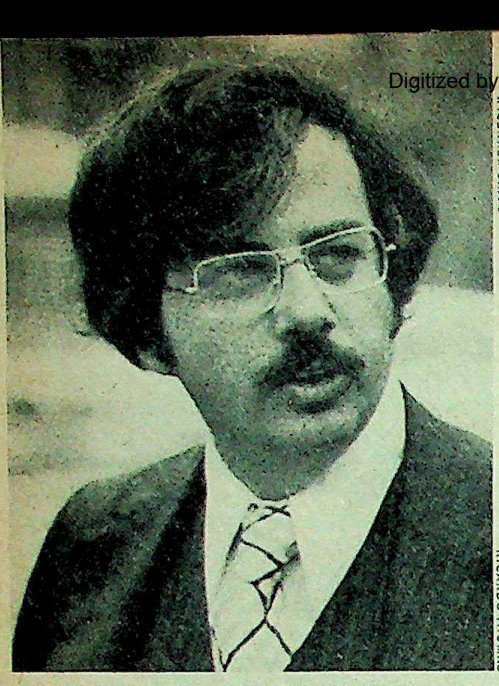


SPECIAL PROSECUTOR JAWORSKI

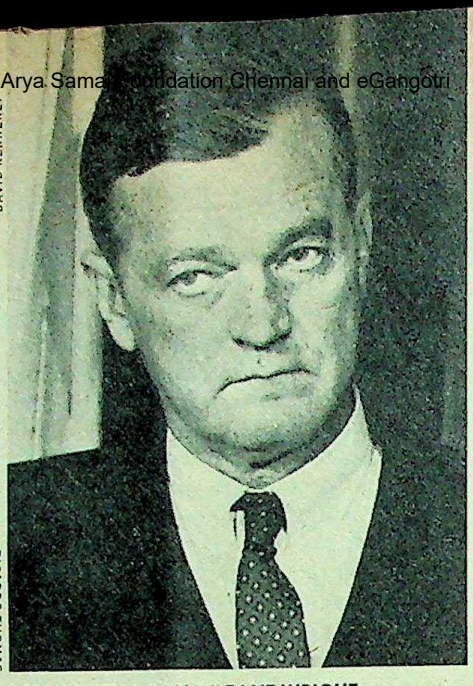
Examining the blank spaces on the constitutional canvas.

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PROSECUTOR'S ASSISTANT LACOVARA



PRESIDENTIAL CONSULTANT WRIGHT

Arguments before a court reluctant to flirt with history.

tigations and prosecutions, Jaworski nevertheless gave the Supreme Court arguments his personal attention. He also had the skilled aid of Philip Lacovara, 30, his chief counsel and perhaps the sharpest mind on the 38-member legal staff. Despite the liberal image of the Jaworski team, Lacovara, a conservative, is a former Goldwater activist.

The oral arguments opposing the President before the Supreme Court were to be shared by Jaworski and Lacovara, both of whom had argued before the court previously. St. Clair, by contrast, was only admitted to practice before the Supreme Court last month and was to carry the full burden alone this week, apparently by his own choice.

However dramatic the lawyer-to-lawyer showdown, the written arguments were vitally important. Each side framed the questions differently, but the main constitutional issues were clear:

▶ Does the President have an absolute Executive privilege to withhold evidence in a criminal trial solely on his claim that it would not be in the public interest to produce it, or can such a claim be examined by a federal court to determine if it is proper?

▶ Are the courts powerless to issue a directive that the President comply with a subpoena because they may be unable to enforce such an order?

▶ Is a general claim of Executive privilege sufficient for the President to withhold confidential information when there is evidence that the President himself may have been a co-conspirator in the crime for which his former aides have been indicted?

▶ Did the Watergate grand jury have the legal right to name Nixon as an unindicted co-conspirator or, since its power to indict a President until after he leaves office is in doubt, was that act invalid?

The President's case depends heavily on a claim that the separation of powers among the branches of Government cannot be breached. The right to secret decision-making discussions within each branch is vital to that separation. If the courts can overrule Nixon's claims of privilege, this argument states, it would "impair markedly the ability of every President of the United States from this time forward to perform the constitutional duties vested in him."

Jaworski counters that no such absolute privilege exists, especially in a criminal case, and no future President is likely to be injured if the Supreme Court rules against Nixon. The Jaworski brief wryly observes: "Surely, there will be few occasions where there is probable cause to believe that conversations in the Executive Office of the President occurred during the course of a criminal conspiracy."

Many legal scholars feel that the Jaworski case will prove persuasive to a majority of the Justices if the court consents to rule on the constitutional issues. But the court under Chief Justice Warren Burger has sometimes been reluctant to flirt with history by tackling fundamental questions. Perhaps for this reason, both Jaworski and St. Clair have presented tantalizing arguments that could allow the Justices to rule on narrow grounds. Two short-cut routes to a pragmatic judgment are possible, providing a victory for either side. They are:

FOR NIXON. His best hope lies in challenging the jurisdiction of the courts to hear Jaworski's claim against the President. St. Clair argues that the dispute over the tapes is essentially an internal controversy wholly within the Executive branch of the Government. Under this reasoning, the President is the chief law enforcement officer and chief prosecutor. Therefore, only he has final authority to decide what evidence held by the Executive branch will be produced in a criminal case. Jaworski thus is merely an employee engaged in a quarrel with his boss. To argue otherwise would make the special prosecutor "a fourth branch of Government" and would destroy the tripartite form of government."

Jaworski replies that the President's role in criminal prosecution has been delegated to the Attorney General by Congress; both the Attorney General and the President have specifically further delegated to the special prosecutor complete independence, including the right to go to court to force evidence from the White House. Unless Jaworski is fired—and Nixon has pledged that he would seek the concurrence of congressional leaders before attempting that—his office amounts to "a quasi-independent agency." Thus there is an urgent "justiciable controversy."

FOR JAWORSKI. The special prosecutor contends that even if Nixon has the right to claim a general privilege to protect his conversations, he has legally waived that privilege in the Watergate scandal. He did so by permitting his aides to testify about those talks, by releasing 1,308 pages of edited tape transcripts to the public and by letting H.R. Haldeman, who became one of the indicted conspirators, listen to tapes after leaving the White House staff. Since the President has arbitrarily opened the door to selective conversations on this topic, Jaworski says that he cannot shut it shut. "He cannot release only those portions he chooses and then stand on the privilege to conceal the remainder. No privilege holder can trifle with the judicial search for truth in this way."

Material of Life. St. Clair's rebuttal is that there is a crucial difference between allowing someone to testify and releasing a tape. While testimony can be neatly confined to a relevant topic, "recordings are the raw material of life. They contain spontaneous, informal, tentative and frequently pungent comments on a variety of subjects inextricably intertwined into one conversation." St. Clair ignores the fact that Sirica's order calls for screening by the court to delete such extraneous matter from the tapes.

St. Clair's brief plays upon the court's known reluctance to break new legal ground and warns that the Justices could, in effect, influence an impeachment process assigned solely by the Constitution to the Congress. Moreover, "there are blank spaces on the constitutional canvas that must be left untouched if the Constitution is to bear the same creative relation to our future that it has to our past."

The special prosecutor concedes that "the subpoenaed evidence may have material bearing on whether he [the President] is impeached and, if impeached, whether he is convicted and removed from office." But that only means, according to Jaworski, that "the President cannot be a proper judge of whether the greater public interest lies in disclosing evidence subpoenaed for trial when that evidence may have a material bearing on whether he is impeached, and will bear heavily on the guilt or innocence of close aides and trusted advisers."

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DIPLOMACY

Summit III: Playing It As It Lays in Moscow

When the final communiqué was written and the last toast—so carefully worded—was delivered, the third summit meeting between President Nixon and Soviet Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev came to a quiet close last week. It had lived up to its advertised and modest expectations, and yet the result, despite the cautious advance billing, was something of a letdown. The dialogue had continued, the spirit of détente was nudged ahead by some useful if minor pledges of cooperation in scientific and cultural fields. What was worrisome about Summit III—and deeply disturbing about the future—was what had been left unsettled in Moscow. The meetings revealed, more clearly than ever before, that the two superpowers do not yet know how to curb and contain their nuclear-arms competition.

That outcome was at least in part shaped by the specter of Watergate. His domestic burden placed Nixon in a dilemma. He badly wanted some kind of major arms-limitations agreement in the area of strategic offensive missiles, not only for its own sake but also to bolster his image as the indispensable President, the man best qualified to handle foreign affairs. Success now at the summit was so important to Nixon that he did not delay his trip despite the dangers to his health posed by the blood clot in his left leg. Yet as he bargained with the Soviets, the President could not show any sign of political weakness by seeming to give up too much and thereby anger the conservative Senators who would be his strongest defenders if the impeachment proceedings come to trial.

Tough Talks. Nixon and Kissinger went to the summit prepared to accept any agreement that they felt was reasonable. They were ready to defend such a deal against the worries of Washington's hawkish Senator Henry Jackson and Defense Secretary James Schlesinger. But, says one top American official, "the outer limits of what we could take were unobtainable. We did not get the degree of Soviet cooperation we needed to fight our battles at home."

Throughout the seven-day trip, Nixon kept trying to emphasize his personal relationship with Brezhnev, grabbing for the Soviet leader's coattails. Ending one toast, for example, the President noted the great importance to peace of "the personal relations and the personal friendship that has been established by these meetings." But the Russians made it clear that they have no wish to hitch détente to Nixon's star, which will shine no longer than 1976, whatever the outcome of Watergate.

Nixon and Brezhnev settled down to the hard talks on arms limitations in an unsettling locale for the U.S. Pres-

Big Three conference in 1945. Nixon and other Republicans had long charged that Franklin Roosevelt gave away postwar Eastern Europe to the Soviet Union during those talks. Hoping that Nixon would agree to meeting in the Livadiya Palace where F.D.R. had stayed, the Russians had refurbished the old summer residence of the czars. But when the White House objected, the meetings were moved to Brezhnev's handsome dacha, which was nearby.

The bargaining was long and arduous. It was conducted with a kind of harrowing frankness that Kissinger said would have been inconceivable at the first Nixon-Brezhnev summit in 1972 and, indeed, would have been judged to violate American intelligence restrictions. For 2½ hours, Nixon and Brezhnev met alone. Then Kissinger and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko joined them for two more hours.

They had no trouble agreeing on two issues that had been well sorted out beforehand. The first limits each nation to defending just one locale with antiballistic missiles. (The U.S. is protecting a Minuteman missile launch site in Grand Forks, N. Dak.; the Russians are ringing Moscow.) The second agreement strengthens the 1963 treaty banning major nuclear-weapons testing everywhere except underground. Starting on March 31, 1976, both countries will be restricted to testing warheads with yields of less than 150 kilotons—the equivalent of 150,000 tons of TNT. The delay in enforcement will give the Soviets time to complete the testing of warheads for their new family of huge missiles. The U.S. will have time to finish developing a new warhead for the 7,000-mile-range Minuteman III and a special bomb for the Air Force's B-1 bomber. Essentially, these are present-generation weapons. The test limitation, Kissinger noted, was aimed at restricting the development of the next generation of warheads.

Numbers Game. But the Soviets and the Americans deeply disagreed on the main issue: how to get the stalled SALT II arms limitation talks moving again. Nixon and Kissinger had hoped to negotiate another extension of SALT I's restrictions, expiring in 1977, on the number of launchers that each country can deploy. In addition, the American leaders sought to limit the development of MIRV warheads, several of which can be clustered in the tip of one missile and aimed at individual targets. The U.S. has a five-year lead over the Russians in the development and deployment of MIRVs.

But as Nixon and Brezhnev talked in the sunny, seaside gardens of Oreanda, they quickly saw how far apart they were. The main problem was to find a way of reconciling the Russian lead in offensive missiles—a lead of



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CHARLON—GAMMA

KISSINGER CHATTING WITH BREZHNEV
Searching for an end to the impasse.

2,358 to 1,710—with the 3-to-1 American advantage in warheads, counting the MIRVs. The Russians' nightmare was their conviction that the U.S. is far stronger than they are today, largely because of its lead in MIRV technology; the Americans' fear was that the Soviets, catching up in MIRVs and with more launchers to mount them on, could surge ahead in the future. Brezhnev refused every mix of launchers and warheads proposed by Nixon, insisting that he would accept no proposal that in his view locked the Soviets into a state of inferiority.

Senseless Race. The Yalta meetings broke up without a decision. The next day, while flying back to Moscow, Kissinger and Gromyko searched for a way out of the impasse. The two devised a proposal that was soon accepted by Nixon and Brezhnev; their only other choice would have been to admit their failure to the world.

Instead of extending the present SALT I treaty, which limits only the number of missiles, the two leaders agreed to try to work out a comprehensive accord that would govern not only the quantity but also the quality of weaponry —the kind as well as the number of warheads and launchers. Negotiators will confer in Geneva in August and attempt to write a settlement that would begin in 1975 and run until 1985.

Publicly discussing this fresh and ambitious approach, Kissinger conveyed his fears of the consequences should these negotiations fail. The two superpowers, the Secretary warned, would continue building more and more weapons of such sophistication and power that the old worries about who was ahead of whom would become meaningless. Each side could end up with 10,000 warheads. "What in the name of God is 'strategic superiority' at those levels?" he asked. With no agreement, Kissinger declared, "We will be living in a world that will be extraordinarily complex, in which opportunities for nuclear warfare will exist that were unimaginable 15 years ago at the beginning of the nuclear age—and that is our driving concern."

For Kissinger, the Moscow summit was also important in personal terms. He surely sensed how the President, weakened by Watergate, was hampered in his bargaining with Brezhnev. Clearly, the freedom of the Nixon Administration in foreign affairs, as in every other sphere, was being cramped by Watergate. This fact may be one reason for the recent subtle change in the relationship between the Secretary and the President. Though the two men still agree on the basics of policy, Kissinger now seems more distant from the President than he did one or two months ago.

During his extraordinary press conference last month in Salzburg, Austria, Kissinger insisted that he would resign if he was not vindicated of charges that he had been less than candid in describing his role in wiretappings to find security leaks. Next week, during special hearings scheduled by the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, Kissinger will probably repeat his earlier testimony that Nixon ordered and former Attorney General John Mitchell approved the wiretappings.

Kissinger worries that he will be dragged further into the scandals of Nixon's White House. The Secretary has been subpoenaed to testify at the trial of John Ehrlichman, the former domestic affairs chief, who is charged with conspiracy and perjury in the burglary of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist. Ehrlichman's lawyers hope to show that Kissinger had told their client and the President that Ellsberg, the man who leaked the Pentagon papers, was a national security risk. With White House backing, Kissinger was fighting the subpoena, claiming that he knew nothing about Ehrlichman's innocence or guilt.

If Kissinger continues to be a center of controversy, he could resign. The secretary is concerned about his place in history and his continued effectiveness. He has told his friends: "I will not be another public official fighting for my life."

Tolling Bells. After the tough arms negotiations, Nixon flew to the Belorussian capital of Minsk to take part in ceremonies mourning the destruction of the region by the Nazis 30 years ago. In the village of Khatyn, standing before a huge black granite statue of a gaunt man holding his dead son in his arms, the President said quietly: "This is very, very moving."

Favoring his left leg, Nixon also walked around a section of the memorial area containing the outlines of 26 peasant houses that the Germans had burned to the ground. Inside each was an obelisk, shaped like a burnt smokestack, that contained a bell. Every 30 seconds, one of the bells tolled to honor the dead. Nixon wrote in the guest book: "May this moving memorial to the victims of war reinforce the determination of all those who come here to build a living monument to those who died—a world of peace for their children and their grandchildren."

Throughout his tour, Nixon was warmly if not enthusiastically welcomed by carefully assembled Russian crowds that often waved Russian and American flags that had been supplied by the government. The President occasionally startled the Russians by leaving his entourage and wading in to do some campaign-style hobnobbing.

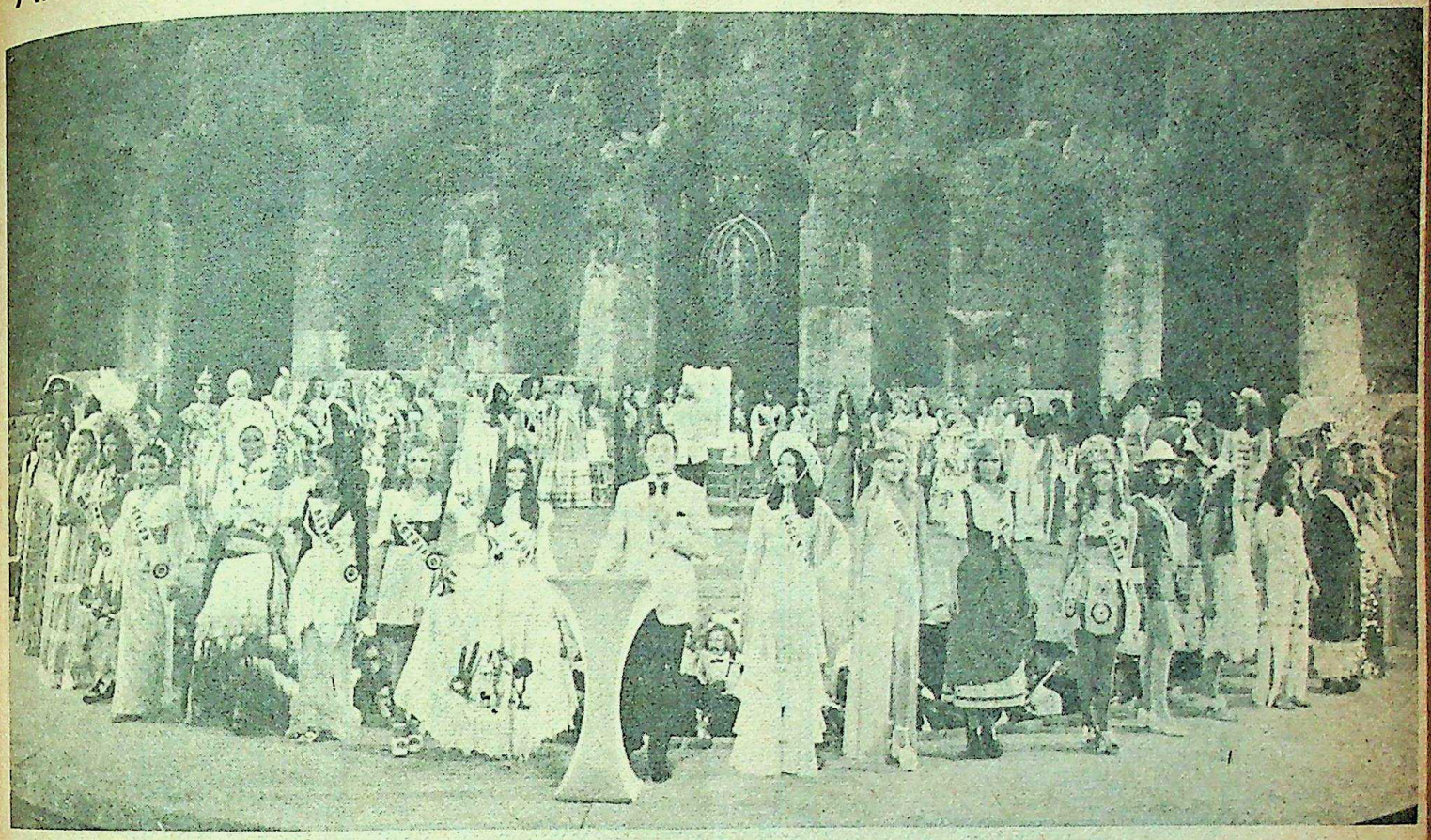
Sometimes the trip looked like a rally back in Indianapolis, but the heavy hand of the Soviet bureaucracy was never far away. Although they had promised to impose no censorship on American television crews, the Soviets one night interrupted and killed three programs—one on each network—dealing



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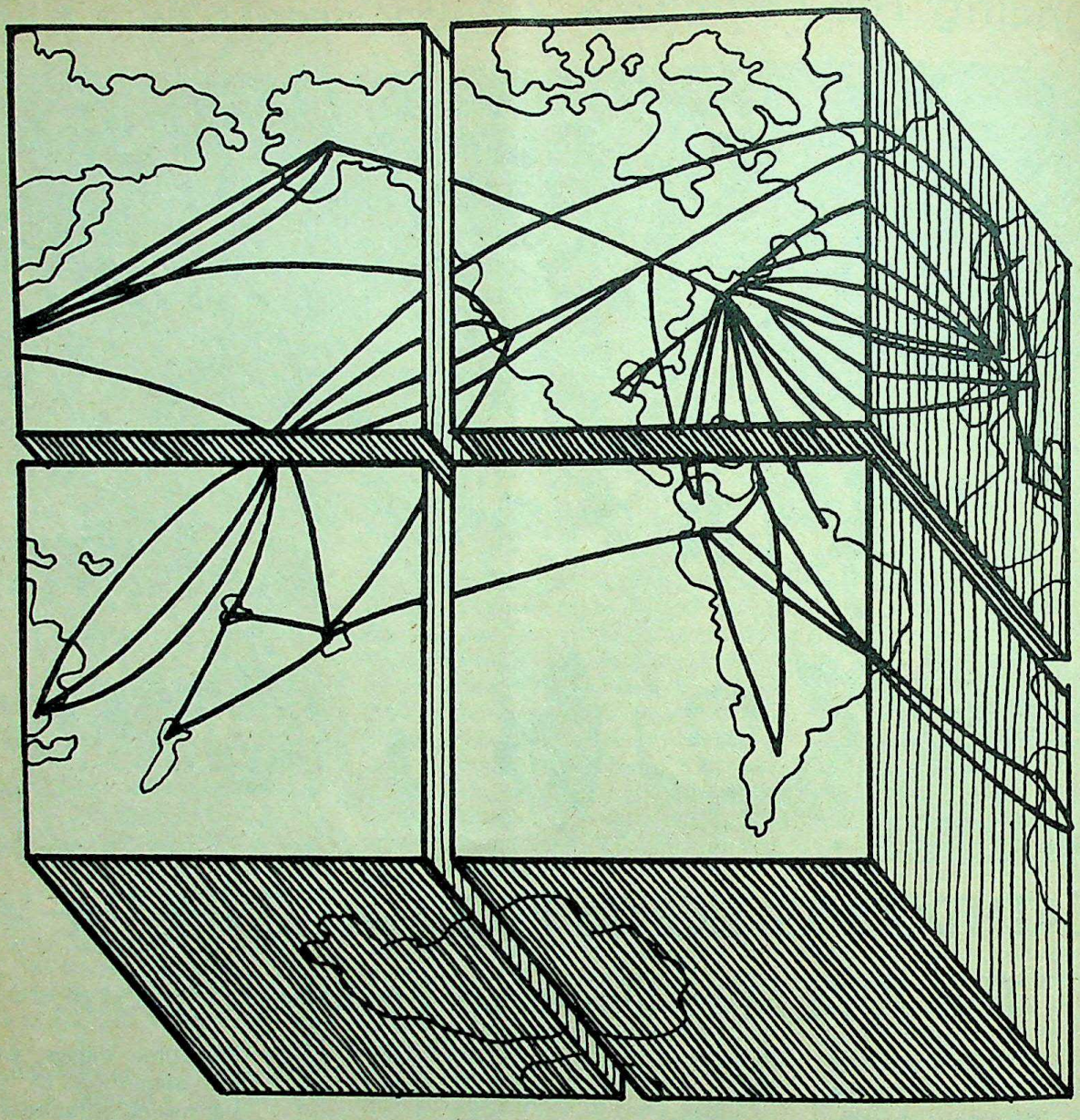
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with touchy subjects of dissidence. The networks showed what they had received, including the dramatic moment when the picture went black. "It was better journalism than anything we could have sent out," said NBC's John Chancellor. "There was never a more vivid demonstration of the differences between the two systems."

On the final day of the summit, Nixon and Brezhnev signed a cautious communiqué. The Soviet leader declared that he was satisfied, although he admitted that the agreements could have been "broader." The two nations followed the customary practice of promising to cooperate more in some areas of science and technology, such as space ventures and research into forms of energy. But on peace in the Middle East, security talks in Europe, the communiqué spoke in platitudes.

The two nations made a ritual promise to promote trade, but no settlement was reached on the basic issue that is holding up progress: the insistence by Senator Henry Jackson and majorities of the Senate and House that Russia liberalize its emigration policies before Congress grants the Kremlin lower tariffs and easier credits. Asked about the emigration issue, which particularly concerns Jews, a Soviet spokesman said: "I could put the question to you, 'Would you agree to making U.S. trade with the U.S.S.R. dependent upon the solution of the racial problem in the U.S.?' "

After a reception in the glittering Grand Hall of St. George in the Kremlin, where the band played selections from *My Fair Lady* and *Home on the Range*, the President flew back to the U.S. In a televised report to the nation, he praised the results of the summit and declared that the U.S. was building a structure of peace in the world for the next generation.

The traveling was not yet over for Henry Kissinger. He set off on a tour of NATO's capitals to report on the meeting that will be remembered as the summit that reviewed the options and starkly underlined the need for yet another attempt to curb the nuclear-arms competition between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Kissinger feels that it will be known within six months whether the Soviets really want to make a settlement or if they are simply trying to buy time in which to catch up with the U.S. and perhaps move ahead.

THE CIA

"Some Foolish Mistakes"

Ever since the Watergate break-in, many observers have wondered whether the CIA was involved in planning and carrying it out. Five of the seven burglars had been involved with the agency at one time or another, and they certainly used its methods, however ineptly. [illegible] Colson even went so far as to speculate that the CIA might have been responsible for the whole Watergate operation.

No one has pursued the CIA connection more diligently than Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., vice chairman of the Senate Watergate committee. Indeed, he has been criticized for attempting to divert blame from the White House. Last week, after nine months' research, he finally released his long-awaited report. While it raised disconcerting questions about CIA participation, it provided no evidence that the agency either planned or executed the Watergate operation. If anything, the agency was apparently a victim of White House machinations.

The most questionable act that Baker examined was the burning of James McCord's files shortly after the break-in. McCord, one of the arrested burglars, worked for the CIA until 1970. When his wife set fire to his papers in their house, a CIA operative named Lee R. Pennington Jr. happened to be on hand. Pennington testified that his presence was just coincidental, but the Baker report charges that Pennington "destroyed documents which might show a link between McCord and the CIA."

Wiped Tapes. The CIA did not at first report the incident to the FBI or the Senate Watergate committee, the report charges, because CIA officials feared that Pennington might have operated as a domestic agent, possibly in violation of the agency's charter. Not until last February was the information released to the Ervin committee, and then only because a CIA employee stubbornly insisted on it. Explaining its delay in taking action, the CIA claims that its director of security did not learn of the McCord episode until last February.

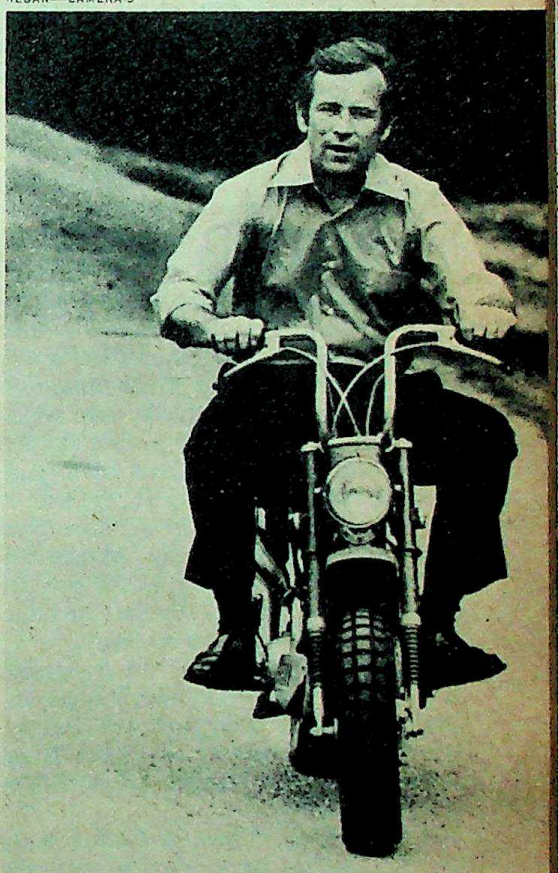
Another murky episode was the destruction of some CIA tapes in January 1973, just before Richard Helms departed as agency director. Among the materials lost were tapes of Helms' telephone conversations with President Nixon, H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman. A few days before the destruction, the Senate had requested the agency to safeguard all evidence pertaining to Watergate; Helms later insisted that none of these conversations were related to the matter. He also explained that the wipe-out of the tapes was customary before a new director took over. But the report contends that never before had there been such a sweeping destruction of CIA tapes.

A third key area of focus in Baker's report is the relationship of Watergate Conspirator E. Howard Hunt with the CIA. A longtime employee who retired from the agency in 1970, Hunt exploited his CIA connections to assist him in his Watergate activities. At White House request, CIA psychiatrists helped put together a profile of Daniel Ellsberg, who had released the Pentagon papers, and other agents used CIA labs to develop photos taken by Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy when they were casing the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

Hunt had still another CIA connection. Upon retiring from the agency, he went to work for Robert R. Mullen & Co., a Washington public relations firm that once served as a CIA cover in addition to its regular commercial jobs. Working with Mullen President Robert Bennett, Hunt conducted an investigation of Senator Edward Kennedy's accident at Chappaquiddick, persuaded Lobbyist Dita Beard to issue a statement intended to clear the Nixon Administration of any impropriety in its dealing with ITT, and estimated the cost of a wiretap of Author Clifford Irving on behalf of Howard Hughes. CIA officials denied any involvement in these activities.

Baker admits that there are no "conclusions" to be drawn from his report on the basis of the evidence he has been able to gather. After reading the report, Senator Sam Ervin, chairman of the Watergate committee, said that he had learned nothing new about the CIA role. "I think it made some foolish mistakes," he added, "but Watergate came directly out of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, with the assistance of certain White House aides."

REGAN—CAMERA 5



SENATOR HOWARD BAKER
Interested in burned files.

Yet the report is dismaying because it shows how easily some CIA employees were drawn into the scandal and, with too few questions asked, gave aid to lawbreakers and cooperated with dubious White House requests. In the process, the CIA was tarnished—along with virtually every other individual and agency connected with Watergate.

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MRS. KING WITH MARTIN JR. & HIS WIFE CORETTA IN NEW YORK CITY (1958)

told a friend that he would soon "be all over the newspapers."

In Cincinnati last week law officers found a onetime bowling-alley maintenance man named Stephen Holiman, 68, who claimed to be Chenault's spiritual mentor. Holiman, a black, has devised a curbstone theology which holds that God is black, the ancient Israelites were black, and that today's blacks descend from the Old Testament's Jacob. He took credit for introducing Chenault to these ideas, as well as to his belief that black ministers are "liars" who rob their followers of "millions of dollars a year." In Chenault's Columbus apartment, police found a list of ten black churchmen and civil rights leaders headed by Martin Luther King Sr. Not seeing him in church, Chenault may have picked King's wife as a substitute target. (Police also intend to question Chenault about the unsolved killings of two black ministers in Dayton in the past two months.)

Final Farewell. Death brought Alberta Christine Williams King more public attention than she had ever received in her lifetime. A shy woman, "Mama" King, or "Bunch" as her husband affectionately called her, stayed quietly in the background, but many friends called her the hidden force behind her crusading son and husband. "She sounded no trumpets to call attention to her greatness," said the Rev. L.V. Booth of Cincinnati's Zion Baptist Church at her funeral.

For Martin Luther King Sr., it was the third time in six years that he said a final farewell to a member of his family. A little more than a year after Martin Jr. was assassinated in Memphis in 1968, King's younger son, the Rev. A.D. Williams King, drowned in a swimming pool. "I'm not gonna quit and I'm not gonna be stopped," said "Daddy" King at the funeral. "We've got to carry on." Then, as he gazed at his wife's white casket he added softly, "So, Bunch, I'm coming on up home. I'll be home almost any time now."

CRIME

The Third King Tragedy

Famed as the place where Martin Luther King Jr. preached, Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church attracts many visitors. No one paid much attention when a short, chunky black man wearing a tan suit and thick glasses slipped into a seat a few feet from the organ. Mrs. Martin Luther King Sr., 69, wife of the pastor and mother of the slain civil rights leader, was playing. As the 500 worshipers bowed their heads for the Lord's Prayer, Marcus Wayne Chenault, 23, opened fire with two revolvers.

"I'm tired of all this!" he screamed. "I'm taking over!" And he sprayed bullets wildly until both guns were empty. He wounded three people, two of them —Mrs. King and Deacon Edward Boykin, 69—fatally.

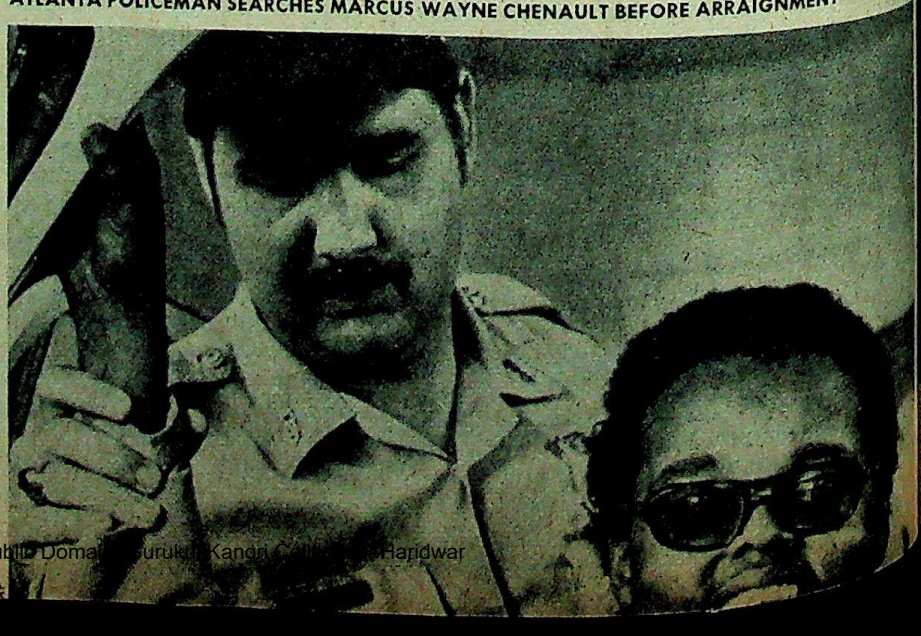
"Nice Boy." Martin Luther King Sr., 74, was just entering the red brick church as his wife was shot. When he asked Chenault why he did it, the youth replied: "Because she was a Christian and all Christians are my enemies." The next day Chenault declared that his real name was "Servant Jacob." "I am a Hebrew," he said. "I was sent here on a purpose and it's partly accomplished."

Seeking the meaning of these remarks in Chenault's character and past, investigators found confusion and paradox. In the bluegrass country of Winchester, Ky., where he was raised, people remembered Wayne Chenault as quiet, easygoing and studious, a "nice boy" who had a newspaper route and attended Baptist church regularly with his devout parents. Later in Dayton, Ohio, where his father is now a chemical plant security guard, he was known as a clean-cut teen-ager who stayed out of trouble and was "always making people laugh."

After he entered Ohio State University in 1970, Chenault began to change. Recently he had come to be regarded as an oddball and a loner who had few friends and fewer dates. He was a junior majoring in education when he dropped out last December and began venting his increasingly eccentric views through a blaring loudspeaker propped in his second-floor window near the campus in Columbus. Until last week, however, no one took seriously his amplified boast that he was "the baddest mother_____ on the block."

Chenault's religious beliefs appeared to be a confused amalgam largely of his own devising. Said a Columbus neighbor, Denise Underwood, 20: "One week he was eating this because he wanted to be a Jew; then one week he wouldn't eat this because he wanted to be a Muslim." The core of his murky philosophy was hatred of Christianity. Probably central to his motivation was his sense of inadequacy and need for attention. Only two weeks before the killings he

ATLANTA POLICEMAN SEARCHES MARCUS WAYNE CHENAULT BEFORE ARRAIGNMENT

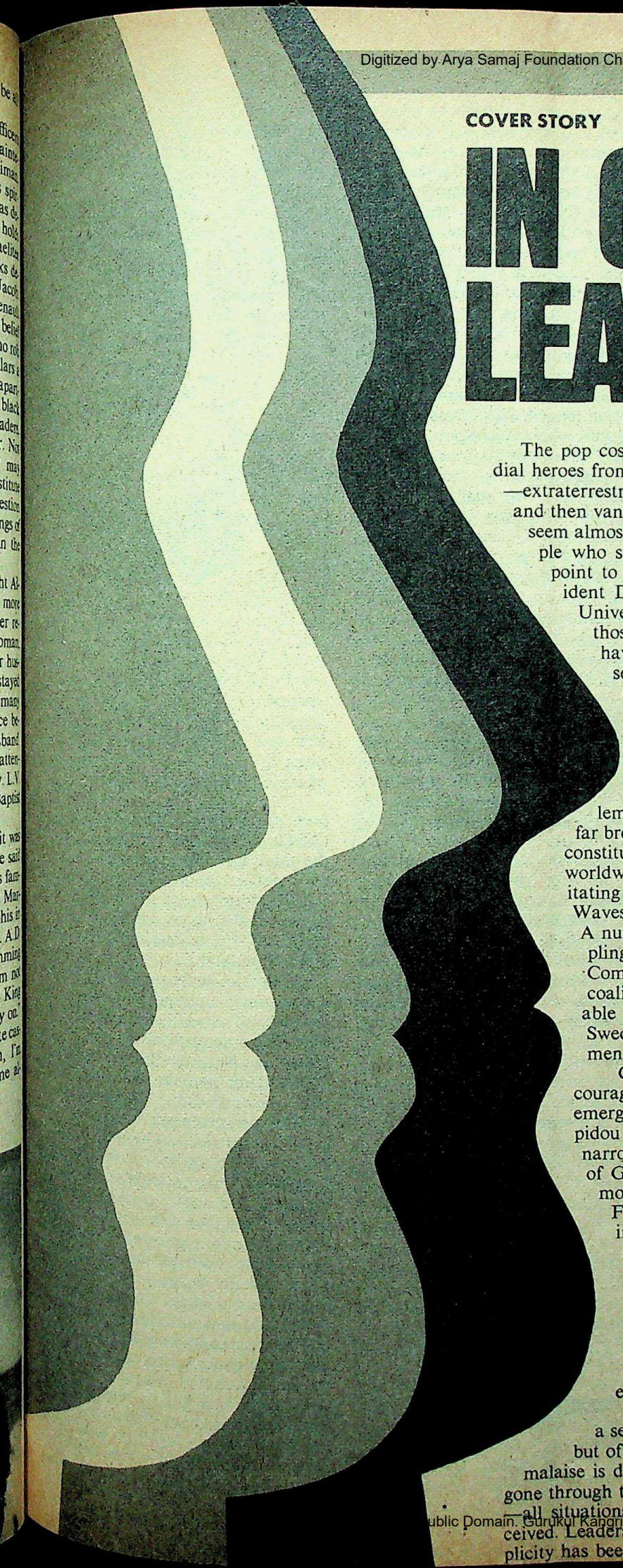


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COVER STORY

IN QUEST OF LEADERSHIP



The pop cosmologist Erich von Däniken conjures up primordial heroes from the plain of Nazca and the temples of Palenque —extraterrestrial astronauts who strayed to this planet long ago and then vanished. Today heroes and leaders bred on the earth seem almost as scarce. "There is a very obvious dearth of people who seem able to supply convincing answers, or even point to directions toward solutions," says Harvard President Derek Bok. "Leadership," observes Northwestern University Political Scientist Louis Masotti, "is one of those things you don't know you need until you don't have it." In the U.S. and round the world, there is a sense of diminished vision, of global problems that are overwhelming the capacity of leaders. As Journalist Brock Brower wrote three years ago, if Martian spacemen were to descend and demand, "Take me to your leader," the earthlings would not know where to direct them.

Americans have a special sensitivity to the problem now, but it existed well before Watergate and is far broader than that shabby attempt to corrupt the U.S. constitutional system. Moreover, the phenomenon is worldwide. In one country after another, chronic, debilitating inflation tends to undermine the social contract. Waves of strikes and shortages erode public confidence. A number of democratic governments are merely crippling along. Since 1973, the governments of all nine Common Market nations have changed hands. Shaky coalitions exist in Belgium, Finland and Israel, vulnerable minority governments in Britain, Denmark and Sweden. Italy stumbles on with virtually no government at all.

Changes of government are not in themselves a discouraging sign. On the contrary, they may signal the emergence of fresh leadership. In France, Georges Pompidou was succeeded by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, whose narrow victory over Socialist opposition marks the end of Gaullism but may mark the beginning of a new, more human exercise of power that will test whether France can exist short of "grandeur" without lapsing into disorder. West Germany's Willy Brandt resigned amid scandal; yet even in resigning he displayed a sense of responsibility that is itself an element of leadership. He was succeeded by fellow Social Democrat Helmut Schmidt, who may yet prove to be a better manager. Portugal's authoritarian regime was ousted with at least a chance, slim though it is, that democratic leadership may take hold.

Yet along with these modest gains, there remains a sense of unease, not only of giants having departed, but of mere competence being all too scarce. Partly the malaise is due to the fact that large areas of the world have gone through the war, the cold war and anticolonial revolutions —all situations in which good and evil could be sharply perceived. Leadership is easier in such times. Now this relative simplicity has been succeeded by confusion and pessimism, a sense

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that the real problems of the world are so technical and complex that the traditional way of running things is inadequate. Perhaps for the first time, even Americans, the world's foremost solvers of technical problems, have been afflicted by this feeling. "Governments are trying to do a 20th century job with 19th century methodology," says University of Pittsburgh Historian Joseph Malone. "There is a kind of administrative sclerosis around the world that breeds mass suspicion and distrust. Leadership casualties result."

Leadership usually begins with a vision of success, a glimmering intuition that solutions are possible. Now, as Critic George Steiner has said, "we no longer experience history as ascendant." At the same time, there seems to be something naggingly excessive about such gloom, out of proportion with the great amount of skill, intelligence and energy that exists in America and elsewhere. Even while the largest problems (including the largest cities) seem to have grown unmanageable, there have been countless new examples of leadership, imagination and dedication on a lesser scale: in smaller communities, in many organizations, in business. The gallery of rising American leaders that appears following this story contains many examples. Thus there should be hope for the emergence of a new generation of leaders—if only, somehow, the stubborn obstacles in their path could be understood and reduced.

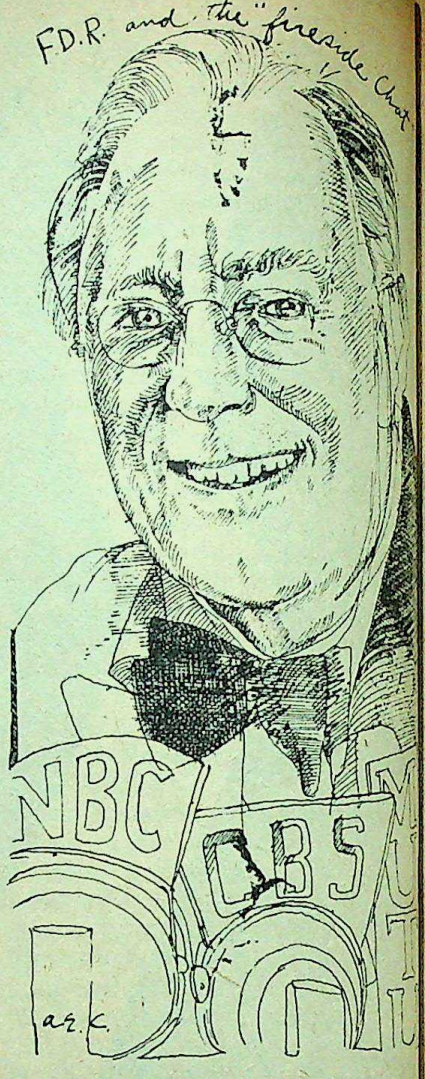
What Blocks Leadership?

Some reasons for the loss of leadership can be identified readily enough:

▸ Institutions are changing in ways that their leaders cannot always grasp. Churches have been dramatically altered by internal disputes over questions of social activism, morals and even creed. Educators have grown uncertain about the social and intellectual purposes of education. Politicians throughout the West have trouble determining the boundaries involved in a free-enterprise system mixed with government control. Moreover, in place of the heady economic expansion of the past quarter-century, they must now cope with the counterfeit of growth—inflation. Even those who do not accept the gloomy prophecies of the Club of Rome realize that at least some limits to growth must be expected. The feeling of having reached a frontier, a limit of possibility, brings on grave anxieties and confronts politicians with an issue that they sidestepped for years: if there is no longer an ever-expanding pie, how are the portions to be parceled out?

▸ Such changes have contributed to the fact that leaders are increasingly naked and vulnerable. Newspapers, magazines and especially television subject potential leaders to devastating scrutiny. Says Columbia University Historian Henry Graff: "We have become a nation of Madame Defarges. We sit in judgment on our political leaders because we know them so well. We have a kind of Naderism in politics. For the first time since man came down out of the trees, government no longer operates in a cocoon of mystery. I suppose the world changed a lot when Eisenhower's bowel movements were described by Paul Dudley White."

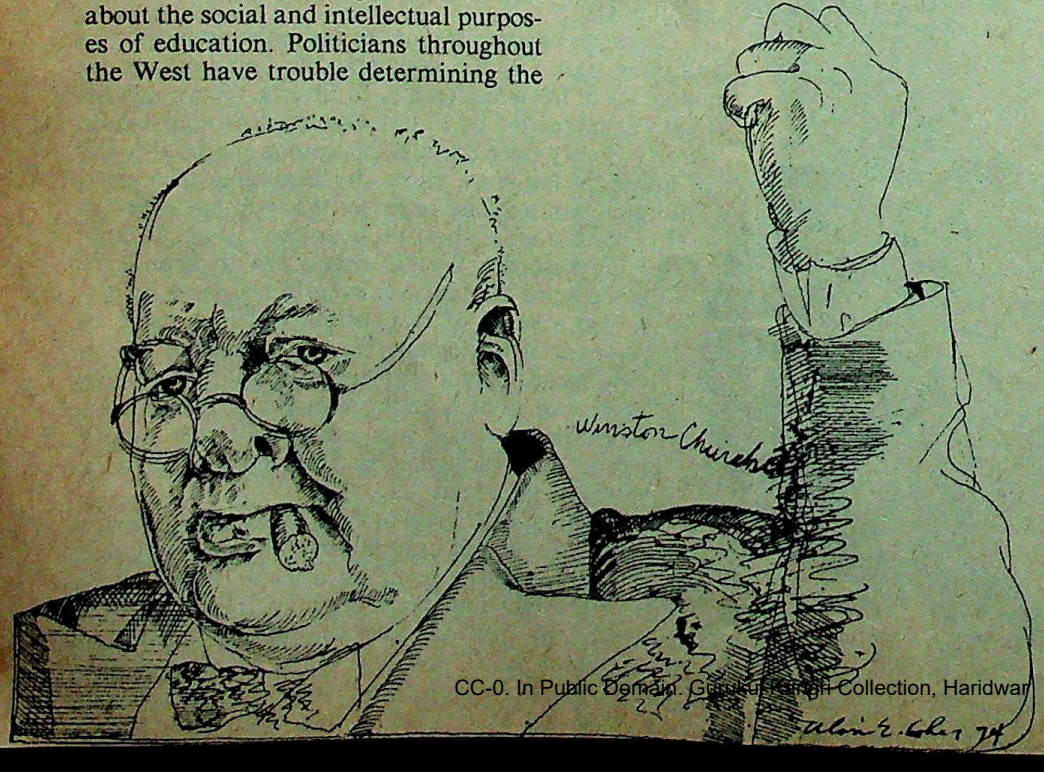
At the same time, politics has been frequently contaminated by the law of celebrity. It works two ways. According to Andy Warhol's dictum that "in the future, everybody will be famous for at least 15 minutes," overexposure or premature adulation tends to burn up talent too quickly; the public becomes bored. There may also be a deeper 20th century Western instinct that anyone or anything believed in too long may turn the believer into a fanatic. Despite a real desire now for some public inspiration from leaders, there is also a wariness and skepticism about it. Simultaneously,



press and television journalists have the habit of falling into ruts, of overcovering the same familiar figures and failing to seek newer talent. The process, says John Gardner, head of the public lobby Common Cause, represents "bad horticulture," for it destroys the seedbed of fresh leadership.

▸ Politics is frequently perceived as a somewhat unappetizing career, and not only in America. Historian Henry Steele Commager notes that "talent grows in whatever channels are available and are popular. It goes where the public rewards are." Thus the birth of the U.S. was attended by a breathtaking array of intellectual talent—Madison, Jefferson, Hamilton, Washington, Franklin—because public service was the ideal and one of the few outlets for talent in late 18th century America. But in the 20th century, says Commager, talent is best rewarded in private enterprise, and the better leaders leave politics to the mediocre. He might also have mentioned that in the late '60s and early '70s, some promising young talents exhausted themselves in protest. Gardner has calculated that in proportion to population, the U.S. should now have some "850 Jeffersons and Madisons." He believes that today, Jefferson would probably be a university president, having started out as a high-energy physicist.

▸ In every industrialized society a common problem for leaders is the proliferation of demands upon them. Observes Harvard Sociologist Daniel



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"More and more issues get thrown into the political arena, and the political system becomes overloaded with a multiplication of claimants, constituents and contending groups, which results in more frustrations and resentments building up for leaders to deal with." To cope with the load, bureaucracies become fragmented and specialized, sometimes competing with one another, frequently smothering political initiatives. The whole immense mechanism of the central government grows so ponderous that it is virtually immune to necessary change.

The Special U.S. Malaise

In the U.S., there are some further and all too familiar reasons why leadership has lost much of its psychological accreditation: the assassinations of the 1960s which introduced an unprecedented measure of terror into American politics; the era of riot and protest, offering glimpses of a hitherto unthinkable challenge to the entire social system; the Viet Nam War—a deeply confusing experience to a people schooled in the justice of its wars and the infallibility of its technology. In that strange enterprise, conventional American leadership failed badly and at great expense —or so the outcome of the war was widely perceived. And Americans do not yet know how to go about forgiving themselves for failure.

On top of the disorders of the '60s, the nation had, back to back, two Presidents who left it deeply cynical, suspicious that the Government had grown incapable of telling the truth. Says one House Democratic leader: "We've had two men widely viewed as cynics and manipulators. Johnson created a credibility gap, which is a polite way of saying that your Government lies to you. Then Nixon came along." Nixon exercised bold and imaginative leadership in foreign policy, demonstrating that old patterns could be broken and people could be brought to see the world in new ways. But the situation at home was drastically different.

In early June, Pollster Louis Harris found that 59% of Americans feel disaffected with the country compared with 29% in 1966. The sharpest rise, from 26% in 1966 to 63% today, came in response to the statement: "People running the country don't really care what happens to you." Fully 78% believe that "special interests get more from the Government than the people do."

Says Gerry Studds, a young liberal Democrat from Massachusetts: "People aren't happy with either the President or Congress, and that's why there's hope. I think that bumper sticker—IMPEACH SOMEONE—says it all."

Is there really hope in anger? Perhaps. But, as Commager observes, mony in our society, to my mind, than at any time since, say, Reconstruction. Perhaps the '60s and '70s are a great divide—the divide of disillusionment."

How can this divide be bridged? The almost ritual answer is, "Through leadership." But the argument becomes tautologous: the way to get leadership is through leadership.

For and Against Heroes

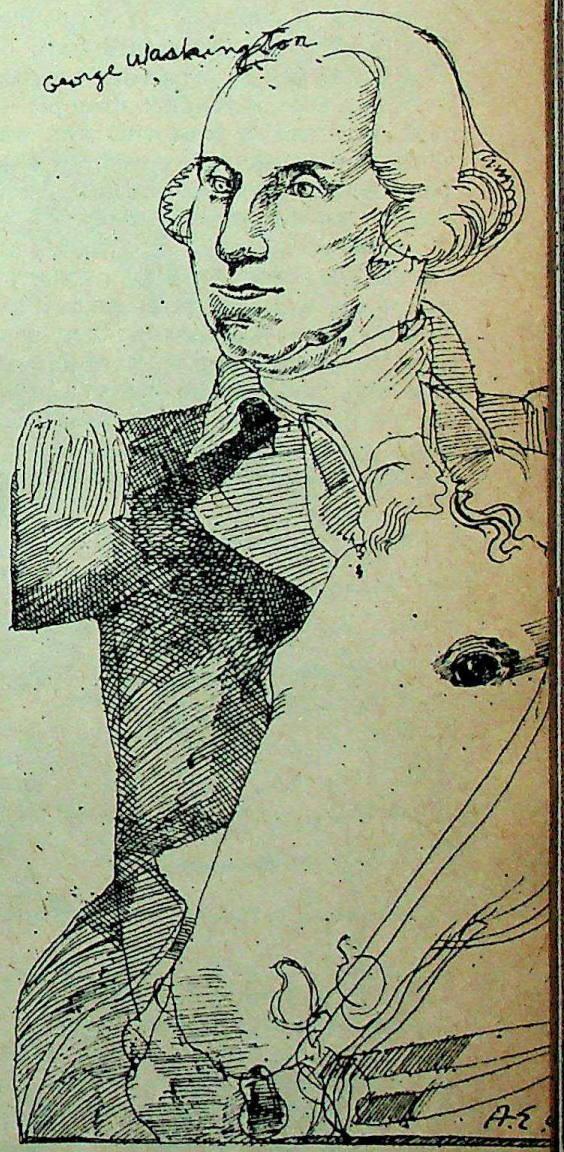
And no one of course is sure just what leadership is. Historians and others who have thought about it cite innumerable definitions and distinctions involving politics and war, moral force and intellectual power, good and evil *(see box page 26)*. Among the most lucid and sweeping definitions is this one, proposed by the French critic Henri Peyre: "Leadership can be but a broad ideal proposed by the culture of a country, instilled into the young through the schools, but also through the family, the intellectual atmosphere, the literature, the history, the ethical teaching of that country. Will power, sensitivity to the age, clear thinking rather than profound thinking, the ability to experience the emotions of a group and to voice their aspirations, joined with control over those emotions in oneself, a sense of the dramatic ... are among the ingredients of the power to lead men."

Most definitions emphasize honesty, candor and vision combined with sheer physical stamina and courage. Not that courage without brains was ever sufficient. An episode from British history emphasizes the point. When the British Cabinet summoned the Duke of Wellington and asked him who was the ablest general to take Rangoon, the unhesitating reply was "Lord Combermere." "But we have always understood that your Grace thought Lord Combermere a fool," the Cabinet protested. "So he is a fool, and a damned fool," said Wellington. "But he can take Rangoon."

What of that mysterious quality called charisma? "It would be nice to have charisma," says M.I.T. President Jerome Weisner. "But you would like it to be based on an understanding of what the hell is going on." (Weisner adds that anyone who claims to understand all the issues is a fraud.) Forget charisma, suggests Columbia University Historian Richard Morris. "Do we really need the charismatic, individualistic leadership that the nation boasted in its infancy?" he wonders. "Perhaps our century has had a surfeit of charismatic figures. Today we could do with honest ones." Like many other historians, Morris seems to perceive two starkly contrasting types of leadership—the charismatic *v.* the more or less commonplace. More often the two poles are defined as the romantic and the functional.

It was Thomas Carlyle who articulated the beginning of the modern romantic cycle. "The history of the world," he wrote in 1841, "is but the biography of great men." Hitler elaborated the argument with Hegel's theory of the "world-historical figure"—the heroic genius who emerges when the historical moment is right to lead a people to their preordained destiny.

That thought merged a kind of messianism with Hegelian and Marxian determinism, the idea that vast and blind historical forces sweep across the world's stage without important regard to personalities. But of course that Marxist thought is invalidated by Marxist history—the crucial "heroic" role played by men like Marx himself, and Lenin



and Stalin. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. suggests that "men have lived who did what no substitute could ever have done; their intervention set history on one path rather than another. If this is so, the old maxim 'There are no indispensable men' would seem another amiable fallacy. There is, then, a case for heroes."

Henry Kissinger does not deny that this case can be made, but he worries about the damage that such towering figures can cause. "Institutions are designed for an average standard of performance—a high average in fortunate societies, but still a standard reducible

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to approximate norms," Kissinger wrote six years ago in an essay on Bismarck. "They are rarely able to accommodate genius or demoniac power. A society that must produce a great man in each generation to maintain its domestic or international position will doom itself."

Can Leadership Be Taught?

Such exceptional figures remain one of the enigmas of civilization. Leaders, wrote Peyre, "are indeed mystery men born in paradise or some devil's pit." In his brilliant study of Gandhi, Erik Erikson detected a "shrewdness [that] seemed to join his capacity to focus on the infinite meaning in finite things—a trait which is often associated with the attribution of sainthood." The rule that great leaders are summoned forth by great issues can be persuasively argued from, say, the Churchillian example—a brilliant, irascible aristocrat who was settling into a relatively unsuccessful old age when the war called him forth to embody a people's grand defiance.

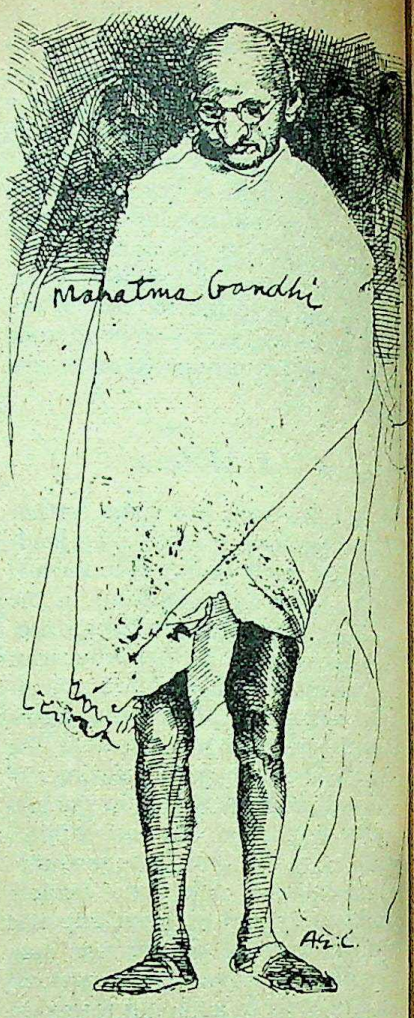
Another example is Charles de Gaulle, who lived through his country's defeat and waited through political exile before he re-emerged and then managed through a combination of shrewdness, style and, indeed, charisma to act on the world stage as if France were still a great power. But he also had the courage to ignore passion and face reality in Algeria, cutting his country's losses in a disastrous colonial war.

In the U.S. perhaps only Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt played comparable roles in profound crises that threatened the very survival of the society. But the phenomenon is wholly unpredictable; there have been numerous upheavals in human history—the medieval plagues in Europe, for example—in which the event did not summon a savior. Ireland's eternal troubles illustrate history's frequent refusal to beckon a great leader with a solution. At the same time, great leaders throughout history have arisen seemingly from nowhere, like the Mahdi, an Islamic mystic who drove the Egyptians and their British allies, led by General Charles Gordon, out of the Sudan in a 19th century holy war.

Men have often dealt with the unpredictability of leadership by citing a hero's or prophet's appearance as divine intervention, since ordinary historical rules could not explain it. Thus Moses. Thus the emergence of Mohammed, whose startling religious and political career could scarcely have been predicted at the time.

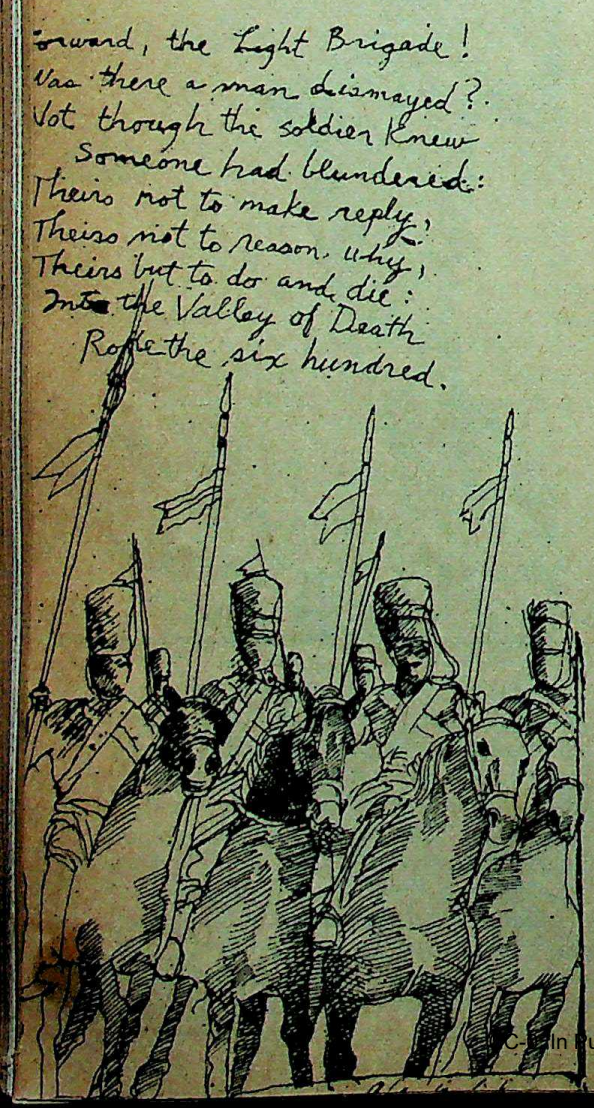
The darker side of the thesis that great issues summon great men is the fact that great issues often mean simply great confusion, and that chaos can just as well call forth monsters. Psychiatrists D. Wilfred Abse and Lucie Jessner believe that "in its most extreme form, the leader-follower relationship exists in the rapport of hypnotist and subject." In the periods of instability, when a people feels itself lost and humiliated—Weimar Germany, for example—a world-historical banality like Hitler can somehow give expression to the frustration and lead his people—not a primitive, uneducated people, but one with the highest intellectual traditions—into bestial ecstasies. The holocaust is perhaps the single most important reason for the Western wariness of great leaders. In a way, as George Steiner has said, it was mankind's second fall. From it emerged a lesson: never submerge a people and its diversity in a single vision, a single personality. Accordingly, the *Führerprinzip,* so often linked with the cult of personality, has made 20th century man healthily skittish of having a visionary ego at the nuclear trigger.

In the U.S., the balance between charismatic and pragmatic leadership has usually been weighted toward the latter. The earliest American concept of leadership was really neither; it had its roots in the Age of Reason and Greek political philosophy. Plato's intention was to make the joys and sorrows of every citizen the joys and sorrows of all. The individual was an integrated part of the whole social body striving for excellence. The ideal was total *noblesse oblige,* an excellence of virtue based on justice, or *paideia.* Something of that ideal informed Jefferson's notion of the *aristoi*—the natural aristocracy based on virtue and talents whose members were the best governors for society. It survives in the deepest roots of the American establishment, even though the aristocratic tendency runs counter to Jacksonian exuberance, the more egalitarian American strain that makes every man a king.



Whether aristocratic or egalitarian in concept, can leadership be taught? It is one of the more tantalizing questions at a time when the quality is seen to be in such short supply. The military has often proved an effective, if not the only, school for leadership—consider Alexander, Genghis Khan, Napoleon. The late Harvard sociologist Pitirim Sorokin has documented the stunning extent to which the military has been the route to power for men of humble origins. "Of 92 Roman Emperors," Sorokin wrote, "at least 36 climbed to this position from the lowest social strata up the army ladder; of 65 Emperors of Byzantium, at least 12 were really upstarts who obtained this position through the same army ladder." In the U.S. a military career has rarely led to wider leadership in this century except in the very special case of Dwight Eisenhower.

Various societies have set about schooling their young for leadership. It is an ambiguous enterprise. Four of the nine British public schools known as the Clarendon Schools (Eton, Harrow, Winchester and Rugby) have produced a disproportionate number of leaders over the years. Someone who passed through



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every boy would be in such position as Viceroy of India and must be brought up with this end in view. The government of the country was made an almost personal matter." So too with Oxford and Cambridge, which have produced British leaders for centuries. At work there was a deep tradition of elitism and stability, a continuity of assumptions and expectations.

But the English aristocracy was capable of disastrous follies. There is no more perfect indictment of such leadership than the fatuously self-confident direction by the Lords Raglan and Cardigan of the charge of the Light Brigade. The event must be seen in retrospect not just as a piece of heroic military stupidity (worse ones have occurred since), but as a symbol of what happens to a trained elite that is closed to new blood and new ideas.

In the U.S. perhaps the most important form of leadership training has been the legal profession. However one may feel about lawyers, their predominance among U.S. political leaders suggests a deep American desire to mediate between opposing passions.

But Americans have had little patience with formal leadership training outside the military academies and some business-management courses, where the emphasis is often on case studies and field work. "Leadership can be developed and improved by study and training," General Omar Bradley once told a class at the Army Command and General Staff College in Fort Leavenworth, Kans. "But don't discount experience. Someone may remind you that Napoleon led armies before he was 30 and Alexander the Great died at 33. Alexander might have been even greater if he had lived to an older age and had had more experience. In this respect, I especially like [the] theory that 'judgment comes from experience and experience comes from bad judgment.' "

The U.S. has generally operated on the theory of a laissez-faire of merit. Despite its injustices—the disastrous schooling of the poor, for example—the diverse system has remained sufficiently open to allow leadership to rise from nearly every rank of the society. In fact, the WASP establishment has long wondered what went wrong, how it lost control to the coarse ethnic heirs of Jacksonianism. The dispossessed of American life are to be found in *The Education of Henry Adams* as well as *The Autobiography of Malcolm X.*

Alexis de Tocqueville foresaw that democracy would have the effect of flattening the peaks of excellence while elevating the sub-par or the average. The danger is that in glorifying the least common denominator, democracy mandates mediocrity. The hope is that such a system will encourage a universal standard of excellence in every pursuit. Tocqueville took it for granted that the leveling process in a democracy would produce a mean—but not a happy mean. Nonetheless, democracy possesses a resilience and fluidity that are capable of defying such predictions: classes rise above themselves, ambition remains plausible. Indeed, Americans hardly realize how revolutionary—and vulnerable—is the idea that a nation can have leadership without a trained elite, a leadership subject to popular mandate.

There is widespread fear today of new "men on horseback," of new demagogues. As governments wrestle with the problem of distributing ever more limited resources, thinkers like U.S. Economist Robert Heilbroner foresee a Hobbesian descent into authoritarianism and a siege economy in many nations—even in America. Heilbroner believes that perhaps modern man's aggressive and competitive instincts can be transferred from nature-destroying production to services—education, health care and the arts. But he doubts this can be done without paying a "fearful price" in democratic freedoms.



Defying Determinism

The validity of such visions and the nature of leadership itself depend very much on time and place, the deepest patterns of a society. Arnold Toynbee and Oswald Spengler constructed cyclical, organic theories of history. All civilizations, they said, passed through similar stages of growth and decay and eventually perished, whether from internal or external wounds. The 14th century Berber historian Ibn-Khaldun prefigured the idea by concluding that history repeatedly moves through the same cycles. According to Ibn-Khaldun's theory, a youthful, growing society is animated by *'aṣabiyya,* the spirit of social solidarity found in what he called "the desert aristocracy." But as the society becomes more "civilized," the cohesive group feeling begins to deteriorate in the face of the luxury and diversity of pursuits that become available. Mao Tsetung might well be a student of Ibn-Khaldun; he deliberately plunged China into the tumultuous Cultural Revolution of 1966-69 to prevent precisely the sort of deterioration foreseen by the Berber sage. But Ibn-Khaldun also warned that such interventions would prove futile. "Several rulers," he wrote, "have sought to cure the state and restore it to normal health. They think this decay is the result of incapacity or negligence in their predecessors. They are wrong. These accidents are inherent in empires and cannot be cured."

Ibn-Khaldun, and later, like-minded prophets, did not calculate that the cycles could be broken, that history could simply veer off in another direction. As Journalist-Critic A.J. Liebling noted, Ibn-Khaldun's determinism was refuted by "the vigor of Renaissance thought, the technological advances and the discovery of the New World."

Societies have the talent for lumbering on, and more than any other country, the U.S. has always defied determinism. No successful American leader is likely to believe that he is presiding over the twilight of his culture.

Patterns Around the World

Regardless of where the U.S. may stand today in its historical cycle, a look at the rest of the world confirms the rarity of democratic leadership. Given the vastly diverse needs, traditions and social assumptions of the world's nations, it is extremely risky to venture any cultural generalizations. But some patterns seem evident nonetheless. In Black Africa, where the idea of a powerful paramount chief was deeply ingrained long

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Who Were History's Great Leaders?

What makes a great leader? Throughout history, who qualifies? TIME *asked a variety of historians, writers, military men, businessmen and others for their selections.*

MORTIMER ADLER, U.S. philosopher: In Aristotelian terms, the good leader must have *ethos, pathos* and *logos.* The *ethos* is his moral character, the source of his ability to persuade. The *pathos* is his ability to touch feelings, to move people emotionally. The *logos* is his ability to give solid reasons for an action, to move people intellectually. By this definition, Pericles of Athens was a great leader.



Winston Churchill, Thomas Jefferson, or almost any of the founding fathers —Adams, Madison, Washington. Perhaps Lincoln, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson as well.

GIOVANNI AGNELLI, Italian industrialist: There are at least two kinds of leadership. One is leadership that cannot be challenged, the other is democratic leadership. The most representative leader of the first kind is the Shah of Iran, who rules over a country where he has absolute powers and has transformed his country into a modern state. At the opposite extreme is the Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, whose opposition has reached 50%. His country represents the maximum of social evolution.

RAYMOND ARON, French historian: If you want to name a great conqueror, Genghis Khan and Alexander the Great. If you want a legitimate king who was at the same time a statesman and a military commander, Frederick II of Prussia (1712-86).

CORRELLI BARNETT, British military historian: Greatness has nothing to do with morality. A leader gets people to follow him. Napoleon led the French to catastrophe, but they followed him almost to the end. Marlborough and Wellington had greatness. And Hitler, unfortunately. Al Capone was a leader in a primitive environment.

LUIGI BARZINI, Italian author: Three Italian leaders, fused into one man, could be useful today. The greatest is Julius Caesar, penniless patrician, demagogue, traitor to his class, brilliant lawyer, writer, invincible general, creator of an empire. After him, Lorenzo de' Medici, banker, merchant, poet, who ruled Florence with a firm hand. He invented the balance of power to keep the quarrelsome Italian states at peace. Then Camillo Benso di Cavour, farmer, financier, journalist, businessman, who turned tiny Sardinia into the kingdo of Italy in a matter of months.

OMAR BRADLEY, U.S. general: Geor Marshall. He had the imagination a foresight and leading genius to prepa this nation for war. Franklin Roosev —a great President. George Washi ton, Abraham Lincoln, Charles Gaulle—he pulled France through. I d not agree with him on many points, b he was all Frenchman.

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, U.S. columnist a editor *(National Review)*: Lincoln com always to mind, because with all th we know now about his flawed histo ical perspective, the rhythms of his sp it took the soldiers and the poets throu the crises of a Civil War. I wish we ha too, some of the Whiggish optimism Theodore Roosevelt. It may not be o manifest destiny to conquer Khe San but it ought to be ours to cultivate li erty and subdue the state.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, U.S. hist rian: Washington and Jefferson. Bo had character and intelligence, and pe ple had confidence in them. Leadersh is intangible. You can't define all th parts.

MARTIN DIAMOND, U.S. political scie tist (Northern Illinois University): In t last 200 years, Abraham Lincoln, Wi ston Churchill and James Madison. Li coln proved that the highest grace c be attained by a person of ordinary o igins. Churchill showed that a pers from the aristocracy who excelled in ways could become a servant of dem racy. Madison, a 126-lb. weakling wi no charisma, framed perhaps the m incredible document of our time: t U.S. Constitution. Until Madison, no mous or thoughtful person—from So rates to Montesquieu, from Plato Hobbes—had ever endorsed democra

JAMES GAVIN, U.S. lieutenant gener (ret.): Among leaders who have ma the greatest impact through the ages would consider Mohammed, Jes Christ, maybe Lenin, possibly Mao. for a leader whose qualities we co most use now, I would choose John Kennedy.

ALEXANDER HEARD, U.S. educat (chancellor, Vanderbilt University): N concept of leadership is complete wi out the element of zeal and fervor, an most spiritual element. Martin Luth King had it. Adolf Hitler had it, so Gandhi and Nehru. The Old Testame prophets had it. It's commitment, it's kind of self-confidence which can

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egotistic and arrogant. But a degree of it has to be there. The leader must have a belief in what he is doing, almost a singlemindedness.

IRVING KRISTOL, U.S. writer, professor and editor *(The Public Interest):* Abe Lincoln is the prototype—the leader who is uncommon but not beyond emulation by the common man. He's not a Napoleon. This is American democratic politics. You don't want a world conqueror. In latter days John Kennedy had that uncommon-common quality; so did both Roosevelts, T.R. and F.D.R., although they were distinctly below Lincoln.

ROBERT JAY LIFTON, U.S. psychohistorian (Yale): Mao was able to articulate, live out and connect with the aspirations of the Chinese people at a time of crisis. Like most great religious and political leaders, he had some relation to a holocaust (the disintegration of Chinese culture, the warlords, Japanese invasion).

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH, U.S. poet: In my own experience, the man who most obviously possessed the quality of leadership was General Marshall. He was a man of enormous moral authority.

GOLO MANN, West German historian: Marcus Aurelius, emperor and philosopher, valiant pessimist and warm philanthropist, was good for his own age. In our time, vacillating between two very different types, Franklin Roosevelt and Konrad Adenauer, I choose the former because his achievements had greater significance for world history. His demagoguery was tempered by humanity; he could not hate. He was fearless and had humor, two virtues that Bismarck, too, possessed; he radiated hope and meant well by people, which Bismarck did not.



JULES MASSERMAN, U.S. psychoanalyst: Leaders must fulfill three functions —provide for the well-being of the led, provide a social organization in which people feel relatively secure, and provide them with one set of beliefs. People like Pasteur and Salk are leaders in the first sense. People like Gandhi and Confucius, on one hand, and Alexander, Caesar and Hitler on the other, are leaders in the second and perhaps the third sense. Jesus and Buddha belong in the third category alone. Perhaps the greatest leader of all times was Mohammed, who combined all three functions. To a lesser degree, Moses did the same.

MARSHALL McLUHAN, Canadian communications philosopher: The late Siegfried Giedion, Swiss art historian and author of *Mechanization Takes Command* (1948). He was a student of formal structures in the man-made world and instituted the study of forms in everyday life. His book is a study of the death wish in modern man, with specific application to the mechanization of bread baking and meat packing. His most exciting moment was his discovery of the American barber chair.

WILLIAM McNEILL, U.S. historian (University of Chicago): If you measure leadership by impact, then you would have to name Jesus, Buddha, Mohammed, Confucius, the great prophets of the world. Among political leaders, Alexander may have been the greatest. He brought the Greek and Oriental civilizations together, and it's hard to conceive of this happening without his personal intervention. Lenin and Woodrow Wilson, who set the terms for political discussion. But both pale before two 19th century intellectual giants, Sigmund Freud and Lenin's own mentor, Karl Marx, the secular prophets of our time.

JEAN-FRANÇOIS REVEL, French author *(Neither Marx nor Jesus):* A great leader has original ideas and succeeds in having them accepted by millions or billions. These ideas can be wonderful or dreadful. Thus I have chosen the Athenian philosopher Epicurus and Adolf Hitler—the best and the worst. Epicurus because he defined a model way of life that was followed and is still followed today by many billions of people, which makes them happy without hurting anyone. Hitler because he had as much influence, although of an evil sort, through his ideas, which meant misery and destruction for millions.

C.P. SNOW, British author: I don't believe much in great leaders. Great leaders emerge from circumstances and normally don't create them. Very occasionally one or two produce a difference. If Lenin had not existed, it is hard to see how the Russian Revolution could have succeeded. Further back, Augustus Caesar brought order out of chaos and created the imperial peace.



WILLIAM IRWIN THOMPSON, U.S. historian-mystic: Gandhi. For a society to be healthy, it must seek centers of authority and leadership that do not necessarily derive from political or economic power but from cultural and spiritual values as well. Mao recognized this; he did try to give up his power and lead through the authority of his Little Red Book—but he abandoned this effort because of the chaos that resulted from the Cultural Revolution.

ARNOLD TOYNBEE, British historian: Chinese Emperor Kao-Tsu (founder of the Han dynasty in the 2nd century B.C.) and Roman Emperor Augustus each gave to millions unity and peace that lasted because their policies were based on moderation which won consent. Thus they repaired the breakdown of the coercive unity briefly imposed by their unsuccessful predecessors, Shih Wang-ti and Julius Caesar.

BARBARA TUCHMAN, U.S. historian: George Washington. He did a marvelous job, achieving his objective, surmounting incredible opposition and obstacles of lethargy and cowardice.

YU YING-SHIH, Chinese historian: Gandhi, a religious saint of the highest moral principles, but also a political leader who worked for the rights of the depressed and disinherited classes. He had no personal greed for power but cared rather for the welfare of the people, using persuasion instead of violence, never allowing expediency to justify a deviation from the truth.

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concepts of national leadership were molded in the pattern of the imperial traditions by which they had been ruled. They were indoctrinated in character patterns thought necessary in the West to achieve supreme power in industrialized political democracies, although the traits, such as charisma or coolness under fire, have often degenerated into parody. Such leaders are less concerned with providing a sense of moral direction than with exercising a firm managerial hand. Inevitably, their countries endure considerable political apathy, and the average under-30 citizen of Malaysia or Singapore does not think of challenging the state of affairs. As long as the economy is not doing badly, he expects no more "leadership" than a General Motors assembly-line worker expects from the corporation president.

In Japan, none of the Westernized notions of personal leadership apply. According to an old Japanese proverb, "A nail that protrudes is hammered down." The qualities of individualism, original thinking and outspokenness are not admired. What counts is reliability, confidence that the chosen man will not violate the defined perimeter of consensus. Within that perimeter, he should have a talent for manipulation and accommodation so as to minimize friction and confrontation.

before the white man's appearance, forms of dictatorship come naturally. Respect for authority is taught from birth, and in Africa as nowhere else, might means right. Most Africans shrug and accept the winners in the power game. Opposition in much of the continent is regarded as not only unhealthy but also a bit improper. Leaders tend to be military usurpers; there have been two dozen military coups in the past decade. New leaders emerge literally overnight, but Africa is not fruitful ground as yet for the steady and gradual development of leadership.

In South America, as a young Peruvian politician says, "it is very difficult to get to the palace by political means; the usual way is by money or guns." The continent has been much dominated by the military. Youth counts for little. When the late Juan Perón won the presidency of Argentina last fall he was 77, and his closest rival was 69. The very frequency of military coups makes party politics an unattractive career. The best of the young either go into private business or the law, or they join leftist guerrilla movements.

In non-Communist Southeast Asia, men like Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew, the Philippines' Ferdinand Marcos and Indonesia's Suharto developed their talents during or soon after their countries achieved independence. All received a heavy dose of Western culture, and their

Needed: Followership

In sharp contrast, the U.S. still believes in self-reliance and initiative (though not as strongly as in the past). But even in the U.S., the danger in the concept of leadership is that it can all too easily become a talisman, a form of magic. Instead of facing the problems and working at them, people tend to sit back and hope for leadership. "Everybody is looking for somebody else to do something for them, to take the responsibility," says Nelson Rockefeller. According to Chicago Psychoanalyst Jules Masserman, "We never get over being children. We're always looking for a parent figure." In a democracy, leadership always requires collaboration between the leader and the led. As George Shultz and others have pointed out, the problem is not just a lack of leadership but a lack of followership.

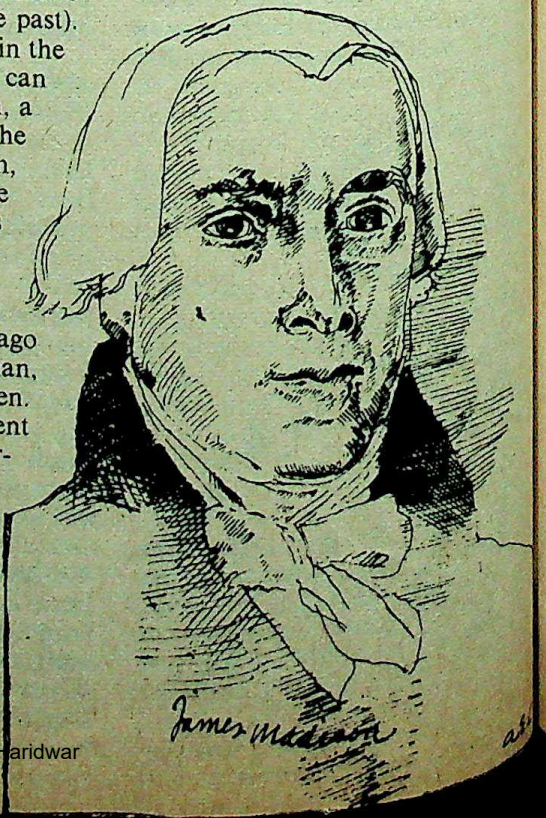
It is apt to be a circular dilemma: Is a leader chosen only after a critical, reasonably mature, well-informed public has decided roughly where it wants to be led; or does a leader appear first to tell the public where it wants to be led? Woodrow Wilson held that leadership is "interpretation" or articulation: "The forces of the public thought may be blind; [the leader] must lend them sight; they may blunder; he must set them right." But Wilson cautioned that the leader must not get too far ahead of his public: "He must read the common thought; he must test and calculate very circumspectly the preparation of the nation for the next move in politics." (On the League of Nations issue, Wilson himself failed to heed his own advice and indeed got too far ahead of the country.)

But what if hard solutions to hard problems turn out to be unintelligible or unpalatable to the majority? Always assuming that the leaders and their experts have figured out what the solutions are in the first place, leadership then requires an extraordinary effort of persuasion and education—beginning in the home, which is everybody's first leadership class.

When this fails, as it often will, the leader must have the courage to "go against the weight of public opinion because he knows such a course is right," as Texas Congresswoman Barbara Jordan puts it. "He must be willing to get out in front and wait until his constituents catch up with him."

There are not nearly enough political leaders today willing to heed this truism. But everywhere there seem to be people ready and willing to play a role, but somehow without quite knowing where to take hold, where to fit in, in what way to bring their energies to bear.

No one has yet furnished a work-



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able solution to that dilemma, but it is clear that leaders and potential leaders will have to work in three interrelated yet distinct areas: 1) institutional reform; 2) political philosophy; 3) personal attitudes.

Reform: Balance of Powers

Long before Watergate, it was obvious that the balance of power between the U.S. presidency and Congress (as well as, to some extent, local government) had been seriously upset. For American leadership to reassert itself, this imbalance will have to be righted, and the current constitutional struggle relating to Watergate is only part of the picture.

What has become known as "the imperial presidency" troubles many Americans, although quite a few see nothing wrong with the aggrandizement of the office ("Leave it to the President; he knows more," is the often voiced sentiment). The office, having reached out to meet the crisis of the 1930s, then a world war, and finally the cold war with its threat of apocalypse, has grown so huge that it dominates and distorts a Government built upon the principle of coequal branches.

Yet, says Stephen Hess, once a speechwriter for Dwight Eisenhower: "Most of the social progress in our country has been initiated by our President, and those who would limit his power may well regret it when they have a President with whom they agree. You must think of powers you'd give a President you agree with and one you disagree with. You can't have a double standard."

While two generations of Presidents have been concentrating power in the White House, Congress has been relaxing its grip, sometimes to the point of irresponsibility. Says former Deputy Attorney General William Ruckelshaus: "When I was administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, I saw Congress pass bills on clean air and clean water when they knew—absolutely knew—that the goals couldn't be fulfilled." Both Houses are poorly led. The machinery is creaky, the resources scant, and efforts at effective reform seem once again to have been smothered.

Another area for urgent institutional reform: the cumbersome way in which presidential candidates are chosen. The nominating process is an interminable circus, an obstacle course of costly and wearing primary campaigns culminating in a political convention which, whatever its advantages as spectacle, seems an unreliable way for the nation to go about selecting its leaders. The Democrats in 1972 tried to open the process to more popular participation, but the results were mixed, and the party became distracted by being bogged down in arguments over minority quotas and

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Women: Tyros and Tokens

History resounds with their names. The biblical Deborah, who led the Israelites to victory against the Canaanites. The Byzantine Empress Theodora, who inspired most of the important legislation of Justinian's reign. Catherine the Great of Russia, who had skills—and drives—as prodigious as her legendary predecessor Peter. From Nefertiti, the Maid of Orléans and Elizabeth I down to modern times, women leaders have left their mark. The 1970s alone have seen no fewer than four female heads of state: Israel's Golda Meir, India's Indira Gandhi, Sri Lanka's Sirimavo Bandaranaike and Argentina's Isabelita Perón, who took over the presidency last week on the death of her husband.

These are clearly the exceptions, however, and extremely rare ones at that. Historically, male-dominated societies have been willing enough to accept female monarchs who came to power by succession as well as women of great charisma or excellent family connections. But more often men have been reluctant to regard women as equals, much less as superiors. According to Betty Friedan, whose book *The Feminine Mystique* established her as the founding mother of women's liberation in the U.S.: "Women have made amazing progress. But they are hardly present in any numbers as leaders."

The past decade has drastically changed the image many women have of themselves (as well as the image many men have of them). But the revolution in the real status of women is only beginning. "There are plenty of token women around, but none in top leadership roles," says Rita Hauser, former U.S. representative to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. "Younger women very much want to break through and I think they will, but we won't see the results until ten years from now."

The statistics bear her out. Among first-year medical students three years ago, 13.5% were women compared with 10% in 1967. Such prestigious law schools as Harvard's now accept about twice as many women as they did in the mid-1960s. But as yet only 7% of the doctors, 3% of the lawyers and 4% of the 35,000 architects in the U.S. are women.

In politics, women have thus far made only small advances, however well publicized. This fall 108 women will be running for Congress (up 74% from 1970), nearly 700 for state legislatures, a dozen for Lieutenant Governor and ten for Governor. But now there are only 16 women in the House of Representatives and not a single one in the Senate. There are no women Governors and only four ambassadors. Among 18,500 American towns and cities, only some 30 are led by women mayors, while a mere 6% of state legislators are women.

In business, women rarely rise above middle management. A FORTUNE survey of 1,220 large American corporations revealed in 1972 that men outnumbered women at the top board-member and officer levels by a staggering 600 to 1. Less than 10% of the full professors on all U.S. campuses are women. "There are spotty examples of emerging women leaders," sums up Heather Booth, a civil rights activist from Illinois, "but it is not clear whether they are the tip of the iceberg or all of the ice."

Worldwide the situation is not much different. Finland leads Europe in the numbers of highly placed women, with Sweden a fairly distant second, but Britain and France are not progressing toward sexual parity any faster than the U.S. There are far more women than men in medicine in the Soviet Union, on the other hand, while 37% of the country's lawyers and 32% of its engineers are female.

Significant progress is also being made in Asia, where women have traditionally had low status. In Japan, a fast-growing feminist movement and a sex-blind college-admissions policy are propelling women into politics and business at high levels. In China, sex discrimination is officially considered a reactionary remnant. Though Mao's wife Chiang Ching is the only woman among the 20 regular members of the Politburo, Peking's highest ruling body, a more impressive 40 women belong to the 309-



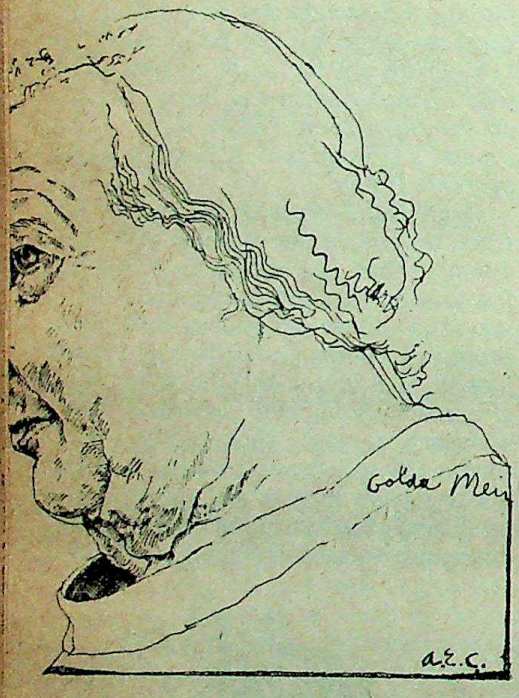
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member Central Committee of the Communist Party.

While discrimination by males has a great deal to do with the small number of women leaders, women's concept of themselves may also be a significant obstacle. Psychologist Matina Horner, now president of Radcliffe College, found a fear among college women that professional advance can come only at the expense of femininity. To Cynthia Fuchs Epstein of Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research, what is most frightening is "the punishment" a woman suffers, because of the male-oriented values of society, if she achieves success.

Affluent white women show more ambivalence toward careers than do others. Horner has found that 29% of black female students are fearful compared with 88% of the whites. Explains



Epstein: "Black women have less agony of decision because they had to work —there was no choice."

Those women who do seek leadership positions run into obstacles that are either unknown to men or thrown up by men. Female politicians complain that they have a far harder time raising funds than their male counterparts; many of them favor public financing of campaigns. Says Jean Marie Maher, a political consultant in California, "While contributors might write a check for $500 or $1,000 for a man, if the candidate is a woman, they write a check for $100." A *Harvard Business Review* study shows that male executives are more apt to discipline women for minor infractions than men, go to far greater lengths to retain male employees, and tend to hire and promote male managers rather than females with virtually identical qualifications.

Among the most vexing problems is reconciling a career with the demands of motherhood. Susan Catania, 32, a Republican member of the Illinois house of representatives, takes her fifth daughter Amy to sessions of the state legislature and regularly repairs to a brand-new women's lounge to breast-feed the infant. Other women have solved family demands in somewhat less dramatic ways. Says Radcliffe's Horner: "One morning my daughter said: 'It's not like you're my mommy any more.' Wow! I said I would wake her up when I came home and we would have an evening chat." Horner has since made a regular practice of it.

Many women avoid the problem by not having families at all. A study by Helen S. Astin published by the Russell Sage Foundation shows that only 55% of women holding doctorates have married, compared with 90% of other women in the same age group. Conversely, the conflict with family responsibilities keeps many women leaders from careers that might open the way to leadership roles. "It is too optimistic to think that women will not be held back by marriage," says Ida Lewis, black editor and publisher of the two-year-old magazine *Encore*. "They always will be."

Writer-Editor Midge Decter, whose book *The New Chastity and Other Arguments Against Women's Liberation* enraged women's libbers, dissents: "A lot of women have not assumed roles as leaders because they are occupied elsewhere—with their homes or children, perhaps. They don't become leaders because they don't feel like it."

The fact remains that for those women who do seek leadership roles, the road often requires a degree of stamina and sustained brilliance not always demanded of men. Even those who have succeeded are concerned lest their own success prevent their sisters from moving up. Says Eleanor Holmes Norton, New York City's human rights commissioner: "I am the exception that sexists and racists would like to rely on." Norton, who is black, thus echoes the widely held concern that getting beyond tokenism may be the most difficult challenge yet. Indeed, few women's libbers believe that men are ready to tolerate complete equality.

Women have proved so far that the best of them can struggle to the top. What remains to be proved is that someone less than spectacular can do well. Frances ("Sissy") Farenthold, 47, the then Texas legislator who came in second for the Democratic vice-presidential nomination in 1972, has this advice for women: "Stop worrying, as I did for a time, about being unqualified. Just look at how many incumbents are incompetent and unqualified." Only half in jest, she adds: "I am working for the time when unqualified blacks, browns and women join the unqualified men in running our Government."

the like. Also obviously needed are re forms in campaign financing, to enable candidates to run without requiring huge amounts of money, and an effort to cu short the grueling length of most poli ical contests.

Politics: Recovering Consensus

Leadership is impossible in the ab stract without a framework of more or less shared goals. The U.S. still seems able to articulate goals in general terms but it is deeply divided on the spe cifics, the realities. It has, in short, lost its national consensus (although that consensus may never have been quite so solid as it has appeared in times of surface unity, such as of the Eisenhower years).

No clear majorities exist today. Says Massachusetts' State Representative Barney Frank: "Up to World War II there were many more majority-type issues than there are now—Social Se curity, labor benefits, social and eco nomic programs. Today most issues are not of concern to the majority, and we can't count on it to be self-sacrificing enough to pass them." Of course, in flation is becoming the new majority concern, along with such matters as energy, health care and food prices. But constructing new majorities for ac tion, and creating even the beginnings of a new consensus, remains the most formidable task of all.

This process cannot succeed without a willingness to compromise. That is not the easiest requirement in an era that still hears echoes (fortunately di minishing) of "unconditional demands" and "nonnegotiable terms." Nor is a meeting of minds foreseeable in the bitter era of Watergate. Indeed, any kind of reconciliation or unified action will be impossible for a long time, un less Watergate ends with a sense of jus tice having been done.

To persuade people of the need to effect compromise, to restore the belief in consensus, not only inspiration will be needed but, perhaps more important, a very old political skill. Harry Tru man spoke of it when he said: "You know what makes leadership? It is the ability to get men to do what they don't want to do and like it." That real ly amounts to a redefinition of self-in terest. As Barney Frank puts it: "The great leader is the one who can show people that their self-interest is dif ferent from that which they perceived." Unfortunately, that ability does not seem much in evidence in U.S. politics today. Its outstanding example lies in the international field, where Henry Kissinger has so brilliantly practiced it. At its heart are intelligence and the imagination to put oneself fully in an other's place. The principle will have to be applied to a divided U.S., and it will take leadership on all levels to show that, if it fails, the result is common disaster.

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Personal Attitudes: Trust

To make leadership possible, the essential link between leaders and followers must be restored: trust. As Toynbee has put it, the leader must "make his fellows his followers." This can happen only if they trust him enough not to examine or attack each of his individual actions and are willing to go along with him for a while. At what point does this partly automatic following, which Toynbee calls mimesis (literally, imitation), turn into blind obedience and abdication of responsibility? That is the crucial problem in a democracy, and it can be solved only if leaders and would-be leaders are far more open in their dealings than is customary in U.S. politics.

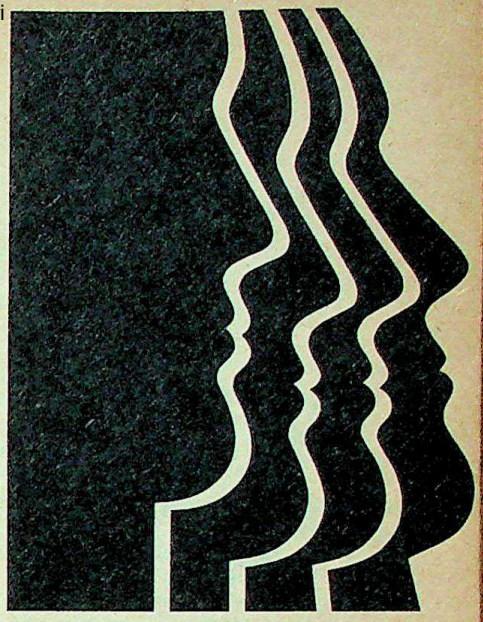
But for leaders to be open, followers must help. They must pay serious attention to the issues, for otherwise leaders have no incentive to take them into their confidence. Followers must be willing to forgo the clichés and platitudes that an indifferent or impatient public almost forces its leaders to utter. On the personal side, followers must also be more willing to accept their leaders as they are and less ready to buy the tiresome public relations conventions that require the American politician to be always one of the boys and hide every trait that might cause alarm—from intellectuality to a bad temper—behind a smiling mask. True, most politicians have an instinct for the phony, but the American public need not accept it.

In sum, in a democracy, to be led is not a passive exercise; it takes work, and work by many people. As John Gardner put it: "Leadership in the U.S. is not a matter of scores of key individuals. It is a matter of tens of thousands, even hundreds of thousands, of influential men and women [who] create the climate in which public opinion is formed."

Among its vast assets, the U.S. retains a remarkable reservoir of talent *(see portfolio beginning next page)*. Will all that talent find release, a chance to make a difference? Nothing much will happen in the U.S. unless Watergate ends with a sense of justice having been done. Moreover, the magnitude of today's problems could easily lead to a sense of helplessness.

But it could also lead to a new sense of concern and commitment. And such a sense, once it percolates through a society, could prove to be the crucial ingredient that has been missing from the elusive formula for successful leadership in the modern world. Says Duke University Political Scientist James David Barber: "Sore as the public is, there is strong evidence that they are American to the core: uninterested in revolution, increasingly concerned for the civil liberties, ready for sacrifice on an equal basis with the privileged and, above all, watching and waiting for leadership to express and effect their new sense of the country's commitment to community, humaneness and candor."

150 Faces for the Future



While the lack of leadership is everywhere felt and deplored, there are a great many leaders, both actual and potential, round the world, or so TIME believes. The forces that hinder their coming to the fore are huge, as the preceding story points out. But we are convinced that there is no shortage of men and women who can assume leadership roles in the right circumstances—and given the right spirit in their lands.

That is why, in the following 20 pages, TIME presents a portfolio of 150 young international leaders. The number 150 is arbitrary. So is the definition of youth, which ends at 45, at least in our judgment and in that of a contemporary dictionary. We know that many people do not discover their leadership qualities until much later. But we wanted to emphasize a rising generation.

In setting the limit at 45 (ruling out those who have reached 46 by the date that this issue first appears on the newsstands), we had to exclude, often by a narrow margin, some remarkable and pacesetting figures. To name only two, Cuba's Premier Fidel Castro was eleven months over the limit, and Pakistan's Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto missed by only six. As it is, the difficult part was not finding 150 people who met our criteria of leadership but confining the list to that number.

What were our criteria? The touchstone was civic or social impact. That automatically included politicians and government officials as well as businessmen, educators, lawyers, scientists, journalists. The definition ruled out a number of people who are outstanding in their fields but really belong in another category. They incarnate what John Gardner recently described as "virtuoso leadership"—the diva, the poet or novelist, painter or actor. They may be a great source of inspiration and their audiences may be vast, but they are basically soloists, and we felt that they should be included only if their work had a clear, direct impact on society.

In some cases, our choice was based on considerable accomplishments; in others it rested more on promise, expectation or instinct. To create our portfolio, TIME correspondents last April began gathering recommendations from university presidents and professors, government officials, religious figures, industrialists. The editors trimmed, amended, sifted and resifted the lengthy list that resulted. What follows is not —and was not intended to be—a precise reflection of the world's geographic, political, racial or sexual makeup.

Some characteristics of our gallery deserve special note. There are no fewer than 50 Americans—one-third of the total—not because we thought that figure reflected comparative levels of talent but because we wanted to acquaint readers with as many rising U.S. leaders as possible. There is a paucity from Eastern Europe largely because of the special nature of leadership in totalitarian countries—witness the complete absence of Greeks, whose forebears framed the parameters for practically every discussion of leadership in the past 2,000 years. Considering its size, Asia contributed relatively few young leaders to our list, partly because so many Asian countries equate age with wisdom.

There are too few women! So far the number in leadership positions is simply not very large. As for businessmen, there would undoubtedly have been more had the age limit been higher; at 45, most financial and industrial wizards are still preoccupied with climbing corporate ladders, and their deepest involvement in civic affairs occurs only after they have reached the top.

The list is intended neither as an endorsement nor as TIME's version of "The World's Top 150." It is a fallible selection, a sampling to suggest the great diversity of talent that is available the world over. Any listmaker runs the risk that some of his choices may prove to be eccentric and some of his omissions unforgivable. But that seems a risk worth taking if it helps to start a debate about leadership, and to demonstrate that there may be reason for hope in a time of deep concern.

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UNITED STATES

1
James Abourezk, 43, one of 14 Lebanese-Americans in South Dakota, is a relaxed, informal politician who finds the U.S. Senate a bit too stuffy. Liberal Democrat Abourezk (pronounced *Aber*-esk) decided to study law at 32, went to Congress at 39 and, after a single term, captured his Senate seat in 1972. Besides being the Senate's most forceful spokesman for the Arab cause in the conflict over a Palestinian state, Abourezk, who was born on a Sioux reservation and knows more about the American Indian than any of his 99 colleagues, is chairman of the Senate's Indian Affairs Subcommittee and is pressing to increase both its staff and its effectiveness.

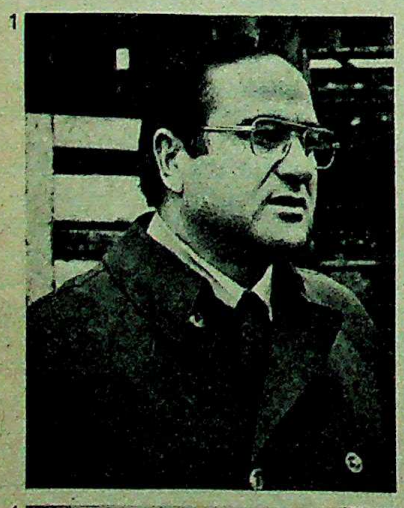
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Wendell Anderson, 41, the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Governor of Minnesota, has frozen property taxes for the elderly, initiated stringent environmental measures and given his state a tough campaign-financing law. Son of a St. Paul meat packer, he worked his way through college and law school, played on the U.S. Olympic hockey team in 1956 and won a seat in the state legislature—all by the time he was 25. Anderson won the governorship in 1970 even though he endorsed a sizable increase in personal income taxes. His detractors now call him "Spendy Wendy," but the increase has paid for the most equitable school-financing program in the nation, and Anderson is expected to skate through this fall's re-election campaign.

3
Reubin Askew, 45, is the odds-on choice to be re-elected this year as Governor of Florida. The keynote speaker at the 1972 Democratic National Convention, ex-Paratrooper Askew had served in both houses of Florida's legislature before becoming Governor in 1970. He has achieved significant tax reforms while working actively to improve prison, judicial and election systems, expand consumer and environmental protection, and broaden programs for Florida's elderly. Askew is on practically everybody's list as a vice-presidential possibility in 1976.

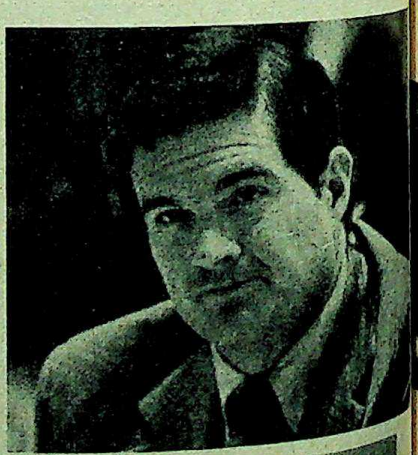
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Joseph Biden Jr., 31. Two years ago, this self-confident Democrat persuaded Delaware's traditionally Republican voters to send him to the U.S. Senate, where he is now the youngest member. A few weeks after he was elected, his wife and infant daughter were killed in an auto accident. Biden admits to being compulsively ambitious. An active proponent of environmental and consumer-protection legislation, he has criticized the Senate for failing to stand up to the Executive Branch and has called for greater accountability on the part of Government decision makers —"so I will know whom to crucify."

5
Derek Curtis Bok, 44, president of Harvard, is a scion of the Curtis publishing family and son-in-law of Swedish Sociologists Gunnar and Alva Myrdal. Bok graduated from Stanford and Harvard Law, studied in Paris as a Fulbright scholar, collected a graduate economics degree from George Washington University. A top labor-law specialist, he was named dean of Harvard Law in 1968, president of the university three years later. Democrat Bok helped organize opposition to Harrold Carswell's Supreme Court nomination, was among the academicians who went to Washington to protest the 1970 Cambodia invasion. An adroit administrator, he is amply qualified for a judicial or political career.

6
Christopher S. Bond, 35, the first Republican to occupy the Missouri Governor's mansion since 1945, has transformed the state's labyrinthine government into 13 Cabinet-like departments. He has also abandoned the patronage system of his Democratic predecessors by recruiting talented administrators from all over the U.S. Scion of an old Missouri family and a graduate of Princeton and the University of Virginia Law School, "Kit" Bond uncovered scandals and inefficiencies in the state administration while serving as state auditor until 1973. Now the U.S.'s youngest Governor, he is helping to create an effective G.O.P. in a traditionally Democratic state.

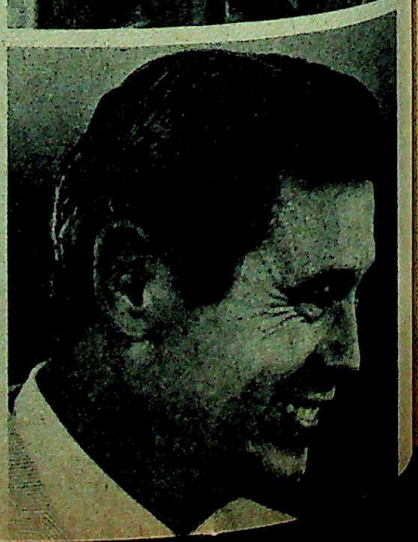

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7
William G. Bowen, 40, a trim onetime tennis champion at Denison University, became president of Princeton at age 38. Co-author of *Performing Arts—The Economic Dilemma* (1966), a pioneering study of the finance of culture, Bowen is a practical as well as a scholarly economist: as Princeton's former provost, he put in a budgetary system that erased the school's operating deficit in two years. A decisive administrator, he has notably strengthened Princeton's faculty. He once rescued from a pond a woman who had fallen directly onto an alligator; the beast, Bowen observed, was "probably as scared as she was—but it seemed something you didn't leave up to the alligator."

8
Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, 41, had been an attorney for ten years when, in 1966, she became the first black woman ever elected to the California state assembly. After three terms, plus TV exposure as vice chairman of the 1972 Democratic Convention, she captured a newly created congressional district in Los Angeles, becoming the first woman to represent California in Congress in 20 years. An articulate advocate of consumer and environmental protection, women's and minority rights, she seems certain of re-election this fall and of a prominent role in the 1976 Democratic Convention.

9
Guido Calabresi, 41, professor at the Yale Law School, is tagged by his peers as Supreme Court or World Court material. A former Rhodes scholar and top-ranking Yale law graduate, Calabresi has frequently advised the U.S. Department of Transportation and various state agencies and is a member of Nelson Rockefeller's Commission on Critical Choices. He has recently been concentrating on an examination of modern technology and its effects; in 1970 he wrote *The Cost of Accidents,* a study that served as a prime source of data for the designers of the national no-fault insurance bill now before the House.

10
William S. Cohen, 33, a poetry-writing lawyer from Maine, has already turned down an offer from some state Republican leaders to back him for Governor. A former mayor of Bangor, he handily won election to Congress in 1972 and was given a seat on the Judiciary Committee. This year he was the sole Republican to join committee Democrats in rejecting President Nixon's proffer of transcripts instead of tapes as final evidence. A moderate Republican with a youthful following, he has sponsored social legislation such as the nursing-home patients' bill and the newsmen's shield law.

11
Robert Coles, 44. Probably the most influential psychiatrist in the U.S., he is an authority on poverty and racial discrimination and a prolific author. His multivolume *Children of Crisis,* a study of the effect of social stress on children, won a 1973 Pulitzer for nonfiction. After studying at Harvard, Columbia and the University of Chicago, Coles joined the Harvard staff in 1963, and now lives near his native Boston. Viewing all men and women as strong and sensible, weak and full of faults, Coles voices faith in America: "This is the world's richest and most powerful nation, so it has not only the potentiality but the immediate possibility for reform."

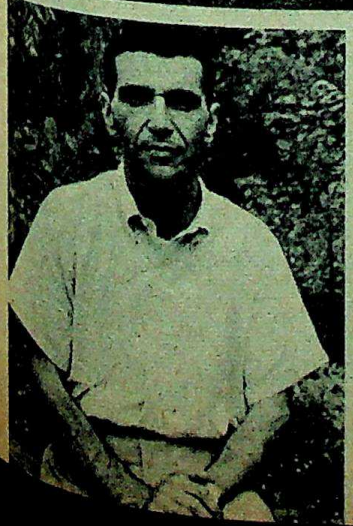
12
Peter Dawkins, 36. An All-America halfback and Heisman Trophy winner at West Point, Dawkins went to Oxford as a Rhodes scholar, won combat medals in Southeast Asia, earned a Master's at Princeton and is about to complete his doctoral thesis there (topic: resistance to change in large institutions). Long regarded as Chief of Staff material, Lieut. Colonel Dawkins, currently one of 18 White House Fellows, was in Viet Nam as an ARVN adviser in 1965-66 and again the next summer, when he collaborated on an Army "pacification" study. In the Pentagon in 1970, he helped refine the concept of an all-volunteer army. Last summer he finished a stint as commander of a battalion in Korea.

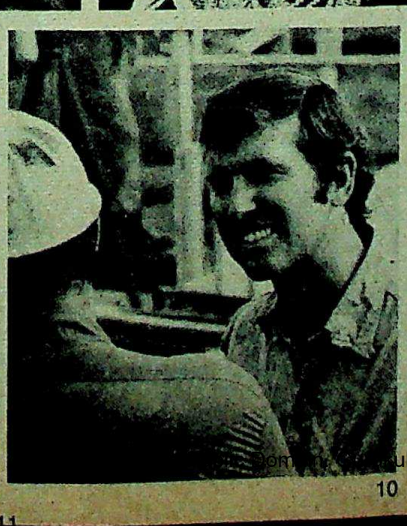
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Karen DeCrow, 36. "Gender should not be a very important aspect of how one functions in society today," says the newly elected president of the National Organization for Women, the largest (40,000 members in 700 chapters) and most influential group in the U.S. women's liberation movement. DeCrow, a Northwestern alumna, was raised in Chicago and held a series of editorial jobs there and in New York City before moving to Syracuse in 1965. Protesting unfair wage practices toward women, she joined NOW in 1967, won a degree from Syracuse University's law school five years later. She is the author of *The Young Woman's Guide to Liberation* and *Sexist Justice,* published this year.


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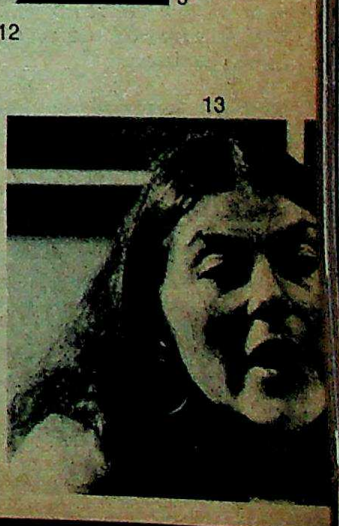

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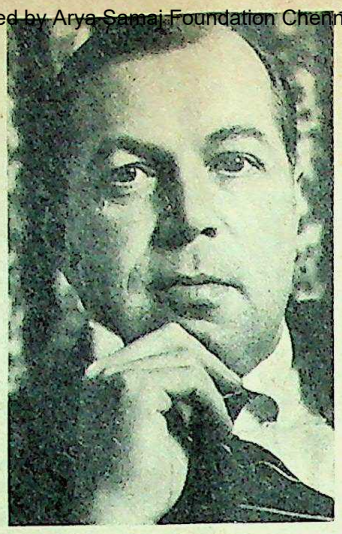

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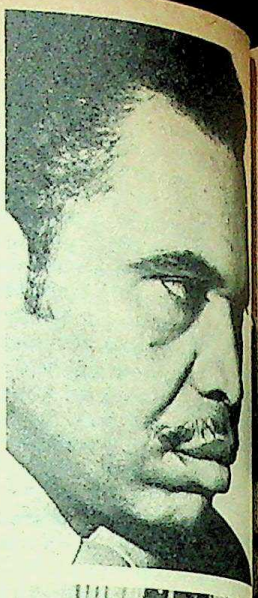

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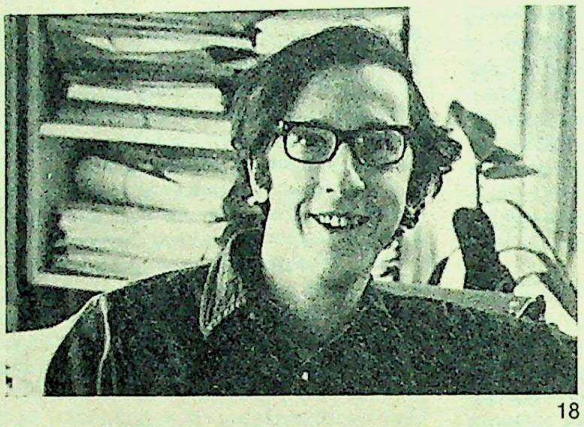

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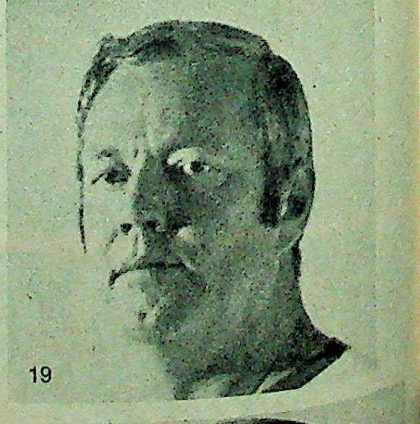














14
Ralph DeNunzio, 42, chief operating officer of the investment banking firm of Kidder, Peabody since 1967, was elected to a three-year term as a governor of the New York Stock Exchange in 1968 and helped develop a method of insuring customer accounts in the event of a firm's financial failure. As chairman of the exchange in 1971 and 1972, the Princeton-educated DeNunzio oversaw the paring of the board from 33 to 20 members and the creation of a salaried, full-time chairman. As head of the exchange's costs and revenue committee, he succeeded in bringing the commission rate structure into line with Wall Street's current capital needs.

15
Pierre S. du Pont IV, 39, whose family founded the chemical company that has the tallest industrial smokestacks in Delaware, won his seat in Congress in 1970 by campaigning for stricter controls on industrial pollution. A Republican whose victory margins have broken records, "Pete" du Pont has been working hard to link his name with clean politics as well as clean air. He rejects contributions in excess of $100 from anyone, including himself, has voluntarily disclosed his net worth ($2.5 million), and has been an outspoken critic of the Administration on Watergate. His rating from the choosy League of Women Voters: a respectable 83%.

16
Lewis A. Engman, 38, was expected to be an obedient errand boy when he was named last year to head the Federal Trade Commission, which the Nixon Administration felt had become a bit too aggressive. But the Harvard lawyer has shown a broad streak of independence. For starters, he filed an antitrust suit against Exxon and seven other major oil companies who both produce and distribute oil. With Ralph Nader as ally and Budget Director Roy Ash as adversary, Engman has been fighting to require more detailed financial reporting from major U.S. corporations. Recently he even attacked TV ads aimed at children.

17
Kenneth A. Gibson, 42, was prepared for disaster in 1970 when he became the first black mayor of Newark. His white predecessor was on trial for extortion and income tax evasion, and the reverberations from the 1967 race riots had not died down. Democrat Gibson lowered both the crime and property-tax rates and reduced corruption, but he acknowledges that "whatever troubles American cities have, Newark will get them first." A onetime civil engineer, Gibson recently won a second term and, as advisory board chairman of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, is in line to become the first black president of the organization.

18
Robert Gottlieb, 43, president of Alfred A. Knopf, once thought of himself as purely literary. After graduating from Yale and studying English at Cambridge University, he returned to his native Manhattan and, he says, "I found to my astonishment, gratification and horror that I had some business talents as well as literary ones." He joined Simon & Schuster in 1955, left to become editor-in-chief at Knopf in 1968. Convinced that good writing sells, Gottlieb has won a devoted following of top authors. Among those he personally edits are Doris Lessing, Anthony Burgess, John le Carré and Jessica Mitford.

19
Raymond A. Hay, 45. A persuasive salesman, the head of U.S. operations for Xerox Corp. talks with everyone from switchboard operators to branch executives while making his cross-country rounds. Among the divisions Hay oversees from headquarters in Stamford, Conn., are Xerox's Information Systems Group, Information Technology Group and Business Development Group. An avid athlete, he runs on a treadmill every morning in the company gym. He was named Republican finance chairman of Connecticut last year.

20
Rafael Hernandez Colon, 37, wrote a brilliant thesis as a law student in Puerto Rico, outlining the cultural, political and economic advantages of the Island's commonwealth status. After serving as Secretary of Justice, President of the Senate and head of the Popular Democratic Party, Hernández in 1972 upset the incumbent and became the youngest Governor in Puerto Rican history. Today, Hernández is concentrating on improving his island's troubled economy. To increase efficiency, the commonwealth is purchasing the telephone company, and to reduce high freight costs, Hernández is negotiating to buy several shipping lines and consolidate them under commonwealth ownership.

21
Albert Hofstede, 33, wanted to go to medical school, but his application was late, and so he had to take a civil service job with the state of Minnesota to make ends meet. Hofstede decided to stay in government and became a Minneapolis alderman at 26. Last year he was elected mayor of Minneapolis in a startling upset over the law-and-order incumbent, Police Detective Charles Stenvig. Since taking office, he has begun an ambitious multimillion-dollar urban-renovation plan, reorganized equipment to provide better mass-transit service and placed considerable emphasis on preserving the flavor—and safety—of Minneapolis' old neighborhoods.

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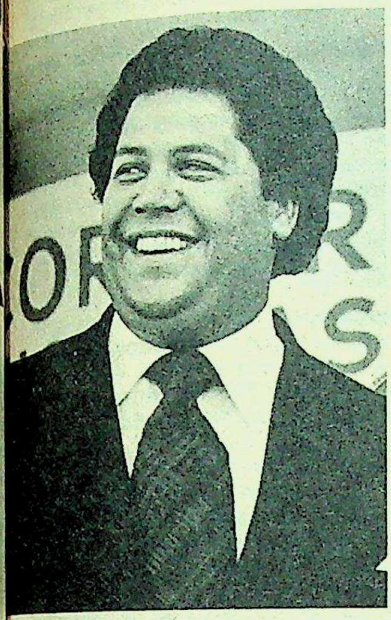
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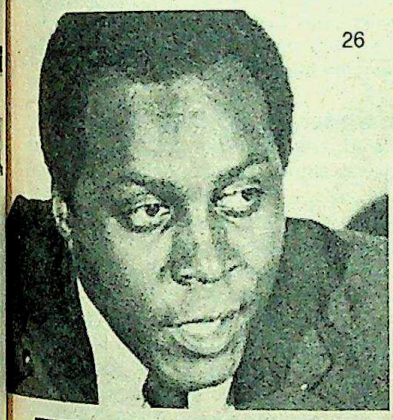
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22

Elizabeth Holtzman, 33, challenged Emanuel Celler in 1972 for the congressional seat that he had held for 50 years, and her vigorous campaign convinced Brooklyn's 16th District that it was indeed time for a change. As a House freshman, she brought suit against the Defense Department and the Air Force to stop the bombing in Cambodia but lost in the Supreme Court. A graduate of Radcliffe and Harvard Law School, Holtzman spent summers working on civil rights cases in Georgia and served a three-year stint as an assistant to former New York Mayor John Lindsay. She is now a member of the House Judiciary Committee.

23

Matina Souretis Horner, 34. When this expert on feminine achievement was elevated from assistant professor of clinical psychology at Harvard to sixth president of Radcliffe College in 1972, she became an instant role model for U.S. women. Her success has its ironic side—her doctoral research at the University of Michigan paved the way for subsequent studies revealing that most American women fear success. The daughter of Greek immigrants, raised in Boston's mixed ethnic section of Roxbury, Horner attended Boston Girls' Latin School and Bryn Mawr College. One of her tasks is presiding over the integration of Radcliffe and Harvard under one university umbrella on a trial basis. Her major concern: helping women and minority groups achieve equal access to education and jobs.

24

Maynard Holbrook Jackson Jr., 36, entered politics at the top in 1968 by challenging Georgia's Senator Herman Talmadge. He lost the primary but carried Atlanta by 6,000 votes, within a year was elected the city's vice mayor. A hulking (280 lbs.), courtly, articulate attorney who graduated from Morehouse College at 18, the well-connected Jackson last year won Atlanta's mayoralty to become the first black leader of a major Southern city. Popular with both the black and white business communities in Atlanta, he is likely to run again for the Senate if and when Talmadge steps down, but with blacks accounting for only 26% of Georgia's population, he faces an uphill battle.

25

Barbara C. Jordan, 38, began in politics stamping envelopes for the Kennedy-Johnson campaign in 1960, and six years later won election to the Texas state senate. After sponsoring Texas' first minimum-wage bill, she ran for Congress, in 1972 became the first black woman ever sent to the House from the old Confederacy. "I didn't get here by being black or a woman," she says. "I got here by working hard." A Boston University–trained lawyer, Jordan now serves on the House Judiciary Committee.

26

Vernon E. Jordan Jr., 38. Successor to the late Whitney Young as executive director of the National Urban League, Jordan is considered to be one of the top black leaders in the U.S. today. A 1960 Howard University law graduate, he is a cool-headed peacemaker who earned his civil rights stripes escorting Charlayne Hunter through snarling white students at the University of Georgia. As head of the Southern Regional Council's 1968 voter-education drive, he helped put 2 million new black voters on the rolls and ultimately increase the region's number of elected black officials from 72 to 564. He is a director of Xerox, J.C. Penney and several other large corporations.

27

Edward M. Kennedy, 42. With his magic name and broad appeal, the Democratic Senator from Massachusetts can practically write his own ticket—including a presidential one. Teddy's recent trip to the Soviet Union and Western Europe, plus his well-publicized sponsorship of health-care legislation and an income tax cut, may well be the opening shots in a bid for the White House. But the twelve-year Senate veteran has been troubled by illness within his immediate family, and by public memories of Chappaquiddick.

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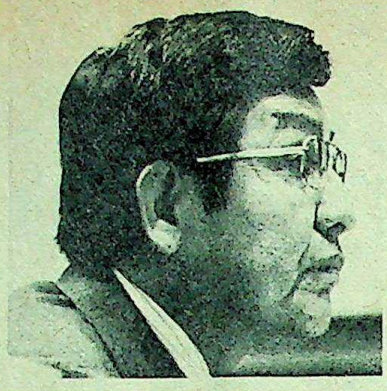
Billie Jean King, 30. Her impact on tennis and women's rights is hard to overestimate. One of the world's leading sports personalities, she has won five Wimbledon championships. For the past three years she has earned more than $100,000 annually; largely because of her audience appeal, the once measly purses on the women's tour are now nearly on a par with those paid to men. In 1973 feminist supporters everywhere applauded as she ran Bobby Riggs, the male supremacist, off the court. This year King and her husband are co-publishing a new magazine, *womenSports.*

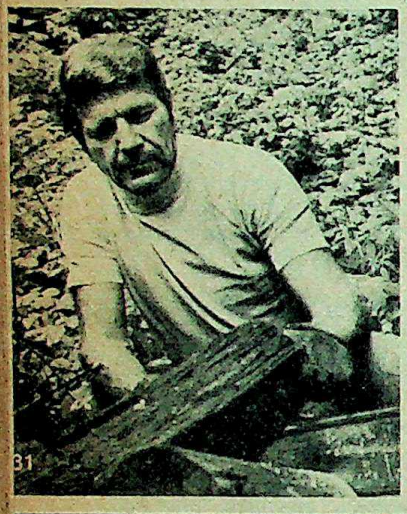
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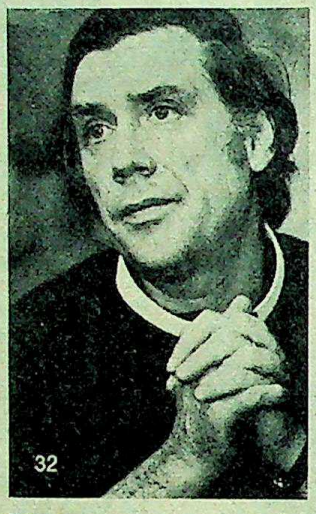


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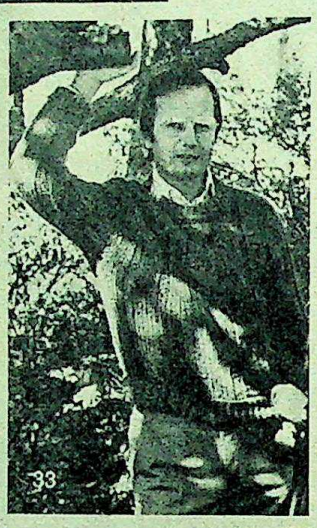




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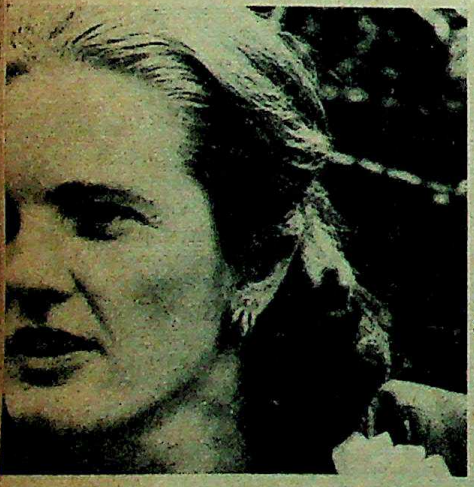
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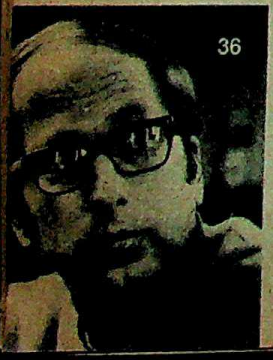
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Richard G. Lugar, 42, won election in 1967 as the first Republican mayor of Indianapolis in nearly 20 years. A former Rhodes scholar, Lugar merged the city and county governments, attracted heavy transfusions of federal funds into the Hoosier capital, and won re-election in 1971 by a 3 to 2 majority. He has long been known as "President Nixon's favorite mayor," but his star has been dimmed by Watergate and a police scandal. Lugar, who is campaigning for the Senate, has begun to divorce himself from the President, criticizing Nixon for "sorry conduct that is deeply disappointing."

30

Peter MacDonald, 45, elected chief of the 150,000-member Navajo Indian nation, is rapidly becoming the foremost spokesman for all Southwestern Indians. He is a World War II Marine and University of Oklahoma–educated engineer; his guiding principle is to adopt change when it really represents progress and to hold to tradition when it does not. Under his leadership since 1970, more Navajos than ever before are attending college, paved roads and shopping centers are being built and industries developed on the Navajo reservation, which is the size of West Virginia. MacDonald has led an effective fight against further commercial development of the Indians' sacred San Francisco Peaks near Flagstaff, Ariz., already the site of a ski area.

31

Gerald Carl Meyers, 45. As a vice president in charge of product planning for American Motors Corp. Meyers urges his designers and engineers to create smaller cars that consume less gas. With a degree from Carnegie Tech and a classical background in autos—he held responsible jobs at Ford and Chrysler—Meyers has developed a keen appreciation for the conflicts between zooming costs and design innovation. Now Meyers is a champion of the rotary engine and is experimenting with an auto whose engine would be in the middle of the vehicle.

32

James P. Morton, 44. Since Morton was named its dean two years ago, New York City's Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine has become a home for music and dance workshops and other non-church activities. It played host to non-Christian spiritual disciplines such as Sufism, and started a program in which poor families rehabilitate and eventually own their apartments. St. John's is a holy place for the whole city," explains the Houston-born, Harvard-educated ecumenist and urban affairs expert. As onetime director of Chicago's Urban Training Center for Christian Mission, he sent would-be city pastors out to live on the streets on $2 a day.

33

Bill Moyers, 40. One of the most thoughtful and effective voices in the nation, Moyers has been a wonder, boy and man. The top journalism student in his class at the University of Texas, he joined Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson's staff in 1959, six years later became President Johnson's press secretary. Moyers was named publisher of the Long Island daily *Newsday* in 1967, resigned in 1970 to write *Listening to America,* and appeared for three years on his weekly Public Broadcasting Service *Journal*—a literate and imaginative television series. Moyers insists that he is fresh out of things to say, but it is a safe bet that he will be back saying something worthwhile before long.

34

Ralph Nader, 40, indicted U.S. automakers *(Unsafe at Any Speed)* in 1965 and has been rolling ever since. Aided by "Nader's Raiders" —some 28 full-time attorneys and 56 congressional lobbyists, researchers, organizers and others—as well as thousands of volunteers on campuses across the U.S., he has been accused of spreading himself too thin and launching crusades with inadequate preparation. Still, he has turned automobile recalls into a seasonal event, spurred creation of a national consumer-protection agency and inspired a host of health and safety measures. Prickly and single-minded but a paradigm of honesty, the reclusive Nader is now battling the spread of nuclear power plants, which he considers unsafe.

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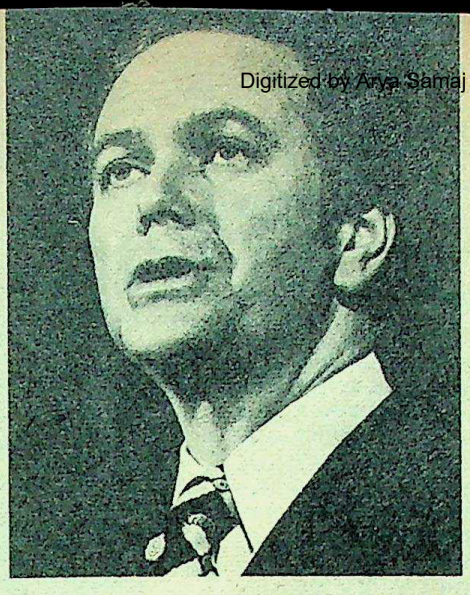
Barbara Newell, 44, president of Wellesley College, is bucking the trend among women's colleges to go coeducational. Newell, who took the helm of the top-rated Massachusetts school in 1972, is in a good position to judge, since her own background includes a B.A. from Vassar (which has since gone coed), and an M.A. and Ph.D. in economics from the University of Wisconsin. In 20 years of teaching economics, she rarely found more than a dozen women in her graduate and undergraduate classes. Her conclusion: "Coeducation has increased, rather than lessened, male dominance of American higher education."

36

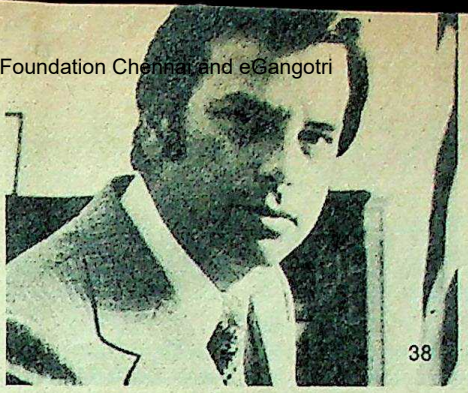
Sam Nunn, 35, was already a political veteran when he became the second youngest Senator in the current Congress. The Georgia Democrat became legal counsel to Grandpa cle Carl Vinson's House Armed Services Committee shortly after earning his law degree from Emory University, then served two terms in the Georgia legislature before winning his Senate seat. Though he is rated a conservative, he enjoys widespread support from blacks as well as whites. As a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Nunn favors trimming flab from U.S. forces in Europe, not as a step toward total withdrawal but toward greater combat effectiveness.

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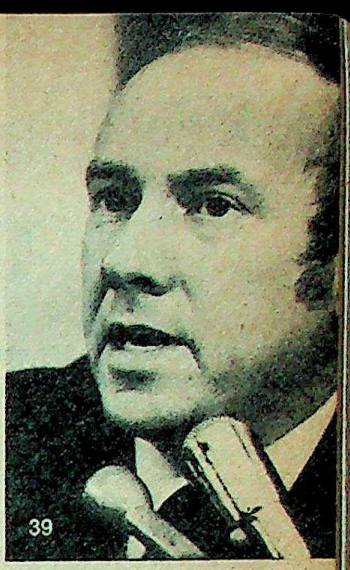
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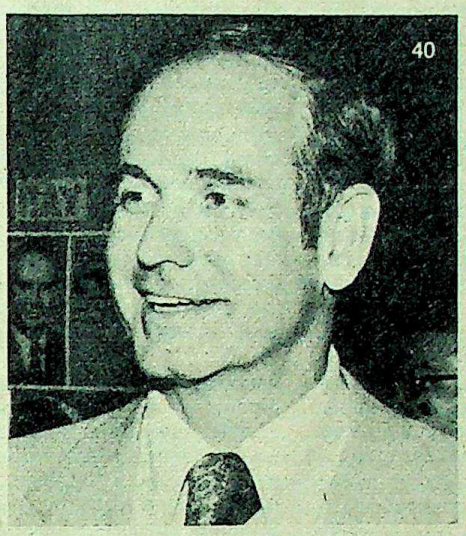
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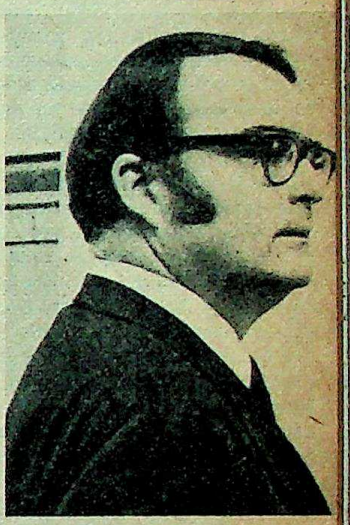
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42

37

Bob Packwood, 41. In 1962 he was the youngest man in the Oregon legislature; six years later he bested Wayne Morse to become the 93rd Congress's youngest U.S. Senator. A Willamette University and N.Y.U. law alumnus, this hard-working Republican is concerned with congressional reorganization and environmental protection. Long before the Supreme Court's proabortion decision, he campaigned for nationally legalized abortion. Visiting the White House last fall he told President Nixon bluntly: "When you fired [Archibald] Cox, you broke your promise ... The public no longer believes you." This year he faces Morse in a rematch, has an early edge because of Morse's age (74).

38

J. Stanley Pottinger, 34. A politically conservative, Harvard-trained lawyer from Ohio, Pottinger joined the Nixon Administration almost five years ago. He spent most of 1970 traversing the South for HEW, helping complete the integration of public schools. As Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Justice Department's civil rights division since 1973, he played a key role in reopening the Kent State investigation and started an Office of Indian Rights. Pottinger points out that in the last 18 months, "we've filed more [civil rights] suits than in any comparable period in the division's history."

39

Thomas F. Railsback, 42, served two terms in the Illinois legislature before going to Congress in 1967 with Richard Nixon's help. Since then his brand of moderate Republicanism has won such broad appeal among conservatives and union workers alike around Moline that he ran unopposed in 1972. A graduate of Grinnell College and Northwestern law, he has worked for such reforms as equal representation for men and women in state delegations to political conventions. As a House Judiciary Committee member, he urges that support be sought from the courts in obtaining evidence from the White House. "If the President doesn't comply with a final court order," says Railsback, "he's impeached. It's that simple."

40

Robert D. Ray, 45, Republican Governor of Iowa since 1968, is widely respected for his integrity (he accepts no campaign contributions greater than $1,000). Ray quietly guided 31 bills through the 1974 legislature, including a measure requiring the creation of a department of transportation. A Drake law graduate, he advanced through the ranks as a Republican Party worker, in 1963 was named state G.O.P. chairman to help bring an end to party factionalism before winning a three-way race for Governor.

41

William D. Ruckelshaus, 41, lost his job in the Nixon Administration but preserved his reputation for integrity. A liberal Indiana Republican, he was the first freshman legislator ever elected majority leader of the Hoosier house. In 1970 he was named the first administrator of the federal Environmental Protection Agency, two years later replaced L. Patrick Gray as acting FBI director. Since his departure as Deputy Attorney General last October after refusing to sack Archibald Cox, he has visited 40 states and scores of campuses as a much-sought-after lecturer.

42

Carl Sagan, 39, director of Cornell's Laboratory for Planetary Studies, is the nation's leading researcher and writer in exobiology, the study of extraterrestrial life. A former Harvard astronomer, he has helped develop models for the atmospheres of other planets and for the conditions on primitive earth. He and a Cornell colleague created the celebrated "extraterrestrial message," showing a nude man and woman along with mathematical and astronomical symbols, that rode out of the solar system aboard Pioneer 10.

43

John C. Sawhill, 38. The Baltimore native had been in Government only 13 months when he succeeded William Simon as chief of the Federal Energy Administration and its staff of 2,000. The crisis had eased by then, but the problem remained: constructing a policy to free the U.S. from dependence on foreign oil. A Princeton-trained administrator with a Ph.D. in economics and finance from New York University, Sawhill has pledged a blueprint for "Project Independence" by Nov. 1. To go to Washington he took a $60,000 pay cut from his $100,000-a-year vice presidency at Commercial Credit Co.

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44

Gloria Steinem, 38. "The main accomplishment is a change of consciousness and the way of looking at the world . . .But the change in view has yet to take economic and structural forms." During three years of tireless lecturing about the women's movement, Steinem has done much to change viewpoints, and now she is retiring from the talk circuit to concentrate on writing. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Smith, she serves on the advisory board of the National Organization for Women, helped convene the National Women's Political Caucus in 1971 and is a cofounder and editor of the highly successful *Ms.* magazine (circ. 378,000).

45

Adlai E. Stevenson III, 43, has little of his late father's eloquence, but has proved every bit as successful a vote getter in Illinois. In his first campaign in 1964, he outdrew all other 235 candidates for the state legislature, two years later led the Democratic ticket again when he ran for state treasurer. Since his election to the Senate in 1970 to complete Everett Dirksen's term, Stevenson has been one of the Nixon Administration's sharpest critics. He called for funds to develop alternative energy sources as far back as 1972 and recently directed the unsuccessful Senate effort to retain stand-by controls on wages and prices. He does not face strong opposition for re-election this year.

46

Wes Carl Uhlman, 39, won election to Washington's state house of representatives while he was still in law school, served four terms before moving on to the state senate, and in 1969 became Seattle's mayor. An affable, attractive, moderately mod Democrat, he has begun refurbishing Seattle's waterfront Skid Row, started a free downtown bus system that has rejuvenated the area, and helped lead the city back from the economic doldrums of 1970. "I don't want to grow old in this job," Uhlman confesses, and with his appeal to voters and his ambition to win high state office, he probably will not.

47

Lowell P. Weicker Jr., 43, "the bull in the Watergate shop," was a politically inconspicuous Republican Senator from Connecticut until he gained renown as a sharp questioner and independent investigator in the Ervin committee hearings. Moderately wealthy and Yale-educated, Weicker was elected to Congress in 1968 as an antiwar conservative, two years later squeaked into the Senate when state Democrats split their vote. Recent polls show that he has become his state's most highly regarded G.O.P. officeholder.

48

Marina v.N. Whitman, 39. "I was going to get a master's in journalism and one in economics," she recalls, but she chose economics and went on to become celebrated in 1972 as the first woman member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. The daughter of Computer Pioneer John von Neumann, Mrs. Whitman was a junior Phi Bete who graduated *summa cum laude* from Radcliffe and won a Ph.D. in economics from Columbia. A feminist, she got a chapter on women's economic status into the 1972 Economic Report. An international trade expert, she now teaches at the University of Pittsburgh.

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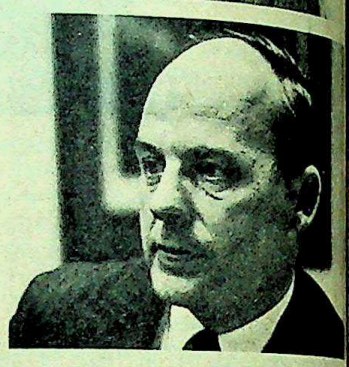
Thomas Wyman, 44. Following complaints from black militants, Polaroid Corp.'s senior vice president and general manager developed a widely emulated policy for his firm's South African operation that includes a black education foundation and executive training. "We may not know for 25 years whether our pathetic and uncertain efforts will have any effect," admits the thoughtful St. Louis-born Wyman, who is widely regarded as heir apparent to Polaroid Founder Edwin Land. A Phi Beta Kappa English major at Amherst, Wyman worked in the Nestlé Co.'s new products division, where he was concerned with foreign acquisitions, now keeps close watch over Polaroid's fast-growing foreign sales.

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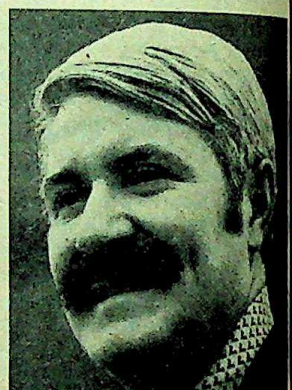
Andrew J. Young Jr., 42. In 1970 he was the first black man in 102 years to win a Democratic nomination for Congress from the South. Failing in that bid, he headed Atlanta's Community Relations Commission before making it to Washington in 1973 as Georgia's first black Representative since 1871. A New Orleans native and alumnus of Howard University and Hartford Theological Seminary, Young is a minister in the United Church of Christ who has held pastorates in Alabama and Georgia. For many years he was one of Martin Luther King Jr.'s top lieutenants in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.



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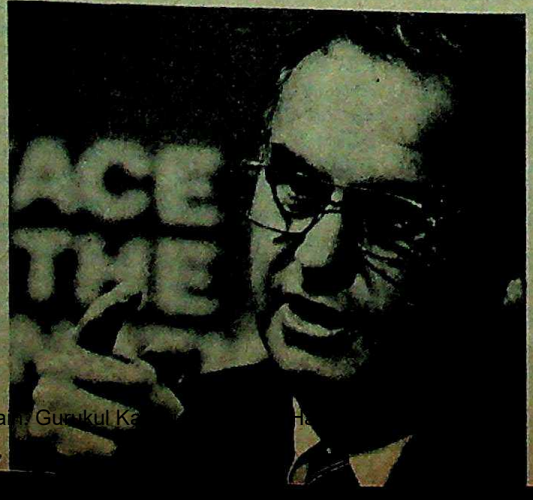
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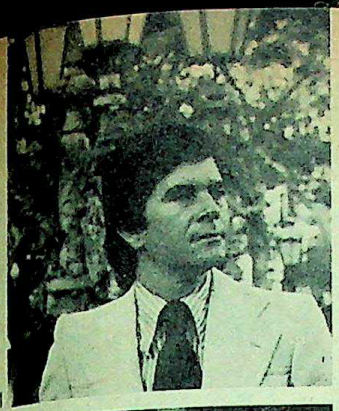
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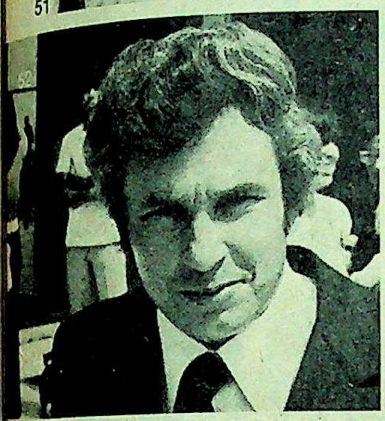
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CANADA/ LATIN AMERICA



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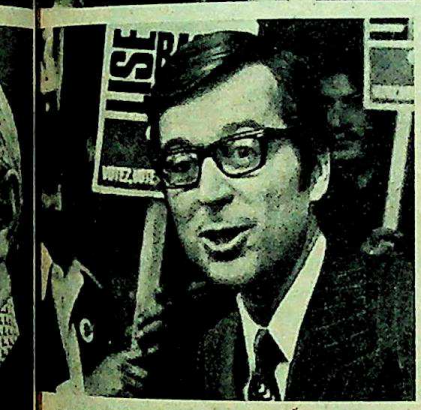


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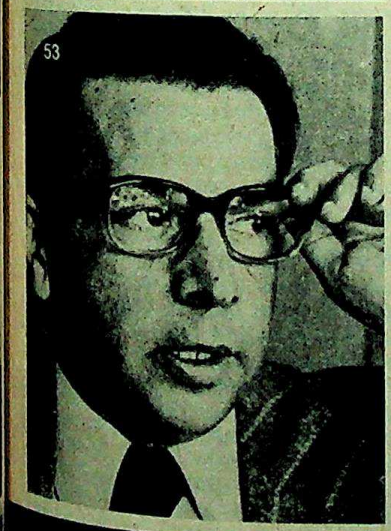
Diego Arria Salicetti, 35, newly appointed governor of the federal district of Caracas, is known as "the emperor." Behind Arria's imperiousness is his determination to overcome bureaucratic torpor in Venezuela's long-mismanaged capital. He has cleared the streets of thousands of peddlers, reduced noise levels and sought to ease the plight of the city's hillside slumdwellers by providing better transportation and starting plans for cooperative housing projects. Member of an upper-class family and movie-star handsome, Arria was educated at the University of Michigan and Georgetown. His first public post in Venezuela was director of tourism and government hotels in 1970.

52

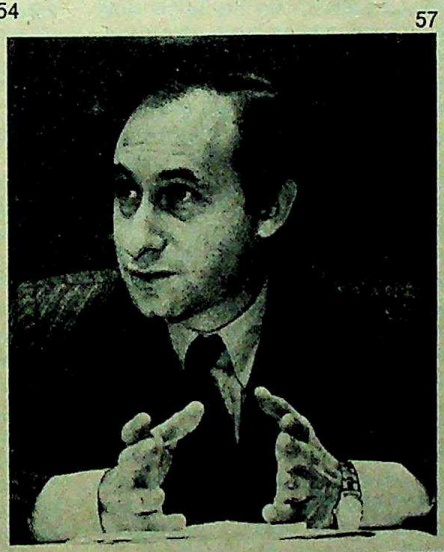
Carlos Armando Biebrich Torres, 34, has used his oratorical gifts to captivate Mexican *campesinos* and sophisticated city dwellers alike since the ruling PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) first enlisted his aid in 1958. A lawyer who grew up in the Sierra Madre mountains, Biebrich is not all rhetoric; as a college student, he founded a dormitory for poor students and as a federal deputy in 1969, he fought successfully to have the voting age lowered to 18. A slightly built but rugged campaigner, Biebrich was recently elected to a six-year term as Governor of the border state of Sonora, second largest in Mexico.



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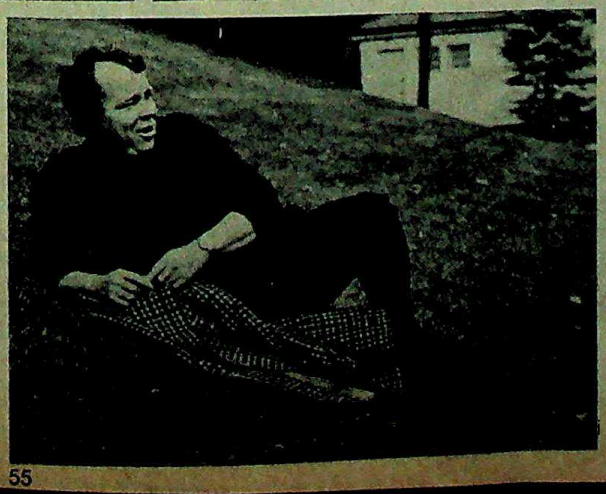


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Celio Borja, 45, practices politics with delicacy and skill in Brazil, where power is jealously guarded by the military. A law professor, he entered public life in Guanabara state (Rio de Janeiro) before the military coup of 1964 and refused to lie low thereafter, running for re-election in 1966 and becoming a national deputy four years later. "It would have been inconsistent of me to abstain when politics was under fire," said Borja, who is trusted by the military yet respected by the young. As leader of the Chamber of Deputies, he is working to restore authority to the emasculated legislature.

54

Robert Bourassa, 40, Premier of Quebec, rules autocratically, discouraging political dialogue. But there is more construction under way in his province than anywhere else in Canada, and investment money is pouring in. A Rhodes scholar with degrees from Harvard and Oxford, Bourassa became Premier at 36, and immediately faced a grave crisis when French Canadian separatists kidnaped and later murdered his labor minister. Quebec was put under a virtual state of siege when Bourassa sought federal help. Once calm was restored Bourassa pushed through sweeping reforms, including free medical and hospital care. Last year his Liberals won 102 of the 110 seats in Quebec's National Assembly.

55

David Crombie, 38, a former political science lecturer, won election as mayor of Toronto in 1972 by calling for a change in the city-planning rules and a slowdown of urban development in one of the continent's fastest-growing centers. Under his "urban conservative" leadership, the city has begun saving older neighborhoods from demolition and imposed a height limit of 45 ft. on all new construction in the downtown area. As a popular reformer in the Progressive Conservative Party, Crombie may have a shot at the premiership of Ontario.

56

William Davis, 44. Ontario's Tory Premier believes that "people now are looking at the quality of what is happening as much as at the quantity." Shortly after sweeping into office in 1971, the former lawyer halted construction of the controversial Spadina expressway in downtown Toronto. He has battled urban sprawl in Canada's most populous province (7 million) by plotting a corridor of green belts and using taxes to discourage speculation. In the wake of a campaign-finance controversy, Davis—a potential Prime Minister—proclaimed stiff regulations forcing Ontario politicians to list their financial holdings. He has also supported full disclosure of election-funding sources.

57

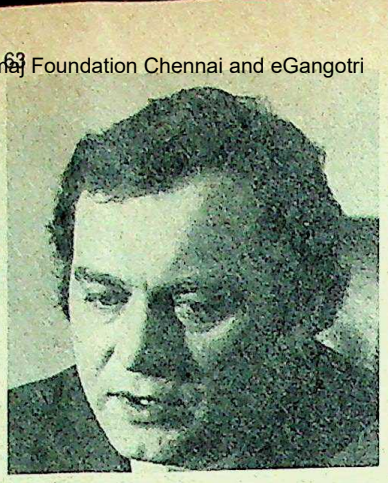
Fernando de la Rua, 36, is Argentina's leading "new look" politician. De la Rúa shot into the limelight by defeating a Peronist in the Buenos Aires senatorial race. Running for Vice President on the Radical Party ticket last year against Perón's wife Isabelita, he lost. But with Perón now dead, the ruling party has lost its chief symbol. Thus when the next presidential elections are held, the Radicals will have an excellent chance of capturing the Casa Rosada—and De la Rúa is a good bet to be in their No. 2 slot.

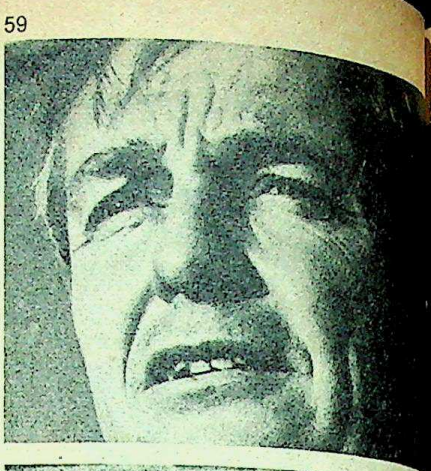
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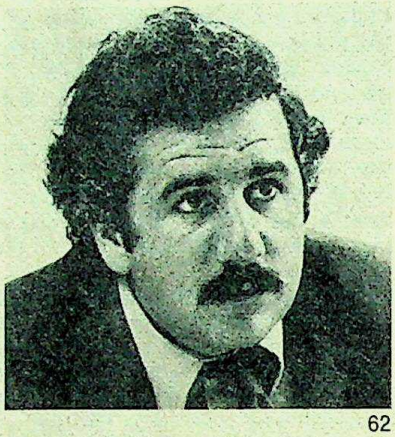


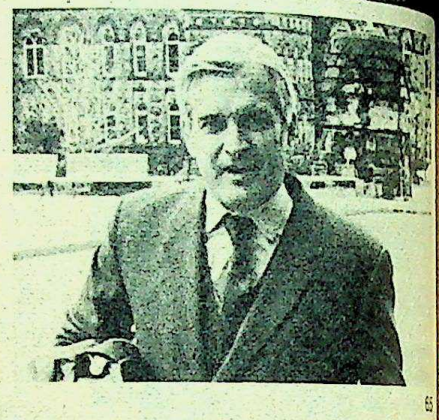












58
Marc Lalonde, 44. As Minister for Health and Welfare, Lalonde is his country's second most influential French Canadian (after Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau). Before his election to Parliament in 1972, Lalonde, an Oxford-educated lawyer, was a powerful adviser on domestic affairs to Prime Ministers Lester Pearson and Trudeau. An ardent nationalist who introduced legislation to keep American pro football out of Canada, he has lately won national recognition for his deft handling of social policy reforms. He would probably be next in line to lead the Liberals, but the Party has a tradition of alternating French and English Canadian leaders.

59
Peter Lougheed, 45, grandson of an early settler of oil-rich Alberta, is the first Progressive Conservative premier in the Canadian province's 68-year history. A former pro footballer (with the Edmonton Eskimos), Harvard Business graduate, construction executive and lawyer, Lougheed was elected leader of the moribund Alberta Conservative Party in 1965, whipped it into such good shape that it toppled the Social Credit Party's 36-year-old dynasty at the polls in 1971. Now a leading contender for Canada's top Tory position, Lougheed is battling with the federal government to retain jurisdiction over his province's valuable natural resources.

60
Porfirio Munoz Ledo, 40, a former University of Mexico lecturer, spent ten years in relative obscurity as a government servant until, in 1970, he was recruited into newly elected President Luis Echeverría's inner circle of advisers. Muñoz quickly became Echeverría's principal speechwriter and chief ideologue of the regime. Appointed Labor Minister two years ago, he has promoted the 40-hour work week, engineered an emergency wage hike, strengthened links between government and labor. A well-traveled, Paris-educated lawyer and political scientist, Muñoz is considered a possible successor to Echeverría as President in 1976.

61
Alysson Paulinelli, 38, Brazil's Minister of Agriculture since March, has the uphill task of turning his richly endowed but problem-ridden country into South America's leading agricultural power. A brilliant agronomist and supertechnocrat, Paulinelli was an academician and then Secretary of Agriculture in his home state of Minas Gerais, where he helped halt a decline in beef and dairy production, triple the rice, potato and cotton crops and increase soybean production twentyfold. The youngest member of Brazil's military-run Cabinet, Paulinelli has fallen heir to problems bred by neglect: in the past decade, agriculture's share of the gross national product has dipped from 21.5% to 14.9% despite a sizable increase of land under cultivation.

62
Moshe Safdie, 35. "A humane environment can be created within the constraints of technology and economics," says this pacesetting architect. Raised on an Israeli kibbutz and now a Canadian citizen, Safdie broke glass-and-steel traditions with his "Habitat"—a mountain-shaped mass of concrete modules erected at Montreal's Expo 67. Safdie built a second Habitat as a low-income housing development in Puerto Rico. His current projects include a rabbinical college and a housing-shopping-office complex of pink stone in Jerusalem as well as a "big igloo" to be built at Frobisher Bay in Canada's Northwest Territories in an attempt to make the high Arctic livable.

63
Edward Schreyer, 38. At the age of 22, this onetime political-science instructor became the youngest member ever elected to Manitoba's legislature. With more than a decade of government experience already behind him, he was elected premier of the western province in 1969 under the banner of the New Democratic Party. A strong contender for the national leadership of Canada's third largest party, Schreyer has brought about major economic and social changes in Manitoba since 1969, including a Consumer Protection Act, increased workmen's compensation payments and a government-run no-fault insurance plan.

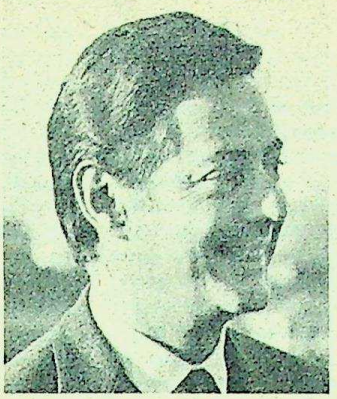
64
Maurice Strong, 45, executive director of the Nairobi-based United Nations Environment Program, has been dubbed "the chief 'physician' of the world." A high school dropout who took to the Canadian wilds at 13 as a hunter, fur trader and mineral prospector, Strong struck it rich in gas and oil, went on to become the $200,000-a-year president of the Power Corp. of Canada. Asked to become boss of the Canadian government's giant Development Agency, he took the U.N. environmental job instead. Warning that this generation will determine the future of the human race, he says: "Mankind must face the fact that doomsday is possible—even probable —if it continues on its present course."

65
John Turner, 45, Canada's independently wealthy Finance Minister, openly aspires to lead the Liberal Party and become Prime Minister. A former Rhodes scholar with law degrees from both Oxford and the Sorbonne, the witty, bilingual Turner was a corporate lawyer in Montreal before becoming Minister of Consumer Affairs and then Justice. At Finance, Turner has streamlined the ministry, staffed it with competent technicians and put through an income tax reform. "How long will I stay in politics? When the whole thing stops being fun, when I feel I don't make a difference any more, I'll get out."

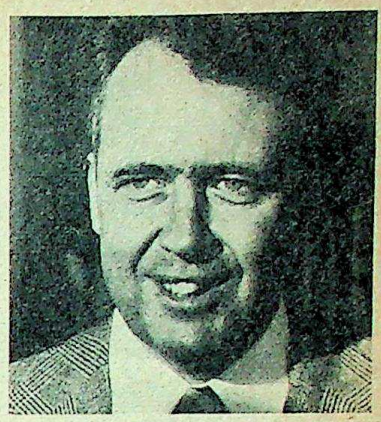
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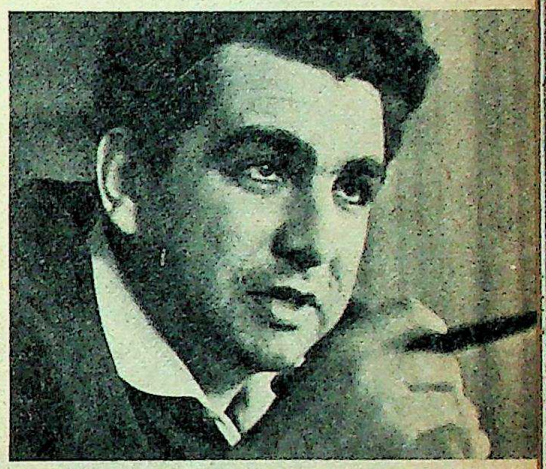

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72



EUROPE

66

Abel Aganbegyan, 42, an economics graduate of Moscow University, was only 29 when he became chief economist of the State Committee on Labor and Wages. The quiet Armenian was sent to Siberia two years later —for a promotion: a coveted research post in Akademgorodok—"science city." Now director of Akademgorodok's Industrial Economics Institute, which plans the country's major investment programs, Aganbegyan has received the Order of Lenin, his country's top civil honor. A proponent of computerized economic forecasting and increased international cooperation, he is expected to exert considerable influence on long-term Soviet economic planning.

67

Umberto Agnelli, 39. As managing director of the far-flung Fiat auto empire, "the other Agnelli" has effectively run the day-to-day operations of Italy's biggest private enterprise (1973 sales: $3.8 billion). Long overshadowed by his globetrotting older brother Giovanni, Fiat's gregarious chairman, Umberto directed successful Fiat invasions of the rest of Europe, the U.S. and South America before he was put into his present job two years ago. The quiet and methodical younger Agnelli has emerged as the standard-bearer of a rising generation of Italian businessmen by openly voicing his resentment over the government's frequent attempts to control private enterprise.

68

Hans Apel, 42, is an avid soccer fan who wields considerable kick as West Germany's new Finance Minister. A prolific writer on economics and politics, he joined the Social Democratic Party at 19, earned a doctorate in economics from Hamburg University, was elected to the Bundestag in 1965. Seven years later he became one of Bonn's most important negotiators as Parliamentary State Secretary for Common Market Affairs. Like his friend and mentor, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Apel advocates a unified Europe, free trade, free markets and close cooperation with the U.S. Apel's aggressive politicking and his influence on policy make him a potential candidate for a future chancellorship.

69

Francisco Pinto Balsemão, 36, won election to Portugal's National Assembly in 1969 as a supporter of newly installed Dictator Marcello Caetano. When Caetano's promised democratic reforms failed to materialize, the mod, wealthy (by inheritance) Balsemão gave up his seat and in January started the weekly newspaper *Expresso* (circ. 85,000). Modeled after the London *Sunday Times,* the paper became the government's leading critic, attracted a stream of lawsuits and censors, but ultimately outlasted Caetano. Following last April's coup headed by General Spínola, Balsemão helped form the left-of-center Popular Democratic Party and is likely to play an influential role as Portugal moves toward free elections.

70

Martin Bangemann, 39, calls politics his hobby, but as a member of West Germany's Bundestag and chairman of Baden-Württemberg's Free Democratic Party, his avocation is turning into a full-time vocation. Slightly left of center within the relatively conservative F.D.P., he is an architect of the platform that links his party in coalition with the Social Democrats. An East German–born civil libertarian who strongly supports the Common Market, the intellectual, Kant-quoting Bangemann is a leading prospect for eventual nationwide leadership of the minority F.D.P., which holds the balance of power between West Germany's two major parties.

71

Kurt H. Biedenkopf, 44, general secretary of West Germany's Christian Democratic Union, is one of the most promising younger leaders in a party laden with age. Educated in the U.S. (Davidson, Georgetown) and Germany (Universities of Frankfurt and Munich), Biedenkopf became a Bochum University law professor in 1964, within three years was the university's rector. After a stint on the executive board of the giant detergent-making Henkel Corp. in Dusseldorf, he stepped in to help reorganize the C.D.U. in the wake of its demoralizing 1972 defeat. Wealthy from his salary, fees and book royalties, the supremely confident Biedenkopf is a potential minister or Chancellor.

72

Antonio Bisaglia, 45, was named Italy's Minister of Agriculture earlier this year and immediately began developing a long-term plan to boost lagging farm production. A former newsman and insurance broker who won his first seat in Parliament at 33, Bachelor Bisaglia was so opposed to the Christian Democratic Party's campaign against divorce that he engineered a deft but politically risky trade. To avoid getting involved in the ill-fated antidivorce drive, he resigned his influential post as the party's vice secretary and accepted an unappetizing portfolio in the shaky government of Premier Mariano Rumor. The son of a railroad worker, Bisaglia is seen as a potential Premier.

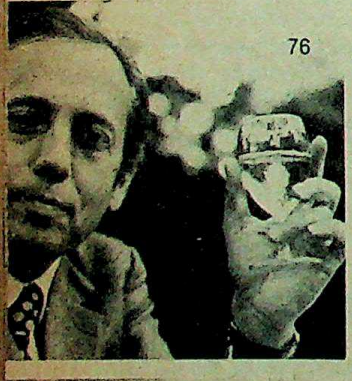
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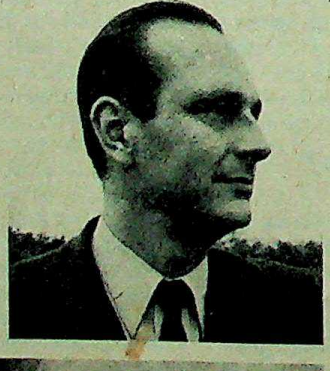
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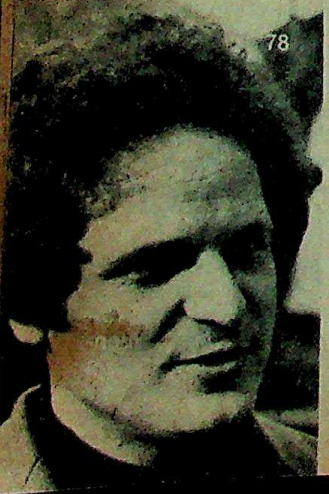

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73
Juan Carlos de Borbon y Borbon, 36, grandson of Spain's deposed King Alfonso XIII and great-grandson of England's Queen Victoria, has been picked by Generalissimo Franco to be the aging dictator's successor and Spain's future King. Unlike Franco, who has seldom been outside Spanish territory, the Prince is well traveled and bent on reintegrating Spain economically and politically with the rest of Europe. Juan Carlos keeps regular contact with a group of young leaders known as the "generation of the Prince," who hope that Spain's return to monarchy will, paradoxically, prove a step toward democracy.

74
Luciana Castellina, 45, is one of Italy's most influential revolutionaries. Raised in Rome and a law graduate of Rome University, she was an official of the Communist Party before moving even further left to become an intellectual leader of the country's radical Marxists, an extraparliamentary group that, she has said, "wants to change the state through a revolutionary process." Though she lost her bid for election to Italy's Parliament two years ago, as an author and journalist on the daily *Il Manifesto,* Italy's leading radical Marxist newspaper with a circulation of 30,000, and as the leading Italian feminist, Castellina exerts major impact on much of Italy's electorate.

75
Charles Philip Arthur George, 25. "I don't want to be a figurehead; I want to help get things done," says the Prince of Wales, future King of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Charles is the first future British monarch to have been educated at public schools rather than by court tutors. A former student of archaeology and anthropology at Cambridge, he has begun to lend his support to projects for young people, race relations, the problems of miners and the unemployed in Wales. Concedes Charles, who recently made his maiden speech before the House of Lords: "A Prince of Wales has to do what he can by influence, not by power."

76
Alain Chevalier, 42. As managing director of Moët-Hennessy, Chevalier is chief executive and principal strategist of a consortium of family businesses producing cognac, champagne and Christian Dior perfumes. A graduate of l'Ecole Nationale d'Administration, he rose rapidly through senior posts in the state audit office and the steel industry, thanks to his blend of high-grade business ability and low-key persuasiveness. Though he denies any political ambitions, the slim, handsome Chevalier is a member of the reform-minded Radical Party and might well be offered a post in a future French government.

77
Jacques Chirac, 41, Premier of France in the new government of President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, has always done just about everything right. He went to the best school, the Ecole Nationale d'Administration. In the civil service he quickly caught the eye of President Georges Pompidou, who called him "my bulldozer" and gave him the ministries of Agriculture and then Interior. Chirac broke ranks with the Gaullists to support Giscard. Though he has been rewarded, he does not have a sufficiently strong power base to wage a future fight for the presidency. At the least, however, he is likely to remain one of France's foremost administrators of power for some time.

78
Jean-Pierre Cot, 36, seems likely to replace his father, former Air Minister Pierre Cot, as the French General Assembly's most effective and colorful orator. The younger Cot became a law professor at Amiens University at 28, dean of the law faculty two years later. Though he did not join the Socialist Party until 1969, he is already a member of its Executive Committee. In 1973 he won his first election in a district that had been held by a conservative for 15 years. Cot has been lauded by Socialist Leader François Mitterrand as "a great future political leader."

79
Bettino Craxi, 40. Over the past 20 years he has maintained ties with political figures of the left from Harold Wilson and Willy Brandt to Fidel Castro and Chou En-lai. A cosmopolitan lawyer who looks more like a longshoreman, Craxi was elected to the Milan city council when he was 26; eight years later he had won a seat in Italy's Parliament. Vice secretary of the Socialist Party for the past four years and a longtime protégé of Pietro Nenni, Craxi is working to make Italy's tightly parochial politics "more international and interdisciplinary." He is a strong candidate for future leadership of the Socialists, unless the left wing carves him up as too moderate.

80
Etienne Davignon, 41, is director general for political affairs in the Belgian Foreign Ministry and a principal architect of the Common Market's policy of political cooperation. Grandson of a foreign minister, Vicomte Davignon studied law at Louvain and began his own public career as a protégé of the late Premier Paul-Henri Spaak. Belgium's most influential diplomat, he and his eight Common Market counterparts constitute "the Davignon Committee," which shapes the Community's emerging foreign policy.

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81
Helene Dorlhac, 38, was somewhat surprised when French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing named her to the newly created post of junior minister in charge of prison conditions. The University of Montpellier–trained physician had not held a government post before. Nor had she worked in the French penal system. But she had other qualifications, apart from her membership in Giscard's Independent Republican Party: the daughter of a country doctor, for the past seven years she has spurned private practice to work as a "labor doctor" in several factories in the southern French city of Nîmes. "If I was offered this post," she observes, "it's because I was considered capable from my training as a factory doctor of grasping the human problems of prison life."

82
Willem Frederik Duijsenberg, 38, is a former economics professor who left his post at Amsterdam University in 1973 to begin putting theory into practice. After a staff job with the International Monetary Fund in Washington and an advisory role with The Netherlands' Central Bank, he was named Minister of Finance in 1973. A confirmed Socialist and an articulate debater on international finance, Duijsenberg is at ease on the world stage and is a strong contender for higher office in the foreseeable future—if he decides to stay in politics.

83
Kjell-Olof Feldt, 43, made his reputation as a hard-bargaining Swedish Trade Minister in 1970 when he began negotiating a highly favorable free-trade agreement with the Common Market. Over the next three years Sweden's trade surplus tripled to $1.04 billion. A brilliant, feisty, sometimes stubborn technocrat, Feldt joined the Finance Ministry in 1962, rose to Under Secretary by 1967 and Trade Minister three years later. Son of a stevedore and husband of aristocratic Birgitta von Otter, a radical journalist, he is expected to become the next Minister of Finance, No. 2 power post in the Social Democratic regime that has run Sweden since 1932.

84
Jean-Pierre Fourcade, 44, recently replaced his longtime boss, French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, as Minister of Finance. A crew-cut, professorial technocrat-politician, Fourcade joined Giscard's staff in 1959, became director general of prices in 1968. Two years later, Independent Republican Fourcade left the government to direct the Crédit Industriel et Commercial, France's largest private bank, returning to the government last May. From his position as a close Giscard associate and an expert in price control, Fourcade—who has studied political science and public administration and is also mayor of the Paris suburb of Saint-Cloud—will be running one of the key policy areas in the new government.

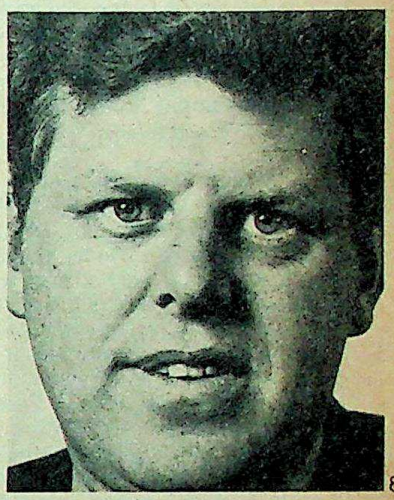
85
Nicolas Franco, 36, inherited the family name of his famous uncle but few of the Spanish Generalissimo's political views. After a brief career in business, the cosmopolitan Nicolás, who speaks six languages, entered politics in 1971 and won one of the 52 publicly elective seats in the 112-member Spanish National Council. Dubbed "the Liberal Franco," he has advocated the establishment of "associations," or nascent political parties, and a clearer church-state separation. Says he: "I am part of the generation that is impatient about reforms but patient for our personal ambitions because we know that time is on our side."

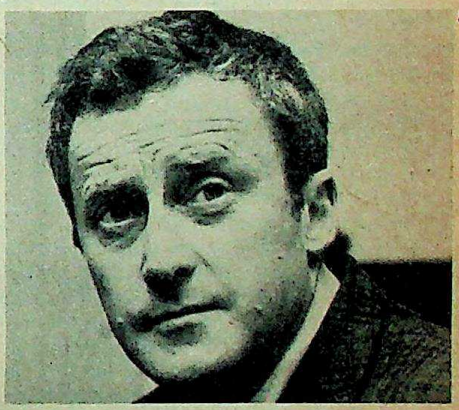
86
Leopold Gratz, 44, has succeeded in Austrian politics without seeming to try. In 1970 he became Minister of Education in Chancellor Bruno Kreisky's all-Socialist government; from 1971-73 he was chairman of the Socialist Parliamentary Party. When rumors of corruption in the Vienna city administration threatened his party's longstanding hegemony there, Gratz ran for mayor and won the largest Socialist majority ever. If the elegant, decidedly unproletarian Gratz passes this critical political test, he could well emerge as Austria's Socialist crown prince.

87
Dzherman Gvishiani, 45. To many Western businessmen, Gvishiani, a political scientist and specialist in American management techniques, is the best-known Soviet official. As deputy chairman of the U.S.S.R. state committee on science and technology, he has a decisive voice in modernizing Soviet industry. He is chairman of the International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis, an East-West think tank that includes the national science institutes of England, France, West Germany, Poland, the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and six other nations. The handsome Georgian is also a senior official of the KGB, the Soviet secret police, in control of contacts with foreigners as well as defense-industry matters. A Ph.D. in international relations from Moscow University, he is married to Premier Aleksei Kosygin's daughter.

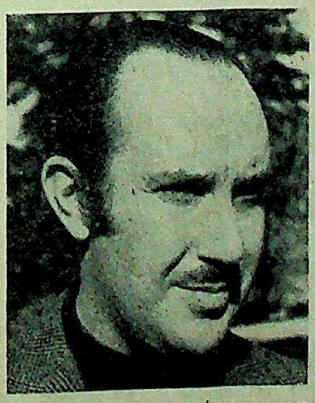
88
Pehr Gyllenhammar, 39, knew nothing about the auto industry three years ago when he took over Volvo, one of Scandinavia's largest industrial complexes. Formerly a lawyer and head of Sweden's largest insurance company, Gyllenhammar (pronounced *Yyl*-lenhammar) seeks the mean between industrial and emotional necessities. He argues that cars should be banned from the inner city and has pioneered radical innovations such as job rotation and work teams to humanize—and in some cases eliminate—the assembly line. Under the aegis of this urbane, articulate executive, gross sales at Volvo, which has two workers on its ten-man board of directors, reached $2.1 billion last year, up 70% since 1970.

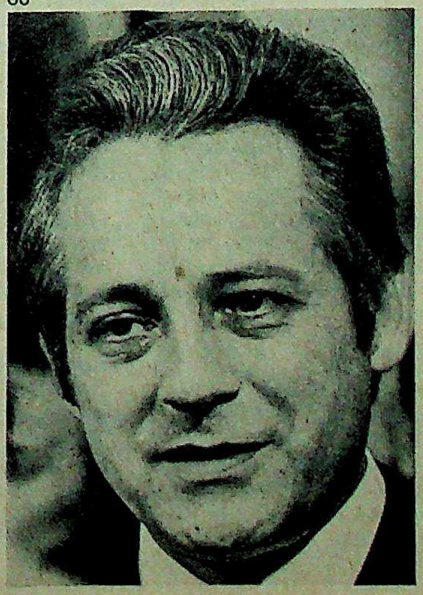

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89

Roy Hattersley, 41, a Labor Member of the British Parliament for the past decade, vigorously defended such controversial ideas as the abolition of Britain's elite public schools and the sending of troops into Northern Ireland (which he authorized in 1969 as Minister of Defense for Administration). Denied a higher post partly because of his abrasive frankness, Hattersley remains in the front lines as Minister of State for European Affairs, playing a major role in renegotiating sessions between Britain and the Common Market. Strongly pro-Europe, Hattersley warns that if Britain were to quit the Common Market, "very substantial economic and political problems" would result.

90

Peter Jay, 37, economics editor of the London *Times,* writes about the "dismal science" and politics with trenchant wit and clarity. In addition to writing a weekly column, he has a wide following as anchor man on a popular television current affairs program, where he is a deft and engaging interviewer. The son of Douglas Jay, a former Labor Minister of Trade, he is married to the daughter of James Callaghan, Labor's present Foreign Secretary. Jay, who went from Oxford to the Treasury before switching to journalism, seems committed by birth, temperament and marriage to an eventual career in public service.

91

Helmut Kohl, 44. As chairman of West Germany's Christian Democratic Union, Kohl is in a position to become Chancellor should the Social Democrats fall from power. Only 29 when first elected a C.D.U. representative in his native Rhineland-Palatinate, he later became the state's minister-president, the country's youngest. Kohl, an activist reformer with a political science doctorate from Heidelberg, abolished the separate school systems for Protestants and Catholics, opened a university, created jobs in poorer districts. A proponent of European integration and partnership with the U.S., he ran unchallenged for the C.D.U. leadership last year.

92

Sixtus Lanner, 40. Since 1969, Austria's "Farmers' General" has led the 400,000-member farmers' organization of the conservative People's Party. Lanner worked on his family's land until he was 20, went on an educational binge at agriculture colleges in Vienna, Germany, Britain and the U.S., then began rising in the militant farmers' group. With a bruising political style that has been likened to a hockey player's "forechecking" —anticipating an opponent's move with an attack of one's own—Lanner advocates a larger share of the national income for the farmer. As head of the most militant wing of the opposition People's Party, he is regarded as a possible Chancellor.

93

Kjeld Olesen, 42, enjoys steadily growing influence as vice president of Denmark's opposition Social Democratic Party and widespread popularity among the young. A member of the Folketing (Parliament) since 1966, Olesen worked in the shipping business for three years before sailing into politics in 1956 as a personal assistant to Copenhagen's mayor. He has been his party's spokesman on defense questions since 1969, and as Defense Minister from 1971 to 1973 established himself as a firm advocate of the Atlantic Alliance.

91





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94

Stefan Olszowski, 42, began his climb up the Polish political ladder in Communist youth organizations. In the early 1960s he was responsible for issuing editorial guidelines to the controlled newspapers and was rewarded for his effectiveness with membership in the Central Committee, its Secretariat and, in 1970, the ruling Politburo. A schoolteacher's son and protégé of Security Chief Mieczyslaw Moczar, Olszowski was dropped from the Secretariat by Party Boss Edward Gierek following Moczar's 1971 ouster and appointed Foreign Minister, a position devoid of political clout. But he kept his Politburo seat and may again find his star on the rise.

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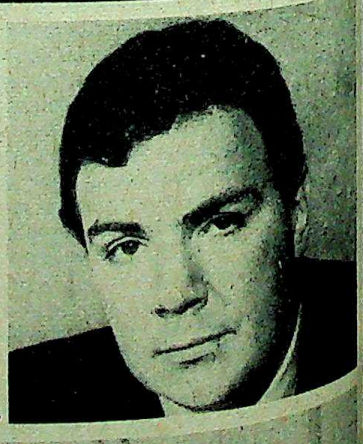
Anthony J.F. O'Reilly, 38, is coy about his political ambitions, but few who have followed the redheaded Dubliner's exploits as an international rugby star and a boy-wonder business executive would rule out his eventual ascent to Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland. A law graduate of University College, Dublin, he made winners of Ireland's ailing state-run dairy and sugar industries, and at 32 headed H.J. Heinz's British operation. Last year he took over as chief executive of the parent Heinz company in Pittsburgh, and —just on the side—purchased control of Ireland's largest daily newspaper.

96

Novak Pribicevic, 35, entered Yugoslav national politics in 1961 as head of the Yugoslav student union and began traveling widely to meet with foreign students. The son of a Croatian diplomat, Pribicevic leaped past senior civil servants four years later when President Tito named him his aide for foreign affairs. As Tito's youngest associate, Pribicevic acquitted himself ably, and by 1973 he was Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Likely to assume even greater responsibilities in the near future, Pribicevic functions as the chief liaison between the foreign ministry and the parliamentary Assemblies.



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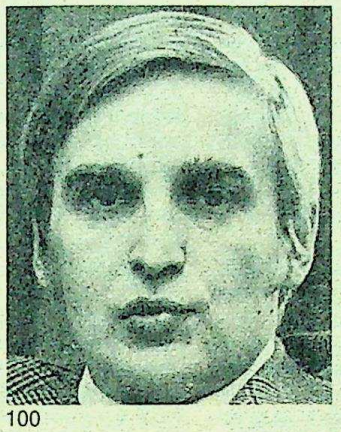
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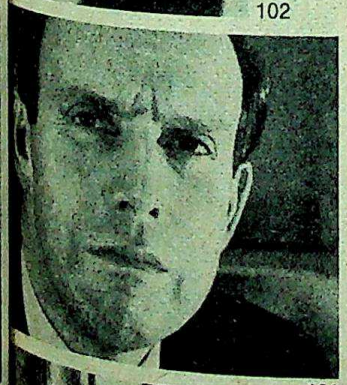




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97

Nicholas Scott, 41. "If we are to survive and prosper, it can only be as part of a world society," says Scott, who is serving as the London liaison for the Conservative Party's delegation to the European Parliament. A protégé of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer Iain Macleod, Scott entered politics through the Young Conservative movement. He earned a reputation as "the most liberal Tory of all" by championing black immigrants in Britain and opposing arms sales to South Africa. Though he lost his seat in Commons in February, Tory managers have him high on the list for another seat.

98

Henri Simonet, 43, an outspoken vice president of the Common Market Commission, is a good bet to become a future Premier of Belgium. Simonet holds degrees in law and economics, is a noted Socialist theoretician and a skillful politician. Elected mayor of Anderlecht, a Brussels suburb, in 1966, he later was Belgium's Economics Minister before assuming his present post as the Common Market commissioner in charge of energy policy. Though Simonet argued unsuccessfully for U.S.-European-Japanese cooperation during the oil embargo, his internationalist stance enhanced his prestige within Belgium.

99

Jean-Pierre Soisson, 39, is not only deputy secretary-general of France's Independent Republican Party but also mayor of Auxerre and Secretary of State for Universities. Most important, he is one of President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's most trusted advisers. A graduate of the Ecole Nationale d'Administration, Soisson entered politics via the Cabinets of the Gaullist era as counsel to assorted French ministers. As the party's expert on colonial relations, he recently campaigned in Guadeloupe and Martinique. Strong where Giscard is weak—with labor, factions—Soisson will doubtless gain in visibility as both he and the regime mature.

100

Ulf Sundqvist, 29, became the youngest Cabinet Minister in Finnish history when he was appointed Minister of Education in 1972, a scant two years after he first won election to Parliament as a Social Democrat. Sundqvist worked as a journalist and teacher to pay his way through Helsinki University, where he first became involved in politics. Outwardly aristocratic and intellectual, he is a master of pragmatic politics who once voted against an "educational democracy" bill that he had originally sponsored because it had become a Communist cause.

101

Ramon Tamames, 40. Long one of Madrid University's most brilliant and popular economics professors, Tamames has achieved recognition as a skilled historian and political analyst with his latest book, *The Republic: The Era of Franco.* A professed though wealthy democratic socialist who studied at the London School of Economics, he is a writer for Alianza Editorial, a firm specializing in the politically risky business of publishing liberal texts. Frequently mentioned as a potential Minister of Finance, Tamames could become prominent in Spain's "legal opposition," if one is allowed to develop when Franco departs.

102

Valentina Tereshkova (Nikolaev), 37, rocketed to world attention in 1963 as the first spacewoman. Born to peasant parents, she quit high school at 17 to work in a tire factory, joined a parachute club and, with no previous pilot training, volunteered for the Soviet cosmonaut corps in 1961. Later she completed a three-day, 48-orbit trip around the earth. Married to a fellow cosmonaut, she is a deputy to the Supreme Soviet and head of the Soviet Women's Committee. Given her reputation as a tough, almost fanatic martinet, she could go on to a Central Committee post or a deputy ministry.

103

Eric Varley, 41, Secretary of State for Energy in Britain's Labor government, is almost unknown outside the House of Commons and Whitehall. Yet when Prime Minister Harold Wilson muses with cronies about his eventual successor, the name of the miner's son from Derbyshire often comes up. Plucked from the back benches last March for the energy post, Varley has won praise for acting decisively on such questions as expansion of the coal mines (the government will invest an added $1.5 billion), and development of North Sea oil (the government will play an active role along with private oil companies). A former coal miner himself, he studied at Sheffield University and Oxford before being elected to Commons in 1964.

104

Shirley Williams, 43, ten-year veteran of the House of Commons, is described by many Labor Party colleagues as the most brilliant woman in British politics. Daughter of Philosopher Sir George Catlin and the late pacifist writer Vera Brittain, Williams has been a journalist in London, an economics tutor in Ghana and in 1952 a campaigner for Adlai Stevenson in the U.S. Appointed Secretary of State for Prices and Consumer Protection this year, she argues that Labor should push "four or five major policies, all of which are carried [out] [rather] than a more ambitious program that comes unstuck." Some think she could become Britain's first woman Prime Minister.

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105
Shulamit Aloni, 45, is the second woman in Israeli history to hold ministerial rank (the first was Golda Meir). A radio commentator and newspaper columnist, lawyer and mother of three, Aloni has earned a reputation as a free-wheeling champion of women's rights and consumerism. Quitting the Labor Party last fall ("I couldn't get anything done from the inside"), the blonde Sabra formed her own civil rights movement, advocated the return of most Arab lands in exchange for a peace agreement and last December captured three seats in the Knesset. Last month Premier Yitzhak Rabin named her Minister without Portfolio to deal with social affairs and government reorganization.

106
Hushang Ansary, 45, made a fortune as a businessman before joining the Iranian government in 1954. A former reporter for the now defunct International News Service, he held a series of ambassadorships, including Washington, later became Minister of Information, then Minister of Economy in 1969—a post that was broadened in 1974 to include Economic Affairs and Finance. Credited with introducing intelligent planning to his country's rapidly expanding economy, Ansary has skillfully directed negotiations like the $7 billion Irano-French business agreements signed in Paris last year.

107
Gatsha Buthelezi, 45, leader of 4 million Zulus, is the most forceful spokesman for South Africa's 16 million blacks. He came to power just before South Africa's still nascent system of separate, self-governing homelands for blacks was instituted. A law graduate of South Africa's black University of Fort Hare and a direct descendant of ten generations of Zulu kings, Buthelezi has demanded from the pro-*apartheid* government of Prime Minister John Vorster a fairer distribution of territory for blacks, equal pay for equal work, free compulsory education and the right to a Zulu army. He is now planning a confederation of the country's ten tribal homelands and the states of Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana.

108
Yakubu Gowon, 39, Nigeria's Head of State, was a 32-year-old, Sandhurst-educated Army Chief of Staff in 1966 when a military coup catapulted him to leadership of Africa's most populous nation (79 million). A year later the abortive secession of Biafra plunged Nigeria into civil war, and an estimated 1 million people died before its end in 1970. Decreeing a policy of "no victor, no vanquished," Gowon averted postwar reprisals against Biafra's Ibo tribespeople and did a superb job of reunifying a country whose ethnic, religious and regional rivalries run deep. Modest, patient and impeccably honest, "Jack" Gowon has been urged to doff his general's uniform when military rule ends in 1976 and continue as Nigeria's civilian president.

109
Hussein ibn Talal, 39. There are some who maintain that diminutive King Hussein, who claims descent from Mohammed, qualifies less as a leader than as a survivor. Since he acceded in 1952 to the Hashemite throne and assumed leadership of Jordan (pop. 2.5 million), he has emerged unscathed from at least half a dozen plots against his life. In 1970 the British-educated King (Harrow and Sandhurst) demonstrated surprising toughness when he ousted the Palestinian fedayeen from Jordan in a bloody showdown. His position remains vulnerable: Hussein wants the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan for his own economically depressed land; Palestinians covet it as a permanent homeland.

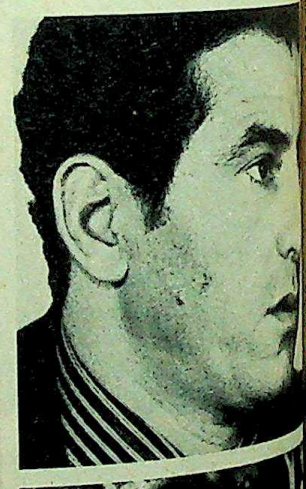
110
Abdul Salam Jalloud, 30. The quiet, tough-minded Prime Minister of Libya was one of the young officers who helped overthrow King Idris in September 1969. A peasant's son, he found his calling in the army after attending his country's military academy. Major Jalloud has been Libya's "Mr. Inside" to the "Mr. Outside" of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, the country's erratic, mercurial and highly visible President. As a member of the Revolutionary Command Council that runs the country, Jalloud conducts most negotiations with non-Arab nations, played a key role in the removal of U.S. and British bases and in winning a substantial increase in the government's take from Libya's oil wealth.

111
Karim Aga Khan, 37, who claims direct descent from the Prophet Mohammed, is Imam (spiritual leader) of approximately 20 million Ismaili Moslems throughout Asia, Africa and the Middle East. He is also a hugely wealthy (estimated worth: $200 million) entrepreneur, international sportsman and builder of factories, schools and hospitals in economically depressed areas. Son of the late Aly Khan and an English mother, he was educated in Switzerland and at Harvard. Only 20 when he succeeded the former Imam, his grandfather, Prince Karim has guided his faithful from an elegant monastery-turned-mansion in Paris, urging them to accept modern ways.

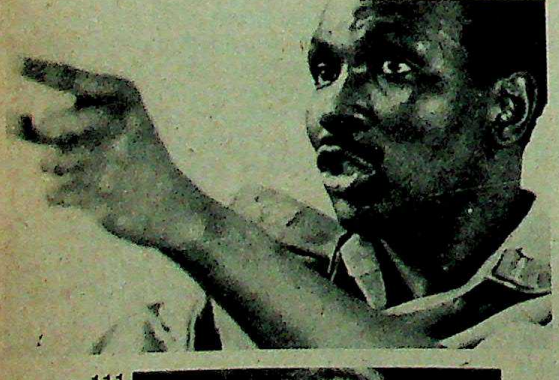
AFRICA/MIDDLE EAST


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111



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112
Mwai Kibaki, 42, was named Kenya's Minister of Commerce and Industry by President Jomo Kenyatta in 1966, two years later took charge of the country's program of purging businessmen who were not Kenyan citizens. An astute technocrat and graduate of the London School of Economics, he became Minister of Finance and Economic Planning in 1970. Kibaki helped organize last year's International Monetary Fund and World Bank meetings in Nairobi, winning praise from World Bank Chairman Robert McNamara as "one of Africa's most brilliant minds."

113
Vernon Mwaanga, 35, joined the Zambian independence movement at 22 and within three years was the country's Deputy High Commissioner to London. Educated at Stanford and Oxford, he became Ambassador to Moscow and later Permanent Representative to the U.N. Mwaanga returned to Africa in 1972 and became Foreign Minister last year, preaching the inevitability of black rule in southern Africa. A divorced, free-spending playboy, Mwaanga is a possible future President—if he settles down a bit.

114
Sadruddin Aga Khan, 40. As United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Harvard-educated Iranian prince is legal protector of some 2 million refugees and uses his mandate to resettle or repatriate others displaced by conflicts round the world. A global troubleshooter, he helped end the 17-year war between South and North Sudan and played a key role in working out a new relationship among Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. An unsuccessful candidate for the U.N.'s Secretary-Generalship in 1971, he is still believed to covet the post.

115
Mohamed Sayah, 40, director of Tunisia's ruling Neo-Destour party and Minister Without Portfolio, is No. 3 in that country's political hierarchy. When President Habib Bourguiba sought young blood for his political apparatus in 1962, Sayah was jumped from general secretary of the Students' Union to director of *L'Action,* the party newspaper, and assistant director of the Neo-Destour; two years later he was party director. Since 1969 he has held such varied posts as U.N. Representative and Minister of Youth and Sport. Charged with overseeing more than 300 party cells throughout Tunisia, he has become a highly visible public figure with considerable political leverage.

116
Saddam Hussein Takriti, about 37. As vice president of Iraq's Revolutionary Command Council, Saddam is nominally second to President Ahmed Hassan Bakr, but he is in fact the strongman of the regime. He has been in jail and plotted assassinations, negotiated a friendship pact with the Soviets in Moscow, and was a key figure in the nationalization of the Iraq Petroleum Co. Saddam is also assistant secretary-general of the Baath Party, a socialist group dedicated to unifying all Arab nations. Trained as a lawyer, Saddam militantly insists that Arab regimes should nationalize Western oil companies.

117
Gordon Waddell, 39, joined South Africa's Anglo-American Corp. in 1965—and married the chairman's daughter. The marriage did not last, but Waddell did, becoming an executive director of one of the world's largest mining and investment conglomerates. Now a South African citizen, he ran for Parliament last April and won, to become one of seven members of the anti-*apartheid* Progressive Party in the 171-seat body. Meanwhile, he still holds his top corporate job and looms as a liberal to be reckoned with by South Africa's right-wing leaders.

118
Gad Yaacobi, 39. Cool, intellectual and pragmatic, Yaacobi has been prominent in Israeli politics since 1960 when Moshe Dayan chose him as an aide for planning and development. Elected to the Knesset in 1969, he is now Israel's Minister of Transport and youngest Cabinet-rank politician. A graduate of Tel Aviv University, Yaacobi attended Henry Kissinger's Harvard seminar in 1967 to become part of the U.S. Secretary of State's "old-boy network."

119
Ahmed Zaki Yamani, 44. His good-humored charm belies the fact that as Saudi Arabia's Petroleum Minister since 1962, Sheik Yamani is one of the world's most powerful men. He was instrumental in 1972 in creating the "participation" agreements that gave 25% ownership of foreign oil companies to Arab producing nations. A Moslem and the son of a religious judge, he attended the University of Cairo, later studied law at Harvard and N.Y.U. Back in Arabia, this urbane but tough technocrat became Minister of State Without Portfolio at 29 and is now King Faisal's chief spokesman and policymaker for many of the oil countries.



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ASIA

120
Akihito, 40, Crown Prince of Japan, will some day become the 125th in an unbroken series of Emperors, succeeding his father Hirohito, who has already reigned for 47 years. Akihito broke with tradition when he married a commoner, now Princess Michiko; he also violated an unwritten palace law by refusing to live apart from his three children. But deep down he is a conservative. A noted marine biologist like his father, Akihito seems to agree that as a constitutional monarch, his role as "symbol of national unity" would be best fulfilled by performing largely ceremonial tasks and attempting nothing very new. Still, as Emperor, he would be an object of veneration to millions of Japanese traditionalists.

121
James Anderton, 36. "The day is passing when the ordinary man accepts political and community leadership uncritically," reflects New Zealand Laborite Anderton. Labor's nominee for the mayoralty of Auckland, the country's largest city (pop. 750,000), Anderton is one of three partners in a metal products firm, got his initial political indoctrination as a Catholic Youth Movement organizer. One of a handful of young people to gain the confidence of party elders, Anderton looks to Pope John XXIII as his leadership model.

122
Tadao Aoi, 41, is making his imprint on Japanese business by combining new techniques and old-fashioned paternalism. "The vital factor for success in business is the unswerving loyalty of the employees," says the president of Tokyo's 31 Marui department stores. Educated at Waseda University, Aoi joined his father's 260-employee department store in 1955. By injecting American sales techniques and zeroing in on the youth market, he helped increase sales a hundredfold. Marui, which now employs 6,300 people, is expected to gross $420 million this year.

123
Benigno Aquino Jr., 41, is behind bars at the moment, but a return to democracy in the Philippines could quickly catapult him to a key position. A flamboyant nationalist, "Ninoy" was once the boy wonder of Philippine politics. He was decorated as a Korean War correspondent while still a teen-ager, at 21 helped negotiate Huk Rebel Chief Luis Taruc's surrender, and at 28 was elected governor of Tarlac province. In 1969 Aquino became secretary-general of the opposition Liberal Party and began eying President Ferdinand Marcos' job. But in September 1972 Marcos imposed martial law and clapped his rival into jail.

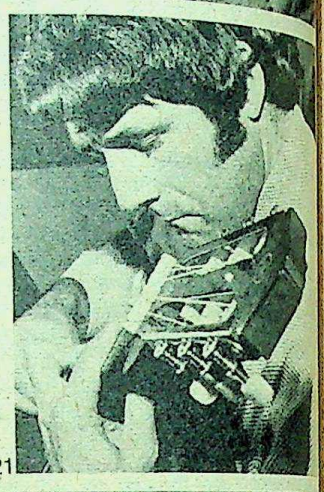
124
Krasae Chanawongse, 39, is responsible for the well-being of 400,000 people as Medical Director of Health Care for a large part of northeastern Thailand. Son of a rural storekeeper, Dr. Chanawongse graduated from Bangkok's Siriraj College of Medicine in 1960. He returned to his local ramshackle health station, launched a fund appeal, built a medical center and hospital—and won the 1973 Ramon Magsaysay Award—Asia's Nobel Prize—for his civic work. After the military regime was overthrown last fall, he was elected to the National Legislative Assembly. Two months ago he founded the New Force Party, aimed at combatting poverty, disease and poor education.

125
Chi Teng-kuei, about 44, from China's Honan province, is one of the few young men in China to occupy a very high post in the Communist Party's Central Committee. He first came into the limelight as a vociferous supporter of Mao's Cultural Revolution, promoting especially the policy of sending city youths to the countryside to "learn from the peasants." Elevated to the Politburo at the left-dominated Tenth Party Congress last August, he has continued his rise during Peking's current tide of ideological radicalism. In an important shuffle of military commands, Chi ended up in the powerful role of political commissar of the Peking military region.

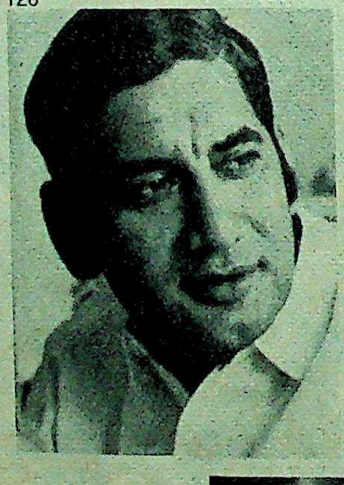
126
Charles M. Correa, 43, one of India's most distinguished architects, joined with two colleagues to create a plan now under construction for a second Bombay that will house 2 million people across the harbor from the present city of more than 6 million. Educated in Bombay, the University of Michigan and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he studied under Buckminster Fuller and worked with Minoru Yamasaki. In private practice in Bombay since 1958, Correa has designed a plutonium plant, a cricket stadium and a university at Poona. Says he: "The enormous urbanization taking place in the Third World needn't paralyze us out of our wits."

127
Tetsuzo Fuwa, 44. In the words of a Tokyo commentator, Fuwa is "the best thing to happen to Japan's political far left" in a long time. As secretary-general of the powerful Communist Party, which drew 10.5% of the vote in the last general election, Fuwa has brought moderation and flexibility into an organization long known for rigidity. A strong advocate of independence from both Moscow and Peking, Fuwa prudently pursues the parliamentary road to power. He was elected to the Diet in 1969, three years later became No. 2 man in the Communist hierarchy, and is now the party's chief theoretician.


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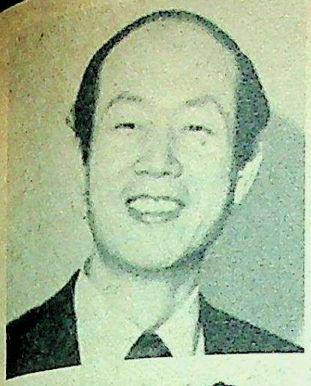

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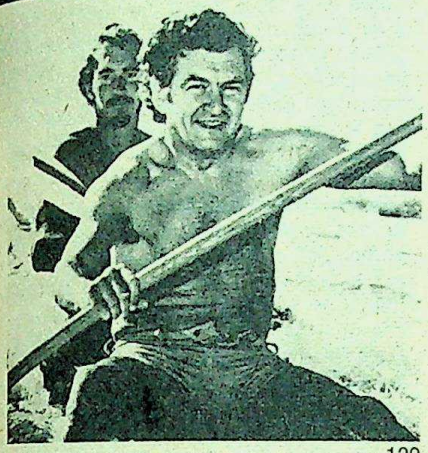

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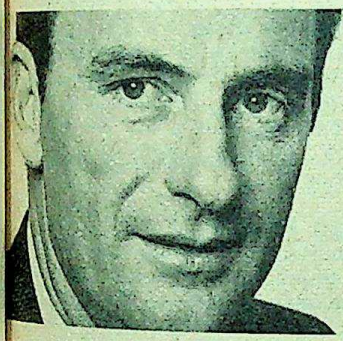


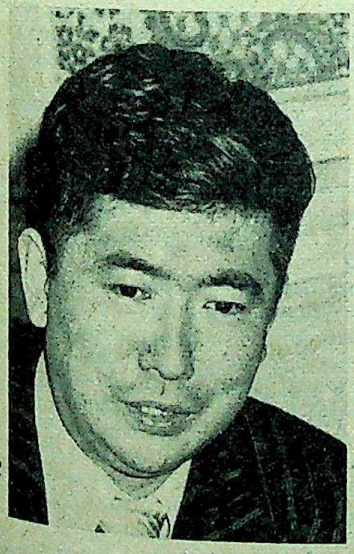
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128


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128
Hahm Pyong Choon, 42, Korea's courtly, articulate Ambassador to the U.S. and one of its foremost legal scholars, is so highly regarded that admirers have dubbed him "Dr. Hahmsinger." Son of a former South Korean Vice President, he received doctorates from Harvard and Yale, later taught at his alma mater, Yonsei University in Seoul. He became President Park Chung Hee's special assistant for diplomatic and political affairs in 1970, was handed Korea's most exalted foreign service post in 1973. Hahm is something of a showpiece for Park's strong-arm regime, but he could fall as swiftly as he has risen, should the President's fortunes sour.

129
Robert Hawke, 44, is brash and abrasive —useful qualities for a man who, as president of both the Australian Council of Trade Unions and the Australian Labor Party, is the most prominent champion of his country's workers. An outback-reared lawyer and Rhodes scholar, his aggressive, intellectual socialism has invigorated the labor movement. In taking the labor post last year he turned down the director generalship of the International Labor Organization in Geneva. Hawke, who faults the current labor government for failing to articulate its goals, is widely expected to channel his full energies into politics before long.

130
William Hayden, 41, Australia's Minister for Social Security, is one of the principal architects of the social-welfare program on which the Labor Party rode to power in 1972. A former policeman with a working-class background, Hayden dropped out of school at 15 but later earned an economics degree through a correspondence course. A Member of Parliament since 1961, he is the youngest Minister in Australia's Federal Cabinet. "One of the great dangers for a leader," says he, "is getting himself imprisoned in administration, becoming technocratic and losing the common touch."

131
Musa Hitam, 40, was ousted from the government when he criticized then Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman for not being tough enough on the Chinese during the bloody 1969 Malay-Chinese riots. Musa, who had been assistant to Deputy Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak, flew off to England and acquired an M.A. in international relations at the University of Sussex. In 1972 Musa, the son of an impoverished water-meter reader, returned to government as Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry in the Cabinet of Razak, by then the Prime Minister. Politically, Musa's strong suit has always been his vigorous support of the Malay cause in a country with sizable Chinese- and Tamil-speaking minorities.

132
Shintaro Ishihara, 41, is something rare in Japan—an avant-garde intellectual who is also a fighting conservative. He became the *enfant terrible* of Japanese letters at 23 with his hit novel *Season of the Sun.* Since then, he has turned to acting, directing, playwriting —and politicking. In 1968 he won a seat in the Diet with 3 million votes—making him the country's biggest vote getter. A founder of the Seirankai (Blue Storm) group, the right-wing faction of Premier Kakuei Tanaka's conservative Liberal Democratic Party, Ishihara wants Japan to acquire at least one nuclear bomb "to make itself heard more respectfully round the world."

133
Kang Ning-hsiang, 35, exerts considerable influence in Taiwan for someone not a member of the Kuomintang, the ruling Nationalist party. A former gas-station attendant, he won election to Taipei's city council and then to the Legislative Yuan on platforms highly critical of the government. Kang soon emerged as the leading spokesman for the native Taiwanese, who account for 85% of Taiwan's 16 million people. Frequently under government surveillance, he is not afraid to castigate the mainlanders who have ruled the island since fleeing from China in 1949.

134
Khieu Samphan, 44, Acting Prime Minister of Prince Sihanouk's Cambodian government in exile, is such an elusive figure that many Western observers believed that he had been executed some years ago and was being impersonated by a look-alike. But the real Samphan turned up very much alive on a tour of Eastern Europe and Africa last May. He is now regarded as the power behind Sihanouk's bid to return to Phnom-Penh. An ardent spokesman for the peasant cause, he went underground in 1967 after he was charged with inciting a revolt, and has since directed the highly effective political and military campaign of the Cambodian liberation forces.

135
Yohei Kono, 37, one of the young lions of the Liberal Democrats—Japan's governing party almost uninterruptedly since World War II—has won support of party elders as well as contemporaries in a country where youthfulness can be a handicap. Elected to the lower house of the Diet in 1967, he is the nephew of Kenzo Kono, who presides over the Diet's upper house, and the son of the colorful politician, Ichiro Kono, who was rival to Eisaku Sato for the premiership in 1964. Though he is known as "the conservative samurai," he is keenly aware that Japan's affluence has largely bypassed the lower classes, urges more humane welfare programs. "Our party," he observes, "has developed a conditioned reflex to take almost any situ-

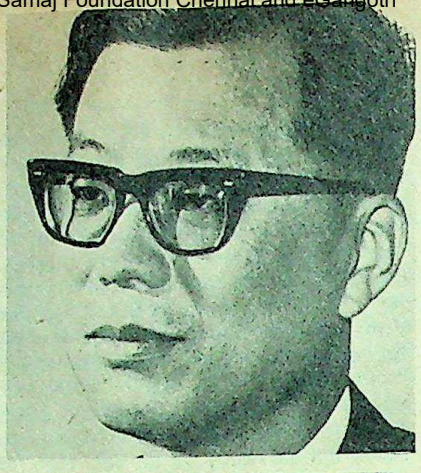
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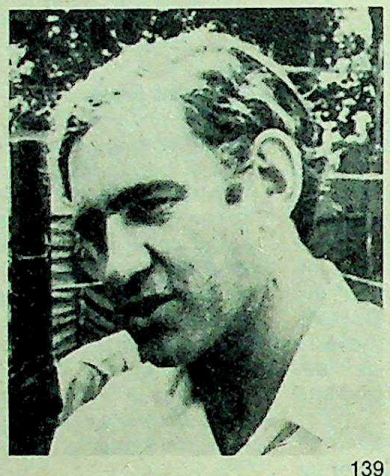


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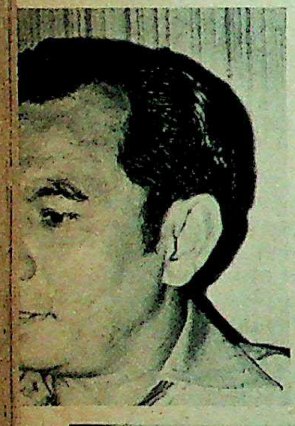


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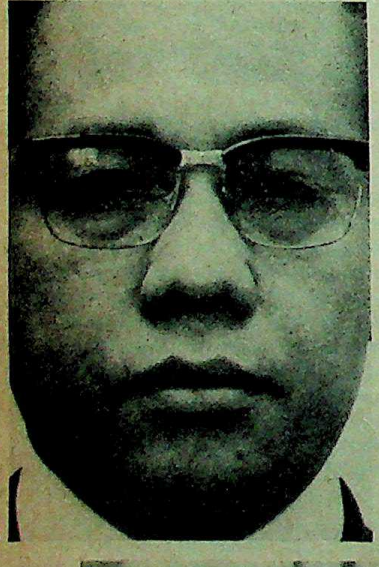




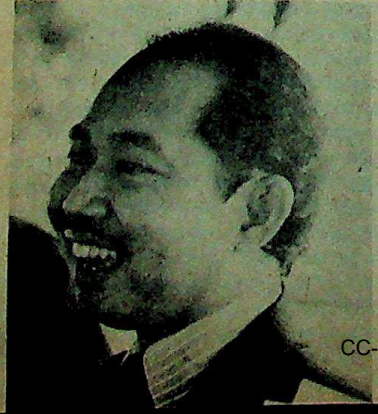
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136

Hoang Duc Nha, 32, Minister of Information for South Viet Nam, started his meteoric rise as interpreter for President Nguyen Van Thieu; fluent in English, he also frequently served as an adviser to Thieu in delicate negotiations with Henry Kissinger. Nha is now Thieu's closest confidant, and it undoubtedly helps that he is a cousin of the President (Saigon cynics call him the "Dauphin"). An electrical engineer from the University of Oklahoma, Nha is an uncompromising, ambitious infighter. His present post gives him a tight grip on Saigon's propaganda apparatus—and has earned him the enmity of bureaucratic rivals and "political" generals.

137

Nyi Nyi, 43, is one of the ambitious young technocrats who are expected to play an ever more influential role now that Burma is looking to foreign technology and investment for development aid. Educated at Rangoon University and still a geology professor there, he was Deputy Minister of Education until March, when he was appointed to the key post of Minister of Mines in the military-dominated Cabinet of Socialist Strongman Ne Win. One of the few civilians in the government, he will be in charge of all aspects of Burma's drive for mineral and oil exploitation.

138

Ong Pang Boon, 45. Singapore's Minister of Labor got into politics as a student at Kuala Lumpur (now Malaysia) University and ever since has been steadily increasing his power in the tiny island republic. A member of the ruling People's Action Party, he served longest as Minister of Education (1963-73), a post he used to upgrade the teaching of Mandarin Chinese (which he speaks fluently) in Singapore schools. Austere and slightly forbidding, Ong shuns the limelight. But he is in close and constant touch with Premier Lee Kuan Yew and is considered one of the two men (the other is Defense Minister Goh Keng

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139

Andrew Peacock, 35. Well-educated, wealthy and poised, Peacock was 27 when he won the parliamentary seat once held by Sir Robert Menzies, the former Australian Liberal Prime Minister. Three years later Peacock became the country's youngest Federal Minister when he was named Minister of the Army. He held several other ministerial posts until 1972, when the Labor Party took over. Peacock is moving steadily toward his goal of heading the Liberal Party, registering impressive gains in popularity at the polls. Refreshingly candid, he says: "Too many aspiring leaders believe what is written about them."

140

Dinanath Kashinath Rangnekar, 42, "We do not seem to understand that we will be adding 300 million people [in India] by the end of this century," warns the editor of Bombay daily *Economic Times.* Nor, he adds, is sufficient notice given to the fact that half of India's 580 million people already live under the incredibly low poverty line (some $30 per person per year). The only economist sitting on New Delhi's "Futurology Committee," which is exploring that demographic dilemma, he was educated in Bombay and at the London School of Economics. As a columnist for the Ceylon *Daily News* he won a crusade to nationalize foreign oil companies on the island but he believes that policy can best be influenced through unofficial high-level consultation.

141

Razaleigh Hamzah, 37, holds down so many important jobs in Malaysia that he is almost a one-man conglomerate. In addition to being chairman of PERNAS, a national trading corporation that promotes Malay participation in business, managing director of Bank Bumiputra and co-chairman of Goodyear Malaysia, Razaleigh is on the boards of 18 other companies. Born into a royal Malay family and schooled in law at Lincoln's Inn, London, the young bachelor is also a Member of Parliament. Although the prince is noncommittal about his political future, others are not. Many Malays think that he is destined to become Prime Minister.

142

Emil Salim, 44, is one of the new breed of U.S.-trained technocrats who have won positions of power under Indonesia's President Suharto. A Ph.D. in economics from the University of California at Berkeley, Salim was one of the experts assigned to chart Indonesia's economic recovery after President Sukarno's eclipse in 1966. As deputy chairman of Indonesia's top economics planning agency, he helped negotiate the massive new flow of economic aid from such countries as the U.S., West Germany and Japan that put the country back on its feet. Named Minister of Communications in Suharto's "Second Development Cabinet" last year, he is a contender for even higher office.

143

J.B. Sumarlin, 42, Indonesia's recently appointed Minister of State for Administrative Reforms, is one of only four Christians in the heavily Moslem, 22-member Cabinet. With a Ph.D. in public administration from the University of Pittsburgh, Sumarlin—a guerrilla fighter against the Dutch before Indonesia won independence in 1949—first rose to prominence in the late 1960s as secretary of the Monetary Council in the Ministry of Finance. A chief architect of his country's progress toward economic maturity, Sumarlin advocates balanced regional investment of foreign

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144



146

144

Tan Eng Liang, 37. A Pooh-Bah of science, industry and politics, Tan is simultaneously research and development director of a Swiss animal-feed factory, chairman of Singapore's Urban Redevelopment Association, and a member of Parliament representing the People's Action Party. Son of a clerical worker, Tan distinguished himself in chemistry at the University of Singapore, subsequently became that city's first Rhodes scholar. Among his current concerns are urban renewal, with its attendant problems of rehousing and future construction plans for Singapore.

145

Francisco Tatad, 34, was a foreign-affairs columnist for the now defunct Manila *Daily Bulletin* when Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos hired him as press secretary for his 1969 campaign. Marcos was so pleased with the results (he won an unprecedented second term) that he kept "Kit" Tatad on and, after declaring martial law in 1972, created the special Cabinet post of Secretary of Public Information for him. In that position, Tatad has kept a heavy hand on the domestic press while effectively disarming much foreign criticism of Marcos' one-man rule. Of his own political ambitions, Tatad says coyly: "I'm not averse to being exploited more fully."

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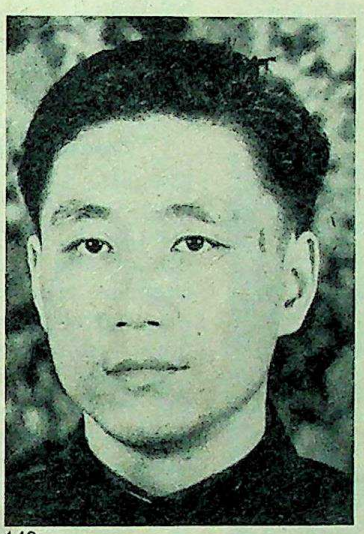
Sombat Thamrongthanyawong, 22, became a national hero in Thailand after he helped topple the military regime of Thanom Kittikachorn last October. As head of the National Student Center of Thailand, the soft-spoken honor graduate of Bangkok's Kasetsart University turned out 200,000 students for a demonstration that led to the first civilian government in his country in 25 years. Since then, the student center has been besieged by Thais who believe that Sombat can solve problems more efficiently than the government. Sombat, a peasant's son, hopes to enter politics.

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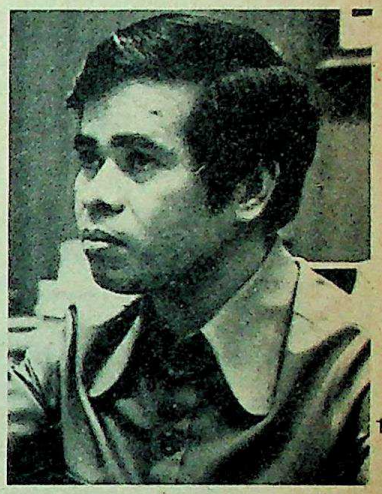
Ngo Quang Truong, 45, commander of South Viet Nam's Military Region I ("Eye Corps"), is one of the few senior officers in the 1.1 million-man armed forces who has clearly risen from platoon leader to general by dint of military competence rather than political maneuvering. A peasant's son from the Mekong Delta, he never went beyond high school. Although briefly touted for the presidency in the late 1960s by some Saigon politicos who saw him as a Vietnamese Nasser, Lieut. General Truong declined to be drawn into politics. His quiet professionalism and skillful deployment of forces have helped make Eye Corps, just south of the Demilitarized Zone, the quietest of South Viet Nam's four military regions.

148

Wang Hai-jung, 37, widely believed to be Mao Tse-tung's niece, is one of the fastest rising young leaders in China. A frequent caller on the Party Chairman, she often appears in his study when he receives a foreign visitor. And though officially she is an assistant to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, she seems to report directly to Mao himself. Wang belongs to the first Chinese generation that has received all of its secondary-school and college education under the Communists. The only woman delegate that China sent to the U.N. in 1971, she has made little known about her political leanings, but as long as Mao or his ideological heirs remain in power, she has a bright future.



149



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147



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149

Wang Hung-wen, about 38, is by far the youngest member of Peking's Politburo. Born in Shanghai, Wang made a name for himself when he joined the radical Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution to topple the Shanghai party establishment. He moved up to the Central Committee in Peking in 1969 and four years later was named to the Politburo and to one of the five vice-chairmanships of the Communist Party. Associated with the leftist group led by Mao's wife Chiang Ching, he is assumed to be a leader of the ongoing ideological struggle against more moderate forces and, as No. 3 man in the regime (after Mao and Chou En-lai), is seen by China watchers as a possible eventual successor to the Chairman.

150

Yao Wen-yuan, about 43, estimated to be No. 11 in the Chinese Politburo, is probably more powerful than his ranking indicates. Descended from a literary Chekiang family, Yao emerged in literary journals in the 1950s as a biting, brilliant critic of rightist politics, and helped launch the Cultural Revolution in 1965 with a critical essay that appeared in a Shanghai newspaper and won nationwide acclaim. He is a prominent member of the powerful leftist clique, led by Chiang Ching, that is spearheading the current campaign to discredit Confucianism and the late Communist Party Vice Chairman Lin Piao. Though more skilled in the realm of ideology than organization, Yao was mentioned as a likely successor to ture leader by Chou En-lai to a delegation of American newspaper editors in 1972.

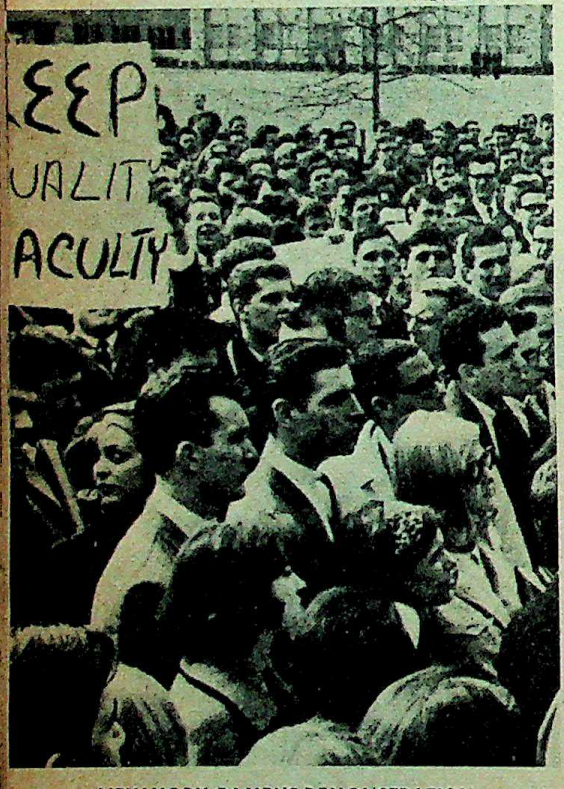
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Affirmative Action: The Negative Side

Can you legislate equality? One major attempt to do so began with the equal-opportunity hiring practices that business and labor were required to observe by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Johnson Administration later extended these regulations to educational institutions. Since then, some 2,000 colleges and universities have been struggling both to come up with "affirmative action" employment programs* acceptable to Washington bureaucrats and to defend themselves against literally hundreds of discrimination suits, many of them brought by women's rights organizations. Along the way, the 20 leading campuses have temporarily lost more than $28 million in federal research funds—withheld as a penalty for failure to satisfy Government equal-employment watchdogs.

THE NEW YORK TIMES



NEW YORK CAMPUS DEMONSTRATION
In practice, a painful experience.

Has it all been worth the effort? In public, college administrators and faculty members ritually endorse affirmative action. But in private, they tell a different story. So says Richard A. Lester, a Princeton economist who visited 20 leading universities in preparing a study on the federal antibias program for the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. Lester's report, to be published this week by McGraw-Hill, concludes that the drive for equal opportunity in faculties has been a worthwhile effort in theory, and in practice a "painful experience" that has accomplished little for minority groups while doing violence to a long tradition of academic independence and excellence.

Lester, 66, a New Frontier liberal who was vice chairman of President Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women, does not quarrel with the argument that minorities and (especially) women are vastly underrepresented in higher education. After all, women hold less than 38% of the instructorships and just 5% of the full professorships in U.S. universities. But he does insist that federal efforts to deal with the situation are clumsy and misguided.

"Good Faith." On philosophical grounds, Lester complains that the equal-opportunity program, which is policed by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and several other agencies, represents a serious Government intrusion into the traditional freedom and independence of American campuses. Beyond that, he complains that Washington administrators are tinkering insensitively with the "highly individualistic and selective" process by which faculties award full professorships and the 30- to 35-year tenures that go with them. Universities that want to keep their federal funds are required to come up with "good faith" hiring targets; Columbia University's plan for the five years from 1972 to 1977, for example, called for the hiring of 81 to 101 women faculty members, of whom eleven to 14 would be given tenure. While this may make sense in the case of "typists, bricklayers or punch-press operators," Lester says, it is hardly appropriate when it comes to "choosing a medieval historian."

Lester points out that at the top universities only one in four associate professors may be offered tenure. By forcing considerations of sex and race into the selection process, he argues, the Government could conceivably reduce faculty quality. One effect of equal rights legislation: some women and minority instructors tend to fight back with complaints to federal agencies and discrimination suits even when they are passed over for tenure for such reasons as lack of drive or scholarship. In a number of fields, qualified scholars from minority groups are so scarce that the available talent shuttles from one faculty to another (usually with considerable pay increases at each move) in a kind of academic musical-chairs game.

Lester does not believe that "it is time to abandon affirmative action." He wants the emphasis changed. Instead of shoehorning more women and minorities into Ph.D. programs to begin with, Lester would also establish arbitration boards composed of senior professors to settle complaints of high-level faculty discrimination rather than allow cases to drag through the bureaucracies and the courts.

Some federal officials agree that attempts to apply equal opportunity in the loftier reaches of academe have been somewhat ill considered. But Dr. Mary M. Lepper of HEW's Office for Civil Rights counters that too often "women and minorities are being hired and let go —it is a revolving door." She adds that Lester's complaints about ruptured faculty traditions and standards are "based in mythology." In fact, surveys have shown that from 1968 to 1972, the number of blacks on college faculties increased only from 2.2% to 2.9%, the number of women from 19.1% to 20%. The figures, which have not changed appreciably over the past two years, suggest that as yet neither side of the great faculty-hiring debate really has much to applaud—or deplore.

The Student Shortage

For graduating high school seniors, the once-traditional spring/summer struggle to get into college—any college —appears to have gone the way of the draft and campus demonstrations. With fall sessions at some schools only weeks away, the National Association of College Admissions Counselors reported last week that there are still about 500,000 openings for freshmen and transfer students at colleges and universities across the country. The figures mark the second straight year of declining college enrollments. California alone has at least 40,000 vacancies. Even in New England, some 25,000 places are going begging, although the area's Ivy League and other prestigious schools can still pick and choose as much as they please.

Officials attribute the decline to a number of factors. The 1970s have brought both the close of the postwar baby boom that swelled the ranks of college-age youth in the 1960s and the end of the Viet Nam conflict, which drove many young people to seek shelter on campus from the Selective Service. Vocational schools are becoming more popular, while fewer parents are willing or able to cope with rising college costs (the current annual average at private four-year schools: $3,504).

Many institutions, especially small colleges, overexpanded in the 1960s. They now find themselves underutilized. Says Nancy Barber of the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education: "Colleges will have to find other ways to put their facilities to use. Hopefully there will be more recruitment

*Which require federal contractors holding contracts of $50,000 or more and employing at least 50 employees to submit "affirmative action plans" describing how they will increase the hiring of

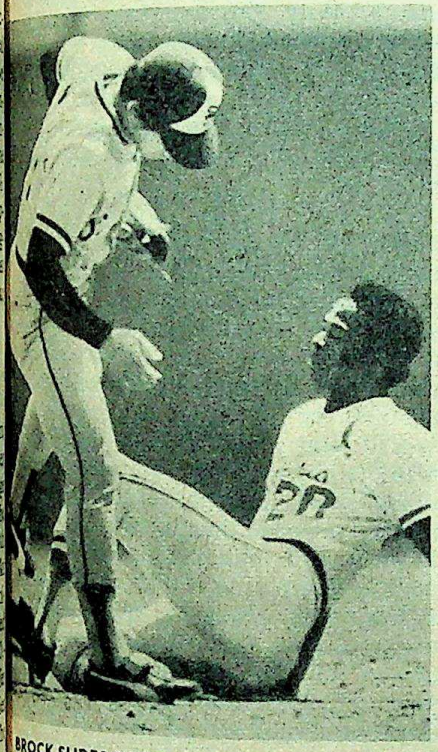
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The Premier Pilferer

Until Maury Wills started stealing bases by the bushel for the 1962 Dodgers, everyone in baseball thought Ty Cobb's modern record of 96 thefts in a single season was untouchable. Now anyone who assumes that Wills' mark of 104 is beyond reach must count again. Last week, not quite halfway through the season, St. Louis Cardinal Leftfielder Lou Brock stole his 50th base, putting him 28 games ahead of Wills' 1962 pace. As if that were not enough, Brock has collected those steals in only 56 at-

KLUETMEIER—SPORTS ILLUSTRATED



BROCK SLIDES SAFELY INTO SECOND
Silently counting cadences.

tempts, for an astonishing success rate of 89%.

For Brock, whose daring has helped keep the Cards in first place in the National League's Eastern Division, the assault on Wills' record is only the latest feat in his 14 years of pilfering. He already ranks fifth (after Cobb, Eddie Collins, Max Carey and Honus Wagner) in lifetime steals (685), and holds the major league record for the most seasons (ten) with 50 or more stolen bases. Cincinnati's Superstar Catcher Johnny Bench, who has the best throwing arm in baseball, admits, "There just isn't any way to stop Brock if he gets a decent lead."

Crucial Fraction. That is quite a compliment for a man who moves on 35-year-old legs. At an age when Ty Cobb was able to steal only nine bases in a season and Wills had slowed down to 52, Brock looks as streamlined as he did a decade ago. He stands 5 ft. 11 in. and weighs a trim 170 lbs. Stop watches have clocked his dash from first to second at 3.5 sec., half a second better than the average baserunner. It is a crucial fraction. "It takes a pitcher an average of eight-tenths of a second to deliver the ball from a set position," explains the analytical Brock. "Add to that the time it takes the catcher to handle the ball and make his throw, and you've got a total of 3.5 seconds for the ball to reach second base. So the only thing that can beat me is a perfect throw."

Besides sheer speed, Brock has a gift for anticipating pitchers' moves. "Every pitcher has a body cadence and rhythm," says Brock. "Once you've learned to read it, you can tell whether he is about to make a pick-off throw, and you can know exactly when you can start toward second." When on first, Brock silently counts a cadence that is synchronized to the pitcher's delivery: one—two—three for a hurler who pauses long in the set position or one-two-three for someone faster. On three, which should be the precise moment the pitcher has committed himself to throw home, Brock starts his dash.

Brock also takes some educated guesses before he runs. Because curve balls take a fraction of a second longer to reach the catcher than fast balls, Brock prefers to run when he thinks a curve is coming. He figures the odds by studying the habits of catchers and attempting to guess when they will call for breaking pitches.

Despite his remarkable start this season, Brock faces a major obstacle in surpassing Wills' single-season record. In 1962 Wills stole third 16 times. Brock, though he has a green light from his manager to run any time, has stolen third only three times this year. "I'm not very good at it because I haven't practiced it much," he admits. "Unless you can be successful at least two out of three times, it's gambling instead of base stealing."

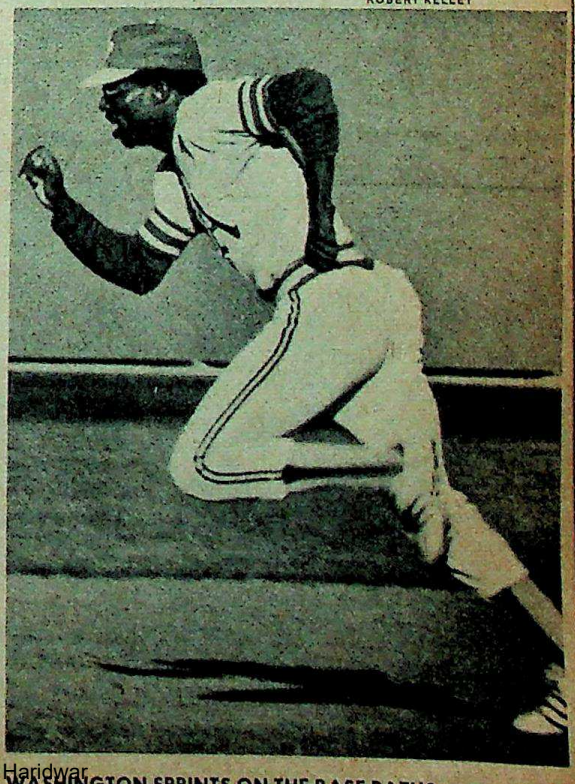
Arrogance Helps. Even if he did try to steal third more often, Brock would still face what Wills recalls as "the sleepless nights in September when the pain from the constant pounding keeps you up all night. After you hit 80, the other players gun for you. The first baseman slams you with his mitt on pick-off attempts, the pitcher concentrates on getting you instead of the batter, and the catcher isn't even behind the plate. On my last steal in 1962, the catcher was over in the batter's box waiting to throw me out."

"Arrogance," which Wills says is a requirement for stealing 100 bases or more, is not easy for the soft-spoken, unassuming Brock. He lives quietly in St. Louis in the off-season, tending to a flock of lucrative endorsements and businesses including a flower shop. With the most punishing steals ahead and an annual salary of $120,000 guaranteed, what keeps the son of a poor Louisiana family running? "Stealing is the most dramatic moment of the game," says Brock passionately. "The pitcher knows you're going, the crowd knows you're going, you know you're going. When you succeed, it's a great feeling. Nothing upsets the other team as much as a stolen base." The way he is going, the National League could learn to hate Lou Brock before this season is over.

The Novice Thief

While Lou Brock has been tormenting opponents this year, the fastest man in baseball has been something less than a sensation. Since joining the Oakland A's this spring as baseball's only "designated runner," Herb Washington, 23, has been careening around the bases like a sprinter without a road map—which is precisely what the former track star is. "He got on first once this year and asked me whether to steal on the second pitch," recalls A's Coach Irv Noren. "The only trouble was there was already someone on second." With only ten stolen bases in 16 attempts to his credit, Washington, who runs the 100-yd. dash in 9.2 sec., concedes, "Raw speed is not enough." Once he learns to get a good jump on pitchers, though, and masters the strategy that Maury Wills coached him on this spring, Washington promises, "I could steal 100 bases a year." A's Owner Charles Finley is already delighted with the progress of his $27,000-a-year pinch runner. "He's going to rise and shine in the '74 World Series," says Finley.

ROBERT KELLEY



WASHINGTON SPRINTS ON THE BASE PATHS
Raw speed is not enough.

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The Return of Slowhand

"Give God a solo!" the audiences shouted. In reply, a thin young man with an electric guitar would shuffle to the microphone, close his eyes and raise up a musical inferno. One of the first of the '60s superstars, Eric Clapton was a charter member of rock's inner circle—along with Bob Dylan, the Beatles and the Rolling Stones. As a member of the British trio Cream, he transformed simple blues lines into brilliant horizontal diffusions of sound. By 1970 Clapton was considered to be the world's top rock guitarist, had sold some $12 million worth of records. Then he stopped performing. Physically and spiritually depleted, he retired at 26—a heroin addict.

This spring there was a quiet announcement that he planned to cut a record in Miami, then make a five-week U.S. tour. He is clear-eyed and healthy, but retains some blunt and black views about drugs and musicians. "The same thing that makes a man pick up his guitar and play is the same thing that makes him take any drug he can find," he says. "Music is really escapism. It's shutting yourself off from everything else, going into a cupboard and staying there. That's what drugs do and that's what music does. They go hand in hand."

Identity Shield. Last winter, aware that dope was canceling out his life, Clapton submitted to an experimental form of acupuncture. A month later he was free of his addiction. Recalling the treatment he says, "The doctor, a middle-aged Scotswoman, and her husband, a preacher—they really cared. They, as much as anything, brought me through." Without dope, Clapton drinks more. He feels, perhaps optimistically, that he sweats out the poison in performance. He has also adopted a series of "disguises" as a kind of identity shield. One night he may appear onstage in a three-piece suit, the next in jeans.

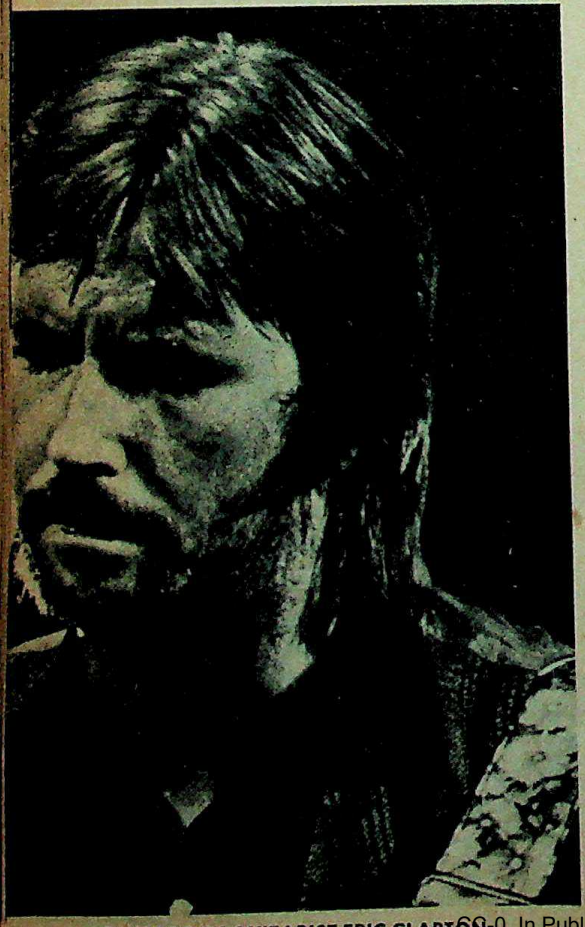
He opened his comeback tour in a steady drizzle at Yale Bowl in New Haven, Conn. The first number, appropriately *Let It Rain,* revealed a richer, stronger voice. From watching Stevie Wonder sing, Clapton says, he learned to breathe in great drafts from his diaphragm. "It sends the blood rushing to my head and gives me an incredible high," he laughs. "I sometimes get dizzy onstage."

Clapton's mature style—in songs like *Give Me Strength* and *Let It Grow* from his new album, *461 Ocean Boulevard*—is free of the ostentatious virtuosity that sometimes disfigured his playing in the past. But the quicksilver runs and keyboard rampages that earned him the ironic nickname "Slowhand" are still there. Sometimes Clapton turned his back to the audience to listen in turn to each musician in his excellent group—Carl Radle on bass, Dick Sims at the keyboards, Drummer Jamie Oldaker, Guitarist George Terry and Singer Yvonne Elliman.

When he launched into his old hit *Layla,* among the rock-'n'-roll songs that have logged the most radio air time, the animal in the audience awakened. With the first chords, a wave overflowed from the bleachers. A fight broke out. Slipping off his guitar, Clapton said paternally, "Be cool. I'll play you something to calm you down. God bless you, let's everybody stand back." Amazingly, they did, and he played *Presence of the Lord.* It was a rare reversal of the atmosphere rock stars labor to generate. The usual formula is to arouse the crowd early in a concert and then feed on the flow of energy. But Clapton vowed not to do the number again. Said he: "That's part of my responsibility to the audience."

At 29 he is sensible about his limits as a man. He no longer performs *Nobody Knows You When You're Down and Out.* "I've really been down and out, and there has always been someone who helped. It is hard to sing that and be absolutely genuine about it." About the future he is modest too. Asked what he would like to be doing ten years from now, he replies mildly, "I would like to be alive."

ANTHONY DE NONNO



BLUES-ROCK GUITARIST ERIC CLAPTON
Raising up a musical inferno.

Died. Alberta Christine Williams King, 69, mother of the late Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. (*see* THE U.S.).

■

Died. Delbert Eugene Webb, 75, Phoenix-based real-estate baron; of lung cancer; in Rochester, Minn. Webb was a promising semipro baseball pitcher before illness made him give up the game at 27. In 1929 he started his own construction company with one cement mixer and a few dozen wheelbarrows and tools, ultimately parlayed it into the Del E. Webb Corp., a $100 million empire of hotels, offices, planned retirement communities and other developments. With the late Dan Topping, Webb owned the New York Yankees during their postwar years of glory.

■

Died. Juan Domingo Perón, 78, President of Argentina (*see* THE WORLD).

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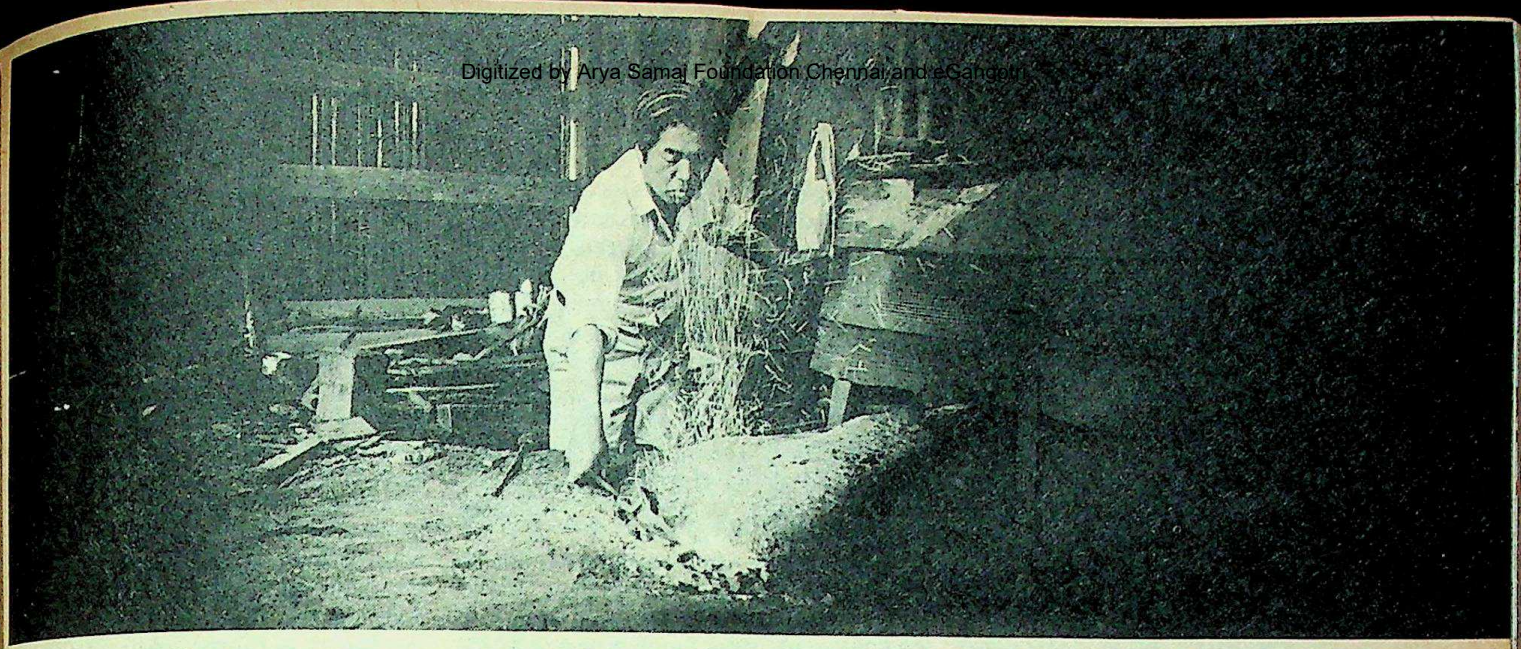
Died. Haj Amin el Husseini, 80, fanatic former Grand Mufti of Jerusalem; of a heart ailment; in Beirut. Haj Amin, whose elfin, almost angelic appearance concealed a wily, often ruthless nature, joined the British-backed Arab revolt against the Ottoman Empire during World War I, and in 1921 was made Mufti (a jurist who interprets Moslem religious law), in effect leader, of Palestine's Arabs. He then turned against the British, beginning a long career of violent opposition to Jewish settlement in Palestine. He instigated anti-Zionist pogroms, wiped out Arab opponents, and was driven into exile by the British. After years of cloak-and-daggery in various Arab lands, he served Adolf Hitler by broadcasting anti-Allied propaganda to the Moslem world from Berlin. He later lived regally in Cairo and Beirut, even plotting against the Jewish state.

■

Died. John Crowe Ransom, 86, poet, critic and longtime editor of the *Kenyon Review;* in Gambier, Ohio. Widely acclaimed for his poems, which were distinguished by compressed emotion expressed in courtly rhetoric, Ransom was also an influential teacher. After an instructor at Vanderbilt University in the 1920s, the Tennessee-born Rhodes scholar shepherded the Fugitives, a flock of young Southern poets (including Allen Tate and Robert Penn Warren) who celebrated the virtues of Southern agrarianism in defiance of the machine age. In 1937 Ransom moved to Kenyon College, where he attracted such poets as Randall Jarrell and Robert Lowell, and fathered the New Criticism, which stressed rigorous textual analysis rather than the study of an author's life and ideas. "A professional critic," Ransom once said, "is a person who, in dealing with a work of art, celebrates a little work of art in its honor

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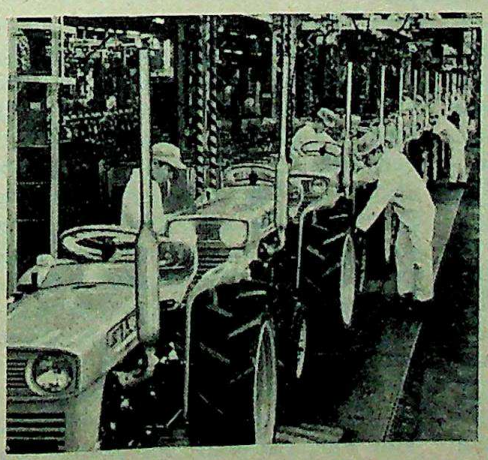


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Suing the Doctor

Higher office rents, the mounting costs of equipment and rising wages for office personnel are all contributing to the increasingly steep price that doctors everywhere must pay to practice their profession. In New York State last week, overhead costs grew still more. Premiums for malpractice insurance—which almost every physician carries to protect himself against lawsuits by his patients—rose by a whopping 93.5%. The increase will make the state's doctors pay the highest average malpractice rates in the nation and could have an enormous influence upon the way medicine is practiced.

New York is not the only state in which the cost of malpractice insurance is rising. Premiums in California climbed by more than 400% between 1968 and 1970 and are likely to go up again this year. Insurance rates in Maryland have recently increased by 46.9%, and may soar another 48% if the state's major malpractice insurer is granted its request for a hike. Even in such states as New Hampshire and South Carolina, where patients seem less prone to bring suit against their doctors, costs of coverage have recently moved upward.

There is a legitimate reason for the increases in premiums. Malpractice claims, once relatively rare, have become so common that one out of every four physicians practicing today can expect to be sued before the end of his career. In New York State, for example, courts handled 407 malpractice suits in 1968; by last year, the number of such suits had risen to 773, a 90% increase.

The number of suits has been increasing partly because patients are better informed and less tolerant of physicians' mistakes—which do happen more often than doctors would like to admit. Ever more dependent upon specialists, patients also feel fewer qualms about suing a brain surgeon or dermatologist than they would their old and trusted family physician. At the same time, fat malpractice cases are more and more appealing to lawyers, who stand to keep as much as one-third to one-half of any damages awarded by a court. Five years ago, successful New York lawsuits brought plaintiffs an average of $9,878; in 1973 the figure stood at $23,426. Juries have already handed out several awards exceeding $1 million in cases in which negligence was proved; a New York court recently awarded Tracy Gamell, 12, a total of $2,110,000 for brain damage suffered shortly after her birth at a Manhattan hospital. Nor, apparently, is negligence the only ground for a successful suit. Juries seem to be taking the attitude that when a patient dies during surgery his family is entitled to compensation, and they are calling upon insurance companies to provide it.

MIKE WITTE



"It's too good to be true, Edna—my son the doctor a partner with your son the malpractice lawyer . . ."

Crippling Costs. The resulting rise in rates is "a disaster," says Dr. Melville Platt, associate director of professional services at New York Hospital. Most doctors agree. A New York City obstetrician has to shell out $9,433 a year to keep himself adequately covered against lawsuits; a specialist in a high-risk field like neurosurgery must pay $14,329 for protection. Doctors elsewhere face similar hikes. Dr. Suzanne Graham, a San Francisco anesthesiologist, paid $2,100 for insurance when she started in practice three years ago. Now she must pay $5,100 for the same coverage. Says she: "It's a real crippler."

While there is still no evidence that high malpractice premiums have deterred young physicians from entering practice, there are indications that the costs are forcing older physicians out, thus contributing to the medical manpower shortage. Some semiretired doctors attempting to practice part time have found that they cannot afford to pay full premiums, and have had to abandon medicine completely.

But it is the patient who will ultimately bear the burden of increased costs. Many doctors now try to protect themselves against lawsuits by running extra tests and taking additional X rays, the price of which is reflected on the patient's bill. Physicians generally resent the need to practice such "defensive medicine" but feel that it is absolutely necessary. "We are shivering in our boots," says Dr. John Gregory, of Bronxville, N.Y., obstetrician. "We sometimes find that we face almost every patient more as an adversary than a friend." Gregory and his partners practice protect themselves by ordering a wide range of tests for every surgical patient over 35; these cost their patients up to $150 and an extra day in the hospital. "Years ago, we never would have done all of this unless we thought it was necessary in the particular case," says Gregory. "Today we do this routinely."

Higher bills, however, could be the least serious result of climbing malpractice costs. In 1965 the House Medical Group of Los Angeles was successfully sued by a patient who was partly paralyzed in a risky operation that nonetheless saved her life. Remembering the experience, Dr. William House, an orthopedic surgeon, said he would now hesitate before performing a similar procedure.

High-Risk Hope For Children's Cancer

Of the various types of cancer that afflict children, few are more fearsome than osteogenic sarcoma, a tumor that originates in the bone and spreads rapidly. By the time doctors can tell from the pain in a youngster's arm or leg that the product of such a tumor, the odds are strong that microscopic clusters of malignant cells have already reached the lungs. Removing the primary tumor by amputation saves the patient from early death. But in 80% of the 150 cases of this cancer reported among patients under age 15 in the U.S. annually, a secondary tumor appears in the lungs within a year. In most of the cases

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follows six to nine painful months later.

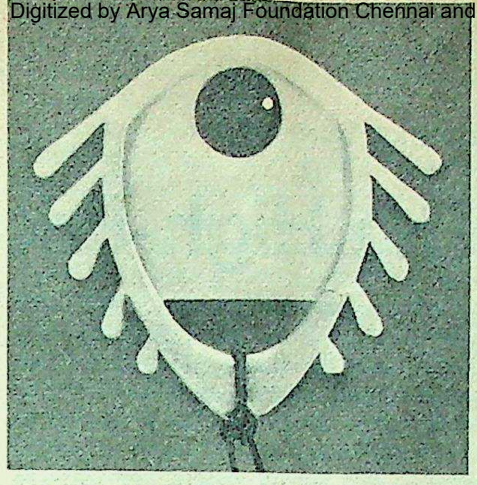
Until recently, all doctors could do in most of these cases was to try to slow the cancer's fatal course with chemotherapy. Now a new—though risky—way of using an old drug called methotrexate is improving the outlook for victims of osteogenic sarcoma.

One of the oldest of the anti-cancer drugs, methotrexate has been around since 1948. It works by interrupting the cells' reproductive cycle. In low dosages, it has long been effective in controlling leukemia and certain other cancers. But doctors were frustrated for years by the fact that standard doses of the highly toxic drug had no effect on osteogenic sarcoma cells, yet left patients suffering various unpleasant and even dangerous side effects—anemia, impaired liver and kidney function, mouth ulcers, nausea and hair loss.

In the 1960s, doctors devised a new technique. Instead of reducing dosage to decrease toxicity, they increased it. Reasoning that only enormous amounts of the drug could attack bone cancer cells effectively, they began administering potentially lethal doses of methotrexate, following those with an antidote called citrovorum factor, which protects normal cells from methotrexate's deadly action. Since then, massive doses of methotrexate followed by a citrovorum-factor "rescue" (CFR) have become an accepted method of treatment for bone cancer at several cancer centers.

Rescue Effort. At the Children's Cancer Research Foundation in Boston, Drs. Emil Frei III and Norman Jaffe have used the methotrexate-CFR treatment on Edward Kennedy Jr. (TIME, Dec. 3), and on 20 other patients. Methotrexate-CFR treatment is begun soon after amputation. Patients enter the hospital and receive a continuous intravenous infusion of methotrexate for six hours, during which they may be given more than 100 times the standard dose of the drug. Two hours after the methotrexate infusions are completed, the rescue effort begins. The patient is given citrovorum factor, first by injection, then by mouth every six hours for three days, while doctors monitor the patient's condition carefully and check the level of methotrexate in his blood. When it has dropped below the danger point, the patient can go home. He returns to the hospital in another three weeks, after his system has recovered, for more treatment.

The treatments, which continue for two years, have thus far produced few of methotrexate's more dangerous side effects—many patients have survived far longer than the usual year or less after amputation. Of 10 patients with metastatic disease treated at Boston since 1971, two have had complete recoveries and two have had partial ones; one patient, who has been off treatment for a year, is still totally free of cancer. Of 20 others treated since 1972, only two have developed lung metastases.



ROBINS' DALKON SHIELD

Doubts About IUDs

Of the various contraceptives available in the U.S. today, few have stirred more debate than the intrauterine device (IUD), which is now used by anywhere from 3 to 5 million American women. Developers of IUDs claim that the loops, coils and other designs are safe and effective. Opponents claim that they are neither. Last week actions by government agencies supported both sides of the argument.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare ordered more than 3,000 federally funded family planning clinics to stop prescribing a device called the Dalkon Shield, which is used by more than 2 million women. HEW also asked private physicians not to recommend it until doubts about the safety and effectiveness of the Dalkon Shield can be resolved. One recent study showed an unusually high 10% pregnancy rate among women using the Dalkon Shield (the rate for other IUDs is about 3%). More seriously, other findings indicate that pregnancy resulting from the Dalkon Shield's failure can be perilous. The manufacturer, A.H. Robins Co., has reported that more than 100 women, who became pregnant even though they used the device, developed uterine infections; seven of the women died from the infections.

HEW has stopped short of urging present Dalkon users to switch to another method of contraception immediately. But it is unlikely that physicians will prescribe Dalkon Shields for a while. Yielding to the request of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, the manufacturer has agreed to take the device off the market.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Public Health Service's Center for Disease Control in Atlanta gave most IUDs a stamp of at least limited approval. A CDC study conducted last year found IUD-related mortality (roughly 20 per million users per year) no higher than that from birth control pills, which can cause blood-clotting problems in some women. For that matter, both IUDs and pills are less risky than pregnancy itself.

MARKET WEEK

On a volume of 44,562,360 shares, the New York Stock Exchange Composite closed at 43.60, down 1.30 for the week ending July 5. The Dow Jones 30 stock industrial average was 791.77, down 10.64; Standard & Poor's 500 stock index was 83.68, down 2.32. Among significant N.Y.S.E. stocks:

Stock	High	Low	Close	Net Change
Allied Chem	37⅛	33¼	34¼	−3
Alum Co Am	44	42⅝	43⅝	+1⅜
Amer Airlines	8¾	8	8	− ¼
Am Brands	35¾	34	34½	− ⅝
Am Can	27	25¾	26⅜	− ⅝
Am Motors	6	5⅝	5⅝	− ⅛
AT&T	46¾	44¾	44¾	−1⅞
Anac Cop	21¾	21⅛	21¼	− ¼
Avon Prod	48⅜	44⅛	44⅝	−2⅞
Beth Steel	30⅝	29⅞	30⅜	+ ⅜
Boeing	17¾	16⅛	16⅛	−1½
Burling Ind	20¼	19¾	20¼	+ ¼
Burroughs	100⅝	96	97⅛	−2½
Cater Trac	59¼	57⅛	57⅛	− ⅞
Champ Intl	16⅜	15¾	16	+ ⅜
Chrysler	15¾	15¼	15⅜	− ⅛
Clark Equip	30½	29	29¼	−1¼
Control Data	25⅜	20¼	21¾	−2¼
Corn Gl Wks	79¼	74½	74½	−4⅛
Dow Chem	66¾	64⅝	64⅞	− ½
DuPont	164½	158¾	160¼	−1½
Eastern Air	6¼	5⅝	5⅞	− ⅛
East Kodak	105¼	99⅝	100	−3⅞
El Paso N G	11½	10¾	11¼	− ½
Exxon	70⅞	70⅛	70⅜	+ ¼
Ford Motor	49½	48½	48⅞	− ⅛
Gen Dynam	23¾	22⅛	22⅛	−1¾
Gen Elec	49¾	47	47⅜	−1⅞
Gen Foods	23¾	22¾	23½	+ ⅜
Gen Motors	48⅞	47¾	48⅛	− ½
Gen Tel & El	22½	21⅛	21⅜	− ⅝
Ga Pac	36¼	35⅜	35½	− ¾
Goodyear	16⅝	15¾	15¾	− ¾
Great A & P	12⅜	10⅝	10⅝	−1⅜
Greyhound	14⅛	13⅜	13⅝	− ¼
Gulf Oil	19⅞	19½	19½	− ⅜
IBM	213½	205¼	205¾	−7
Int Harv	23⅜	22¾	23	None
Int Nickel	28	26⅝	27¼	− ½
Int Paper	48⅞	47¼	47¾	+ ⅛
Int Tel & Tel	20⅛	18⅞	19¼	− ¼
Johns Man	17½	16¾	16⅞	− ⅝
Kraftco	41	40	41	None
Kresge SS	34⅝	31	31⅞	−2⅛
Litton Ind	7¾	7⅜	7½	− ⅛
Lockheed	4¼	4	4	None
LTV Corp	9⅛	8½	8½	− ½
McD Doug	14⅛	13⅜	13⅜	− ¾
Merck Co	79⅝	76⅛	76¼	−2¼
3M	73¾	69⅝	69⅞	−3⅝
Mobil Oil	40⅛	38¾	39⅛	−1
NCR	32½	29¼	30	−2
Occid Pet	10⅛	9½	9⅝	− ¼
Owens Ill	39⅜	38⅜	39¼	+ ½
Pac Gas & El	21⅜	20½	20¾	+ ⅛
Pan Am	3⅜	3½	3½	− ⅛
Penn Cen	2⅛	1¾	1⅞	− ⅛
Penney J.C.	73⅜	71⅛	71⅞	− ¼
Philip Morris	55⅞	52½	53⅜	−1⅛
Polaroid	36¾	23	24⅛	−10¼
Proc Gam	101¾	98¾	99¼	− ½
RCA	15⅝	14⅛	14½	−1
Reyn Ind	43⅛	41⅝	41⅝	− ⅞
Rockwell Int	26¼	25⅜	25¾	− ¼
Sears Roe	84¼	81⅛	81⅝	−1¼
Shell Oil	45¼	41½	43¼	−1¾
Sou Cal Ed	17¾	17⅛	17¾	+ ⅝
Std Oil Cal	27	26⅛	26½	− ¼
Tenneco	20⅛	19½	19¾	− ⅛
Texaco Inc	25⅛	24⅝	25	− ⅛
Textron	17⅝	17	17⅛	− ⅜
Time Inc	38½	37½	38	+ ¼
TWA	8¼	7¾	7⅞	− ¼
UAL Inc	23¾	20⅞	21⅞	−1⅜
Union Car	40⅝	39	39¼	− ⅞
Utd Aircraft	26¾	25½	25¾	− ½
US Steel	44⅞	43½	44⅜	+ ¼
Westinghouse	13⅜	12¾	13	− ⅜
Woolworth	14⅛	13⅜	13⅞	− ⅛
Xerox	116¼	108	108⅛	−7

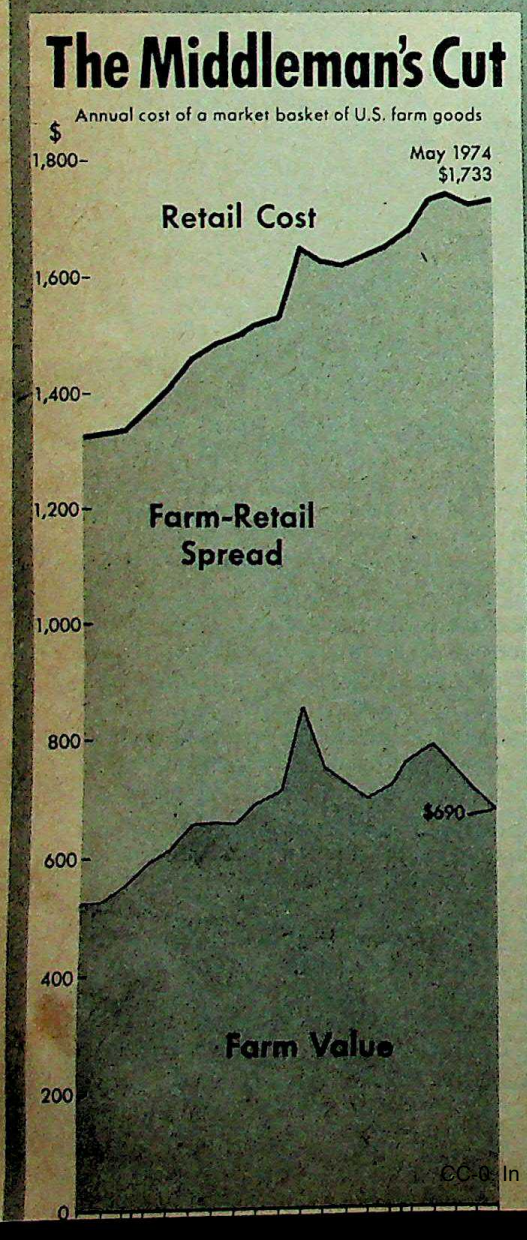
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LARRY KRAMER

SHOPPER USING CALCULATOR IN CALIFORNIA



FOOD

The High-Priced Spread

By most conventional signs, the prices of food to the U.S. consumer should now be coming down after two years of dizzying and painful rises. Prices received by farmers for some key items —wheat, corn, cattle, hogs—dropped sharply last spring, record harvests are anticipated and the surge in agricultural exports that did much to boost U.S. food prices last year is now waning (TIME, July 1). Yet only a few grocery prices —for poultry, eggs, dairy goods and some cuts of beef and pork—have come down significantly. On average, retail food prices rose .9% in May, a month during which wholesale food prices dropped .6%. During the first quarter of 1974, the prices that farmers got for all the ingredients going into white bread fell 32%—but the store price for the finished loaves scooted up 5.5%.

Why? Part of the answer is a lag in prices from farm to supermarket. For example, Arnold Bakers, a New York breadmaker, until recently was paying $13.50 per 100 lbs. for flour under contracts signed last winter and spring —though the immediate-delivery price for flour fell as low as $9.60, reflecting declines in wheat. Also, some agricultural prices have kept on rising: sugar recently hit a record 26¢ per lb., boosting prices of goods ranging from Life Savers to Kool-Aid soft drinks. But the biggest reason is that "middlemen" (a term covering bakeries, canners, meat packers, supermarket chains and trucking firms) are not passing along to housewives much of the decline in farm prices.

Instead, they are keeping their own prices high, or even raising them further, to cover inflated operating costs that they must pay, and to refatten profits that were squeezed thin during the period of price controls and freezes (farm prices were never under any sort of control). Supermarkets are also trying to recover losses suffered early last year as a result of a recently ended price war launched by A. & P. that kept retail prices from soaring even higher.

Share Dips. As a result, the spread between what housewives pay for food and what farmers get for the same goods has widened markedly *(see chart)*. Last August farmers were getting an unusually high 52¢ of every dollar that the housewife spent for food; in May their share was down to 40¢. The remaining 60¢ went to the middlemen.

Middlemen are quick to argue that they are merely regaining their traditional share of the retail food dollar [illegible] doing so at a time when farm costs are still high by historic standards, they are adding substantially to food prices. Food processors and retailers assert that they need the money to pay steadily rising bills of their own. Atlanta-based Colonial Stores, for example, reports that its wage costs have risen 10% to 12% in the past year. Gasoline and electric costs have shot up as much as 50% in the past eight months; and for some food processors, the price of tinplated steel used to make cans has leaped 30%. Los Angeles Wholesaler Randolph Price asserts: "There is not much chance for retail prices to diminish. There are too many elements that must be added to the cost of the product by the time it gets to the store."

Less Capital. But there is also some suspicion that middlemen, especially grocery chains, have been adding unwarrantedly to their profits. Last week Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz set a panel of experts to studying why retail meat prices remain high despite drops at the farm level, and the Federal Trade Commission launched a study to determine how the size and market shares of major store chains affect competition and prices. Supermarket chiefs insist their profits are still low. The chains are earning only 9¢ profit on each $10 in sales, *v.* 7¢ last year. "Food retailers in this country have for the most part done an admirable job of serving customers at a modest profit," declares A. & P. Chairman William Kane.

Profits as a percentage of sales can be misleading, however. One of the characteristics of the supermarket business is that it takes far less capital to build a chain of groceries than to start an oil refinery or steel mill, and the stores generate much more sales for each dollar invested —so that a paper-thin profit margin on sales can yield a satisfactory return on investment. In any case, supermarket profits have been rising dramatically recently. A. & P. earned $10.3 million in the first quarter of its current fiscal year, almost as much as the $12.2 million it earned in all of fiscal 1973 (when its profits were held down both by controls and by the price war that it had initiated). Colonial's profits per share in the first half of 1974 leaped 34% over the same period last year.

Any chance that retail food prices will drop has been dimmed further in the past few weeks. The price of wheat on the Chicago Board of Trade has risen from $3.56 per bu. a month ago to $4.36 last week—still below the record $6.45 last February. One reason: farmers have been holding crops back from the market. The price of live cattle [illegible]

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risen from $37 per 100 lbs. two weeks ago to $44.57 last week, and hogs in the last month have gone from $25 to $38.57 —still below their peaks last August. In response to farm-belt complaints that prices previously had dropped so low as to threaten bankruptcies among some animal raisers and feedlot operators, the Government is buying up $100 million of "excess" beef and pork for use in its school-lunch program, and has asked Australia and New Zealand to "voluntarily" restrain meat exports to the U.S. Bumper crops of many farm products could still drive down some retail food prices this year—but in view of the widening spread between farm costs and retail food prices, the consumer would be wise not to count on it.

WALL STREET

Merging to Survive

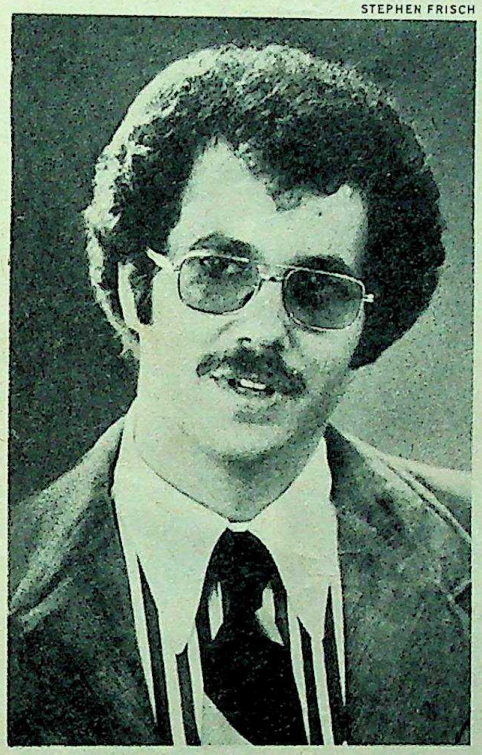
The wholesale disappearance of brokerage houses that threatened Wall Street in 1969 and 1970 was never averted; it was merely delayed. It began in earnest in January 1973, when stock prices started on a slide that has never really stopped, and daily trading volume sagged beneath the break-even point (generally pegged at 16 million shares a day on the New York Stock Exchange). Since then, 40 Big Board firms have liquidated or merged, and the survivors have suffered staggering losses—$47.8 million for the 435 remaining N.Y.S.E. retail firms in April of this year alone. Last week it was the turn of one of Wall Street's oldest houses: W.E. Hutton & Co., founded in 1886, confirmed that it was talking merger with Thomson & McKinnon Auchincloss Kohlmeyer Inc.

Running Out. Hutton, like many other brokerages, is suffering from a shortage of capital. Except for a handful of big houses that have sold their own stock to the public, most brokerages subsist on capital contributed by partners and term loans from outside investors; as the loans mature, the outsiders have lately tended to take their money and run. Hutton's partners put another $380,000 into the business in May and negotiated a revised loan agreement with two banks; but even so, the firm last month had less than $1 of capital for every $10 of debts—the point at which the Stock Exchange warns a member firm to act. If the merger fails and Hutton's debt-to-capital ratio climbs above 15 to 1, the firm would face suspension.

Other brokerages also are scrambling for survival. Last month, Blyth Eastman Dillon broke off merger talks with Paine, Webber, Jackson & Curtis, then promptly closed ten of its 55 branch offices and fired 350 employees. Hayden Stone Inc. and Shearson, Hammill are preparing for a merger by Labor Day; reports are circulating on the Street that as many as 1,000 employees will be laid off. Perhaps 100 other firms are talking merger, and the best guess as to how many more Big Board brokerages will merge or liquidate by the end of the year is 50.

No help is in sight to break the trend. Stock prices last week sank to a 1974 low of 791 on the Dow Jones industrial average and closed at 792. Those brokerages that have invested heavily in bonds have been grievously hurt by soaring interest rates, since bond prices go down as interest rates rise; and last week rates went higher still. Several major banks lifted their prime rate to 12%, a figure unimaginable until this year. Small wonder that there is more gloom —and unemployment—on Wall Street than since the Depression.

STEPHEN FRISCH



CONSULTANT RANDALL FIELDS

Going Private

During stock market slumps, many a corporation president entertains the Mittyesque dream of buying his entire company back from the public. Now stock prices have dipped so low, even while corporate profits generally perk higher, that some firms can actually afford to do it. Most are small companies that went public during the go-go '60s, when joining a booming market was an excellent way to raise capital and also provided the means—through attractive stock options—for luring talented executives. "Now every motivation seems to have gone away. Probably 80%-90% of the over-the-counter traded companies should not be publicly held at all," says Randall Fields, a California consultant who is advising companies to return to private ownership.

By taking such advice, a small company gains several benefits. It escapes the cost of undergoing audits, issuing annual reports and filing information required by the Securities and Exchange Commission. It avoids wrangles with shareholders over corporate strategy. And it can keep secret such information as its annual sales and profits, and the salaries paid to executives.

Wally Findlay Galleries International, Inc. is one firm that needed no urging. Findlay, a Chicago-based art dealer with sales of $9.5 million a year, went public at $13.50 a share in 1969. The price reached $18.25 in 1970 but then skidded to a paltry $3 or so in 1973, even though earnings, at 86¢ a share, were at a near record. The company offered $6.70 to buy back shares. Other companies that have taken the same backward step include Ad Press, a New York printing house with sales of $7.5 million a year, that went public at $15 a share in 1969 and paid $3 a share to buy back stock that had slipped to $2.25 in the market by 1973; and Houston-based Diversified Design Disciplines, Inc., an architectural and engineering firm (annual income: $9 million) whose stock was initially offered at $12.50 in 1972 and has since sunk to $4.50. The company says that it will try to repurchase the shares for $7 each.

"Small companies need the flexibility of being privately held," says Robert Varner, president of Varner-Ward Leasing Company, a San Francisco business (annual sales: $5.6 million) that went public at $9.50 a share in 1964. In 1971 it turned down a dubious acquisition that Varner concedes "would have made our stock look like the fair-haired boy of the market." Another company did make the purchase, and the price of its stock shot up—temporarily. Varner-Ward shareholders were outraged. If the firm had stayed private, Varner would never have been under any pressure. Finally, Varner and four associates decided to buy the company back. Though the stock was trading at less than $2, they paid $3.25 "to leave a good taste in stockholders' mouths."

Worth More. Such *noblesse oblige,* however, is not the only reason that companies going private offer above-market prices. Obviously, stockholders do not have to sell, and some are reluctant to part with their shares for a fraction of their onetime value. Merle Norman Cosmetics Inc. of Los Angeles (sales: $28 million) offered $13 a share for stock that was first sold publicly in 1969 at $25 and later rose as high as $32.75. But 90,000 of an original 740,000 shares are still publicly held, and dissidents who believe that the stock was worth more than $13—although the market price had fallen below $7—are suing to block the repurchase.

Fortunately for company managers, they do not have to persuade every last stockholder to let go of his shares. By federal law, once a company has fewer than 300 outside stockholders it is released from most SEC reporting requirements. The holdouts are then under pressure to sell since there is a greatly reduced market for the stock.

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The Great Host Hunt

Wanted: young journalist (under 40), bright, personable, quick-thinking, with warmth, charm and humor. Must be wide-awake at 7 a.m. Top pay (around $350,000 a year), plus travel, fame and social status. Women need not apply.

Seven and a half million early-morning television viewers are looking for someone to watch over their eye-opening cup of bad news. Before the start of the fall season, NBC must make the big decision—who will be the man to fill the late Frank McGee's spot on *Today*? Explains one network insider about the Great Host Hunt: "They're trying to make up their minds whether to go with somebody controversial, somebody offbeat or Mr. Nice Guy."

Apparently NBC has chosen at least to stick with the solid news flavor established by McGee. The final-round list of eight candidates is culled entirely from its own news department. Each of them has recently been scooped up from other assignments and plunked down behind the curving desk for a one-week tryout opposite Barbara Walters.

Despite an avowed preference for a younger man ("We have an interest in perking up identification with a younger audience," says Executive Producer Stuart Schulberg), four of the eight are over 40. The list: Los Angeles Reporter Jess Marlow, 44; Washington Correspondent Douglas Kiker, 44; *Today's* Washington editor Bill Monroe, 53; and that perennial *Today* substitute and network newsman, Edwin Newman, 55; London Correspondent Garrick Utley, 34; New York Anchor Man Jim Hartz, 34; *Tomorrow* Host Tom Snyder, 38; and White House Correspondent Tom Brokaw, 34.

The man for *Today* is expected to be more than just a good newsman, of course. Says Co-Host Walters: "The person must be able to do interviews and ad-lib those awful 30 seconds at the end of the show." He must also supply what Schulberg calls "chemical balance" to the stand-up comic pace of *Today* Reviewer Gene Shalit and the alternately sweet-and-strident Walters. And he must bring himself to do commercials.

A couple of candidates feel that they will never have to get down to the crass tacks of commercials. Says Monroe, for example: "I'm a newsman who doesn't translate into a co-host."

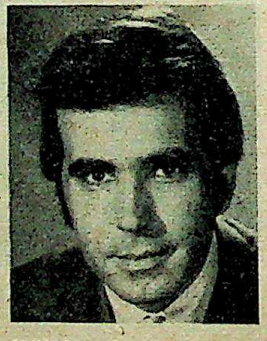
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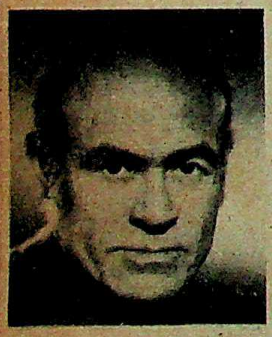
HARTZ



BARBARA WALTERS & POSSIBLE PARTNERS



SNYDER



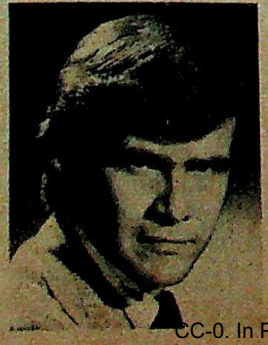
MONROE



MARLOW



NEWMAN



BROKAW



KIKER



UTLEY

Initially, Tom Snyder was considered a leading contender. But his aggressive delivery and tendency to [illegible] —carefully cultivated for *Tomorrow* —were too strong for *Today's* early light Mail after his May appearance ran disillusioning 775 for, 530 against. Insiders add that Snyder may have squelched his own chances by descending on the *Today* studio with big-time bravado, miffing the show's crew.

Currently top two in the game of musical co-hosts are Utley and Brokaw. Utley could be a sentimental favorite: he is the son of NBC Chicago Correspondent Clifton Utley and former NBC Reporter Frayn Utley. He is also an experienced newsman. Utley's relaxed, occasionally eloquent style apparently appealed to *Today* watchers. His mail is running 1,010 pro, only 65 con.

Formidable Edge. Fan mail for the boyish, neatly polished Brokaw is running at about the same volume, with so far not one word of disfavor. Because it has only been a year since he was plucked from Los Angeles' KNBC to compete with CBS's Dan Rather, Brokaw's success surprised network executives. "Many of us did not realize that he had such poise, wit and delightful humor," burbles Schulberg. Among those who matter—NBC Board Chairman Julian Goodman, President Herbert Schlosser, News President Richard Wald—Brokaw is also thought to have "more magnetism and impact" (read: sex appeal). That could be a formidable edge.

Both Utley and Brokaw say they enjoyed doing the show, liked the challenge of the spontaneous format. But also stick at reading commercials. "The question," says Utley, "whether a reporter does not lose his journalistic virginity, by doing commercials. And can you recover that virginity later?" Brokaw does not question. "I find doing commercials repulsive," he states. "But that is a job requirement, it would not be negotiable with me."

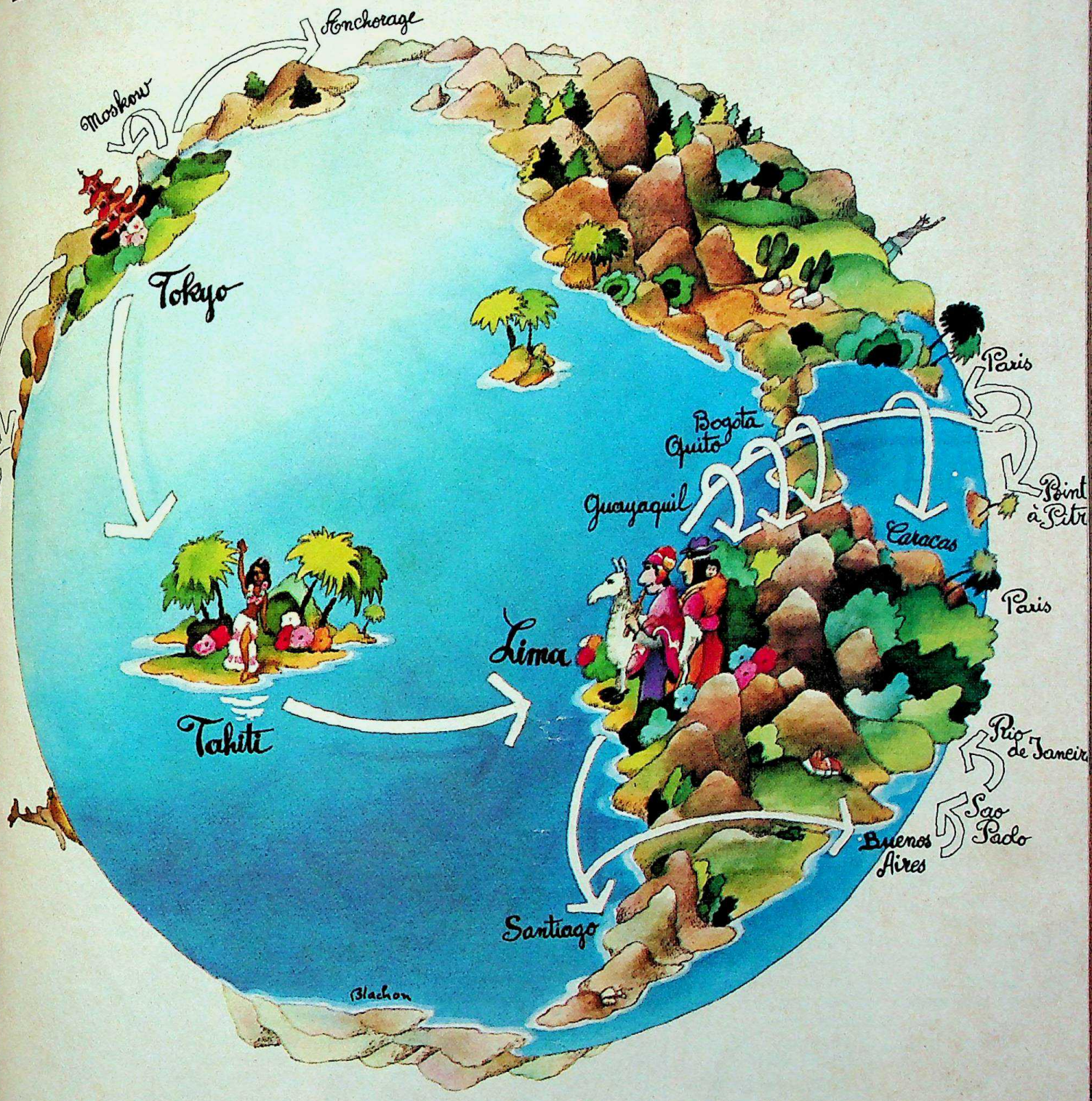
The network contends that commercial duties may be negotiable. By tinkering with a formula that brings in some $20 million a year in advertising, is hardly likely. It is well remembered that sponsorship fell off significantly during the 14-month hostship of John Chancellor, who hated the assignment and refused to flog. Worst of all, Walters says that if the new host will not do commercials, neither will she. (Walters modestly denies veto power, though she adds: "I have talked some with Dick Wald and Herb Schlosser.")

Today's trials are nearly over. Researchers are currently conducting viewer surveys, and by the end of the month NBC expects to say an official good morning to Jess, Ed, Bill, Doug, Tom, Tom or Garrick.

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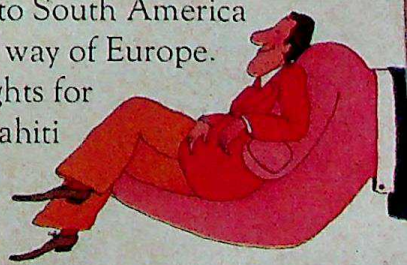


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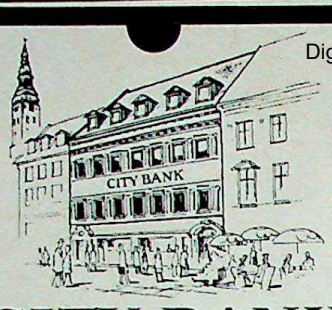
So now it's just that much easier to schedule connecting flights for business anywhere in the world. And in addition, to sample the delights of Tahiti along the way.



AIR FRANCE

We understand.

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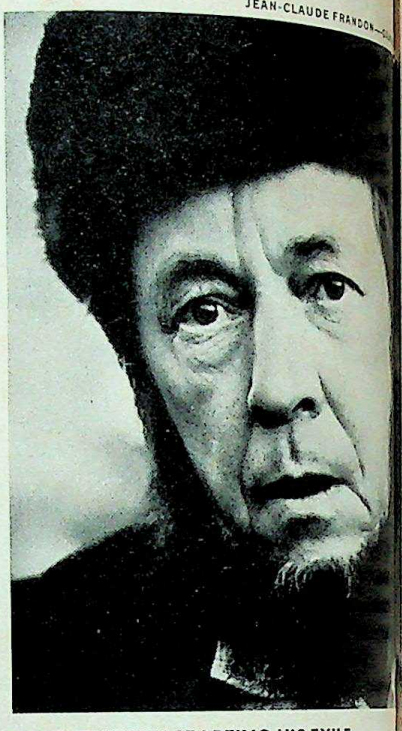
by ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN

Why is it that a major Christian writer has appeared in Russia where the Christians have been oppressed for decades, while in the West, where there is complete freedom of religious practice, literature is nearly synonymous with agnosticism and moral relativism?
—Czeslaw Milosz, author of *The Captive Mind*

Americans have followed Alexander Solzhenitsyn's distant struggle with the Soviet government and his final, forced hegira into exile with the kind of awe that might attend the trial and burning of Joan of Arc. He is the world's most celebrated writer. *The Gulag Archipelago,* with massive printings now pouring its cornucopia of Communist cruelties into book clubs and bookstores all over the U.S., seems about to become his most popular work.

The going literary view, by contrast, is that Solzhenitsyn's fame depends on politics more than art, that he is a great man, but not a great writer. That is probably a shortsighted judgment. In America it will be necessary to wait for first-rate translations of his books, since each succeeding volume (*Gulag* will be no exception) stirs more than the usual storm about inaccuracies and betrayal of spirit that mars most translations. More important, one will have to see completed the already vast and elaborate mixture of fact and fiction through which he is attempting to restore to his countrymen the history of Russia since 1914. Solzhenitsyn is also clearly working on the creation of a rich, interlocking literary world that will revive a 19th century conception of man, shorn of his fond hopes for progress, but still a creature endowed with conscience and a soul who has need for piety, loyalty, continuity and simplicity in order to survive.

The Gulag Archipelago was written expressly for Soviet readers. Again and again the author says, in effect: We thought the Moscow purges of 1937 were more or less isolated convulsions of terror. Not so. The corruption of Soviet justice did not begin with Stalin as we were taught, but with Lenin, in 1918. Then he goes back to document the successive waves of political prisoners—from engineer "wreckers" of the Revolution and


JEAN-CLAUDE FRANCON—SIPA

SOLZHENITSYN STARTING HIS EXILE
Love for a monstrous world.

peasants caught up in collectivizat... right down to whole divisions of R... Army soldiers captured by the Germ... in World War II and then returned... the U.S.S.R. All these, from 191... 1953, flowed through the ports a... channels of the Gulag Archipelago, ... Soviet penal state-within-a-state wi... myriad prisons, interrogation cen... and slave-labor camps stretched f... Leningrad to Komsomolsk and vari... ly engulfed some 60 million souls. G... also makes clear that Soviet jus... evolved in a straight line from Le... suggestion that the judiciary be allo... to legalize terror into a system of ex... judicial reprisal in which police, inte... gators, judge and jury were all one ... the "death penalty was no longer a p... ishment but a means of social defen...

What kind of shock such a b... must be for the Russians who manag... read it is difficult to imagine. For s... Stalin is still a hero. To most, Len... close to a political saint. Western... —courtesy of cold war propaganda... free press and honest scholarship... gard both men with varying degrees... repugnance. Even to them, much of... cruelty and stupidity will seem dre... enough. Solzhenitsyn produces mom... that are unbearable, breaking thro... all defenses that the mid-20th cen... reader is likely to have raised against... ing afflicted by the pain of others.

The prison world that the author picts in most of his books is often a... pared to hell or a nightmare. Yet the... thor admits, "I have come almost to ... that monstrous world." For, along ...

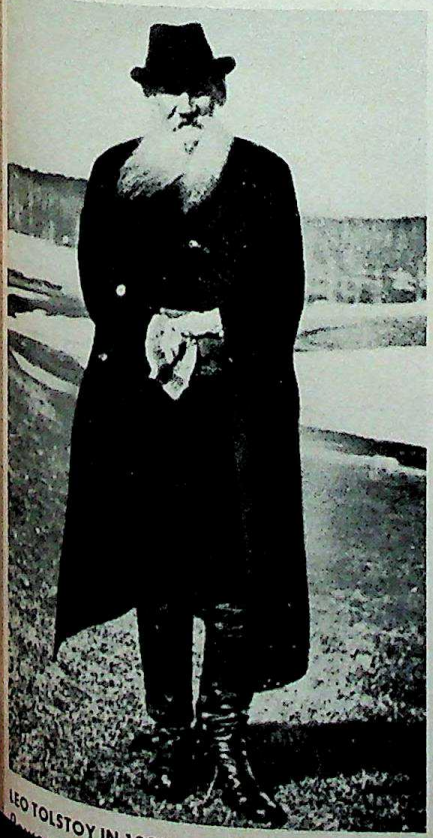
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bestial cruelty and institutional torment, he found great courage and comradeship among fellow prisoners in the Archipelago. The memory of it has permanently shaped his attitude toward mankind. The "fearlessness of those who have lost everything" encourages him. "Own nothing," he counsels those who have been arrested. A food package, he warns, "transforms you from a free though hungry person into one who is anxious and cowardly . . . These material things will keep you from entering the heavenly kingdom of the liberated spirit."

Shorn of hope, power, possessions, he experienced a serene vision of life. Good and evil exist, he concluded. Man knows one from another and even under terrible stress can sometimes find the courage to act upon his knowledge. As a result, Solzhenitsyn regards moral relativism as a virulent modern disease, though he distinguishes between actions natural to man—some of them violent—and unnatural cruelties. In *The First Circle,* after a discussion of what is right and what is wrong, a peasant-prisoner named Spiridon remarks: "Wolfhounds are right, cannibals are wrong."

The various implications of these views are familiar enough. Power corrupts and so do possessions. So do pride and pragmatism. "The political genius," Solzhenitsyn writes with savage irony, "lies in extracting success, even from the people's ruin." Similar notions, passionately held, drove Tolstoy to abandon family and property and preach nonresistance as well as noncooperation with any of the institutions of society. Solzhenitsyn resembles Tolstoy in a number of ways. Courage and the willingness to share danger with comrades, however, are among the highest virtues represented in his books—and life. Tolstoy believed that men cannot shape history. In *August 1914,* Solzhenitsyn steadily tries to refute this view. He believes, besides, that men are morally obliged to fight in defense of their country. Why did you do it? a girl asks a boy who has just volunteered for the army, in *August 1914.* Both have been influenced by the doctrine of nonresistance. "I pity Russia," he replies.



LEO TOLSTOY IN 1908

"Insects." So does Solzhenitsyn. His prime historic target is revolutionary ideology, because of its power to subvert private conscience, encouraging men to see their fellow men as "insects" (Lenin's word) to be virtuously crushed for the good of the cause. It was in the name of Marxism-Leninism that the horrors of Gulag were visited upon the Russian people. The book is one of the most overwhelming attacks on the practical applications of that ideology ever written. What Solzhenitsyn urges in another remarkable document, *Letter to the Soviet Leaders,* is that the Soviet government abandon its ideology entirely. It not only has been a scourge and a failure in the past, he says, but now threatens to lead the U.S.S.R. into a war with China. Shrimps may learn to whistle—as Nikita Khrushchev said in another connection—before such a thing is done by the Soviet government. "Human nature," Solzhenitsyn once wrote, "changes not much faster than the geological face of the earth." The author's suggestion—in *Gulag*—that the masters of the Kremlin put on trial the men most evidently guilty of the past imprisonment, torture and murder of so many millions of their countrymen will probably be ignored, too.

In the old cold war days, Americans might have joined Solzhenitsyn in his urgings. But détente, the benefits of trade, the establishment of a Chase bank in Moscow, and the hope for arms limitations have made the U.S. more tolerant of the Kremlin. The convergent development of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., though, will not much liberalize Russian society. Like environmentalists here and the economists of the Club of Rome, Solzhenitsyn has also urged his country to turn away from its dream of Western technological progress. Instead, he suggests, it should create in the Northeast territory a vast community in which science might be used to create a way of life closer to the earth, to the customs of ancient Russia.

Even if little comes of his advice, history may yet judge Solzhenitsyn a success—and not merely in the realm of art. For he is surely one of those towering witnesses thrown up by history (or God) in moments of crisis to remind the world that the pursuit of material progress is no way to the peace that passes understanding. For the first time, though, that message may concern survival as well as salvation. ■ Timothy Foote

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STREISAND IN *PETE'S SAKE*

July Pork Bellies

FOR PETE'S SAKE
Directed by PETER YATES
Screenplay by STANLEY SHAPIRO and MAURICE RICHLIN

The screwball comedy stubbornly refuses to be reborn. It flourished in the '30s and into the '40s, urged on by the talents of such as Howard Hawks *(Bringing Up Baby, His Girl Friday)* and Preston Sturges *(Sullivan's Travels, The Lady Eve)* and considerably abetted by the general delirium of the times. The format flourished under Sturges all during World War II but died out soon after the war ended.

Now that film makers are paying scrupulous attention to the old genres, and such formulas as the police thriller, the horror flick and the private-eye caper have been dusted off with success, screwball comedy was hardly likely to escape. All in the name of homage, Peter Bogdanovich ripped off *Bringing Up Baby,* called it *What's Up Doc?* and made himself a hit. *Doc* also represented Barbra Streisand's initiation into the realm of frenetic comedy.

If eye-popping, mouth contortion and shredding of the vocal cords were qualifications for a comedienne, then Streisand would be the new Carole Lombard. But she has none of Lombard's ease of spirit, her giddy eccentricity or quick, akimbo intelligence. Streisand is only aggressive. She scrounges for laughs like a bargain-basement shopper.

Here she plays a Brooklyn housewife named Henrietta, whose cab-driver husband Pete (Michael Sarrazin) is 32 years old and still trying to pull himself through college. One early summer's day, Pete's dispatcher down at the ga-

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rage passes along a hot commodities market tip: a trade deal with the Russians will make the price of pork bellies go through the roof come July. All Pete needs is $3,000 capital. He is without much enterprise (let it not be forgotten that Michael Sarrazin is not the star of this movie), so Henrietta goes out to get the grubstake. This initially involves doing business with a loan shark. The pork-belly deal is delayed, so the shark sells her contract to a madam, who sells it to a couple of Mafia killers, who sell it to some cattle rustlers. As each new situation becomes increasingly preposterous, laughter is supposed to rise in proportion.

The movie, however, is like a case of aggravated assault, so eager, so desperate is it to be funny. Director Peter Yates *(Bullitt)* manages action briskly enough, but the script remains intractable. It was written by the authors of *Pillow Talk* and offers the same sort of antique situation comedy: a virtuous woman flirts with immorality and emerges unsullied and, indeed, victorious. Achieving this happy result requires some odd fancy-stepping. Pete, knowing that his wife had tried to be a whore (but not knowing, as the audience does, that she had been unsuccessful at it), forgives her by giving her a ring and proclaiming his pride that she loved him enough to "sell herself."

That the writers obviously mean Pete to believe this, and intend for audiences to accept it as well, is one of the few genuinely amusing things in the movie. Written right and played right, Pete's testimonial could have been the sort of denouement that was a Preston Sturges specialty, an inadvertent confession of blindness and stupidity. It could have had a well-honed double edge of irony, but such style should not really be expected from film makers who prefer a bludgeon to a blade. ■ Jay Cocks

Unsafe at Any Speed

HERBIE RIDES AGAIN

Directed by ROBERT STEVENSON

Screenplay by BILL WALSH

Although the leading actress in this one-horse farce is Helen Hayes, a nice old lady who lives in a firehouse, the real star is a car called Herbie. He is a Volkswagen Beetle who, befitting a Disney Studios creation, does wheelstands when people insult him or transports them to trysting places as the mood takes him.

Herbie Rides Again is a sequel to *The Love Bug*, wherein Herbie made his debut. Kids gobble up the automotive anthropomorphism and hardly seem to notice that the movie lacks the craftsmanship that used to be a Disney trademark. Parents—or fathers, anyway—may take some consolation from the presence of Stefanie Powers, who is more pulchritudinous and more shapely than the Disney folks usually allow. ■ J.C.

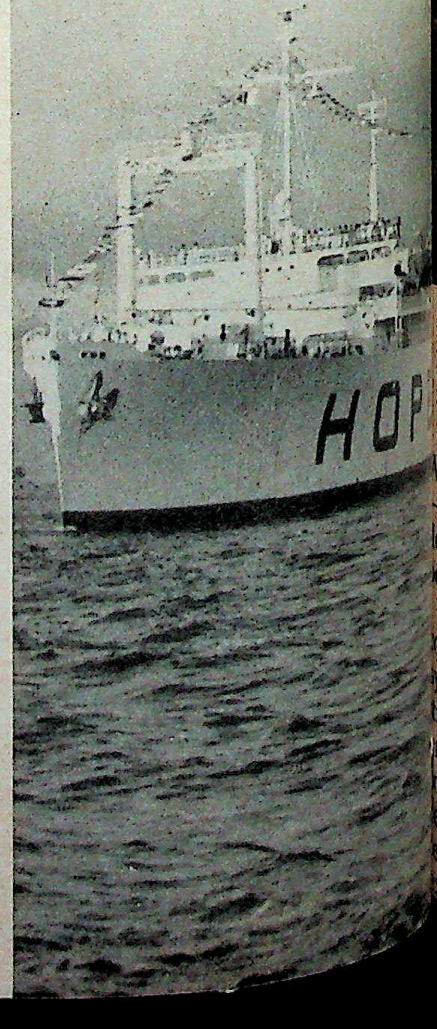
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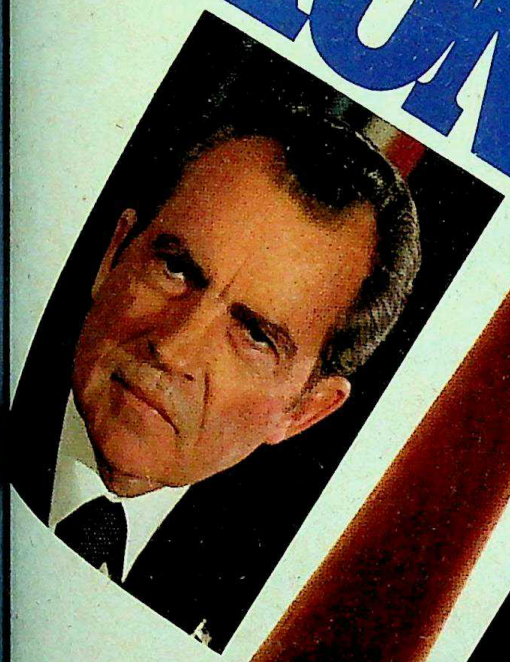
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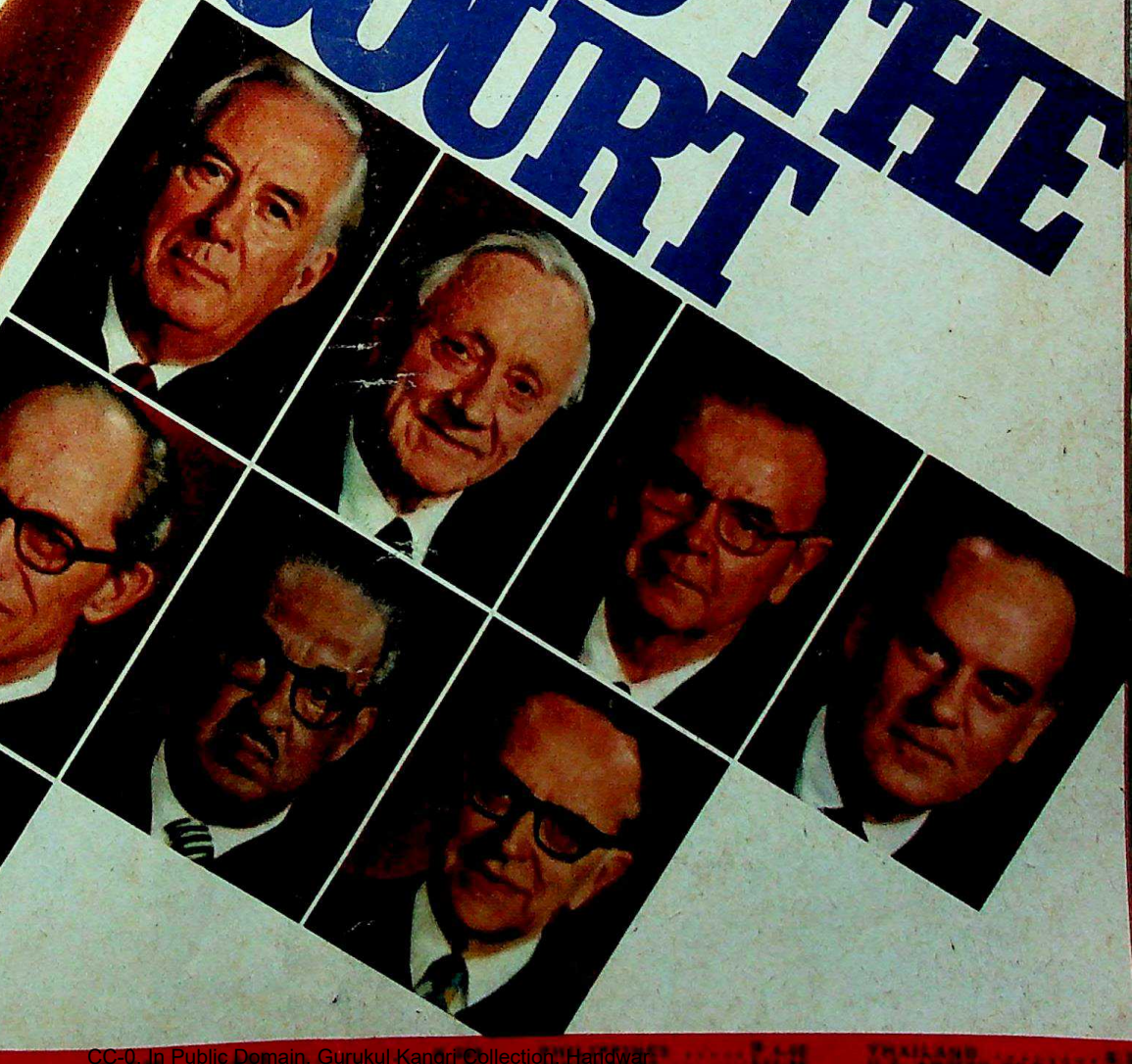
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TIME

Watergate:
The New Evidence

NIXON AND THE COURT

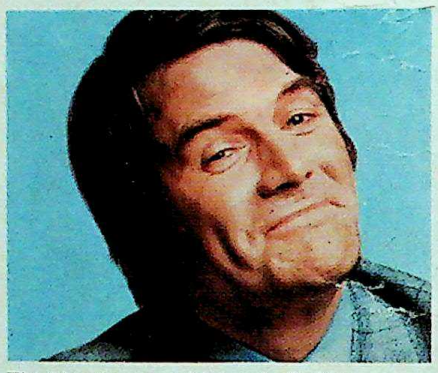




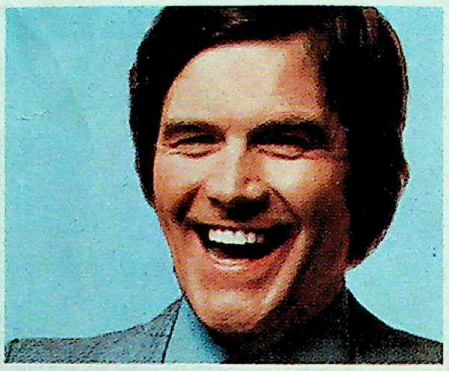
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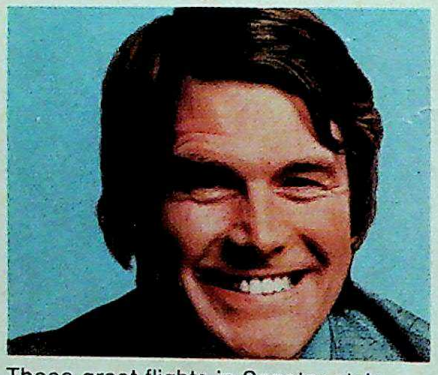
Think of all the times we made you happy.



That business address in Belém.



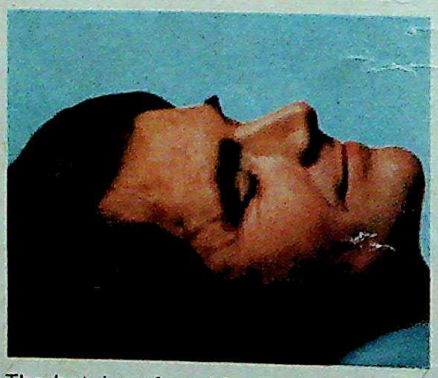
The wine festival we told you about.



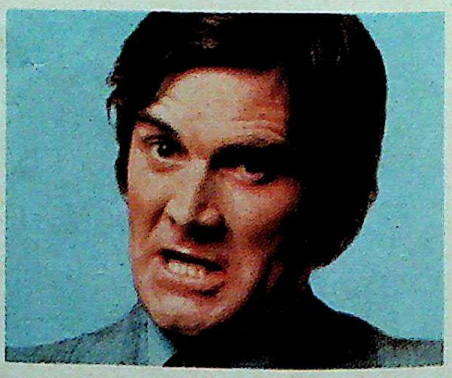
Those great flights in Senator style.



That interpreter in Moscow.



The hotel we found for you at midnight.



Well, not even we are perfect.

The more you fly

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Lufthans
German Airlines

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Nixon Through Different Lenses

Sir / From the outside looking in, I continue to be amazed by the contrasting colors of this man they call Nixon.

One week he is being despised, cursed and rejected by millions of his people. The very next week he commands the praise of millions in a welcome that not even Julius Caesar could match in his visits to the banks of the Nile.

Historians are going to have a lot of fun trying to explain this one.

ALDO PALMA
Waterloo, Ont.

Sir / The Watergate debacle has pointed up yet another flaw in our system of Government: with a four-year presidential term, you just don't have enough time to impeach the guy.

LARRY G. SPARKS
Louisville

Sir / We shall rebuke the memory of Richard Nixon not for Watergate but for the foreign entanglements into which he led us in the summer of '74.

E.W. TYLER
Jacksonville

Sir / W. Averell Harriman correctly observed that the "Soviets would pull in their belt before they'd let us tamper with their system." The naive stance of the "Jacksonians" is destructive to the continued easing of tensions between the U.S. and U.S.S.R.

Perhaps Senator Jackson revels at the prospect of a new Soviet belt tightening and a return to the good old days when two hostile, unyielding, nuclear-armed monsters crawled steadily toward a final terrible resolution of differences. I, for one, do not.

ROBERT RAND
Skokie, Ill.

Sir / I have learned the hard way that détente is far from being a "marriage contract." My Soviet fiancé and I have been attempting to marry for over a year now and, unable to see each other during all this time, have suffered one cruel disappointment after another.

My fiancé has recently applied for a visa to come to the U.S. and is now undergoing the harassment that generally accompanies this action.

Apparently détente is for governments and businesses, and not for people.

CHARLOTTE DAIGLE
New York City

Negative Attitudes

Sir / Your reference to children's negative attitudes toward the presidency [July 1] reflects an experience we had with our eight-year-old grandson. He told us that in his school play, he had taken the part of President Nixon. When we asked him how he was cast in that role, he explained: "I was absent when they gave out the parts."

MORRIS N. KERTZER
Scottsdale, Ariz.

Sir / I am amazed at how wonderfully articulate our third-, fourth- and fifth-grade children have become. Isn't it a tribute to the quality of the education they are receiving that they can already comprehend such descriptive characterizations as "truly malevolent, undependable, untrustworthy, yet powerful and dangerous"?

THOMAS J. KERVER
Silver Spring, Md.

Consumers All

Sir / Your article, "Meat Uproar, Act II" [July 1], failed to mention an important fact: farmers are consumers too!

We buy clothing, groceries, furniture, health insurance and cars. We also buy gasoline, fertilizer, seed and machinery, all of which have seen large price increases.

If economists expect inflation to stop just because farm product prices have dropped, they are mistaken. Farmers can't whip inflation alone; there have to be rollbacks all the way up the line.

TERRY R. DANIEL
ROSE ANN DANIEL
Leigh, Neb.

Sir / Another first? I think our esteemed Secretary Butz has created a hybrid answer to our current economic plight. He has crossed the philosophy of the Court of Versailles ("Let them eat cake") with the insanity of the Mad Hatter's tea party and come up with a formula to save the country—*i.e.*, since dried beans, rice, potatoes, etc., are in the luxury realm for lower (and lower-middle) incomes, we can now solve that by simply filling our freezers with meat.

(MRS.) DORIS A. COOPER
Waverly, Ohio

Feeding the Hungry

Sir / I congratulate TIME on taking note of the nation's nutrition problems—"For the Poor: More Hunger" [July 1]—but I would like to set the record straight on some points.

Although the panel that reported to the Select Committee on Nutrition was critical of the food-stamp program, ultimately preferring some form of an income-maintenance program in its place, the same panel also said: "A truly adequate income-maintenance program is not an imminent political possibility . . . Until such time as it does arrive, the food-stamp program must be retained." I agree with this and with a recent assessment of the food-stamp program by President Nixon's former chief adviser on welfare reform, Richard Nathan, who wrote: "The dramatic growth of the program is the single most important welfare change in America since the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935."

On Plowshares for Peace, it is an error to say that it is intended "to set up a $20 billion . . . program that would build stockpiles of food for needy nations . . ." Plowshares for Peace is intended to be a development program, encompassing agricultural research, fertilizer production and technical assistance, with the cost to be equitably shared by all nations. The purpose of this kind of program is to enable the poor nations to develop the ability to feed themselves rather than having to depend on others.

GEORGE MCGOVERN
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Banana Components

Sir / Perhaps Italy [July 1] is not a banana republic yet, but if the ones that exist are any yardstick, most of the necessary components exist in Italy.

STEVEN KALULE
Kampala, Uganda

The Navel as Centrist

Sir / "The Trouble with Being in the Middle" [July 1] is poignantly illustrated by the navel, that useless and innocuous configuration that serves neither physiology nor aesthetics. It merely remains there, indolently comfortable, insouciantly secure and abominably smug. Extremities do have their place in the world, and that is precisely where the middle is not.

MICHAEL G. DRIVER
San Francisco

Sir / Amen! The middle will be as honorable as the left or the right only when it is peopled by those who have considered and practiced their reasons for being there.

The sum total of my values and opinions—conservative on some issues, liberal on others—has made me an "independent" voter but such inconsistency has forced those around me to hang a "middle" label around my neck. There are people in the middle who really have chosen (not defaulted into) the center of the political spectrum.

DAVID WELBOURN
Lewiston, Me.

Meager Rears?

Sir / North American women—with the obvious exceptions of blacks and those of Latino descent—have really no use for the *Tanga*, or String [July 1]. They are generally well-endowed, but they most certainly lack the proper posteriors for this look. I suggest to the rest of North American females to refrain from showing their meager rears and concentrate on what they can more successfully exhibit.

JUAN FRANCISCO LUNA V.
New York City

Sir / Your nubile nudes are retrogressing to diapers. What could be more appropriate?

SALINDA BEWLEY
Birmingham

Sir / These indecent Strings are worn to stir up lust in the hearts of carnal men. No wonder the number of rapes is increasing. Women are asking for it, and too often it is the innocent lady who suffers the results of lust that has been stirred up by the indecent exposure of others.

ROBERT G. CUNDIFF
Jackson, Ky.

Sir / The String is one of the most important Brazilian inventions since coffee. It is a shame that you will soon come out with something like "instant *Tanga*." Why do you have to spoil everything?

P. OLIVEIRA
São Paulo

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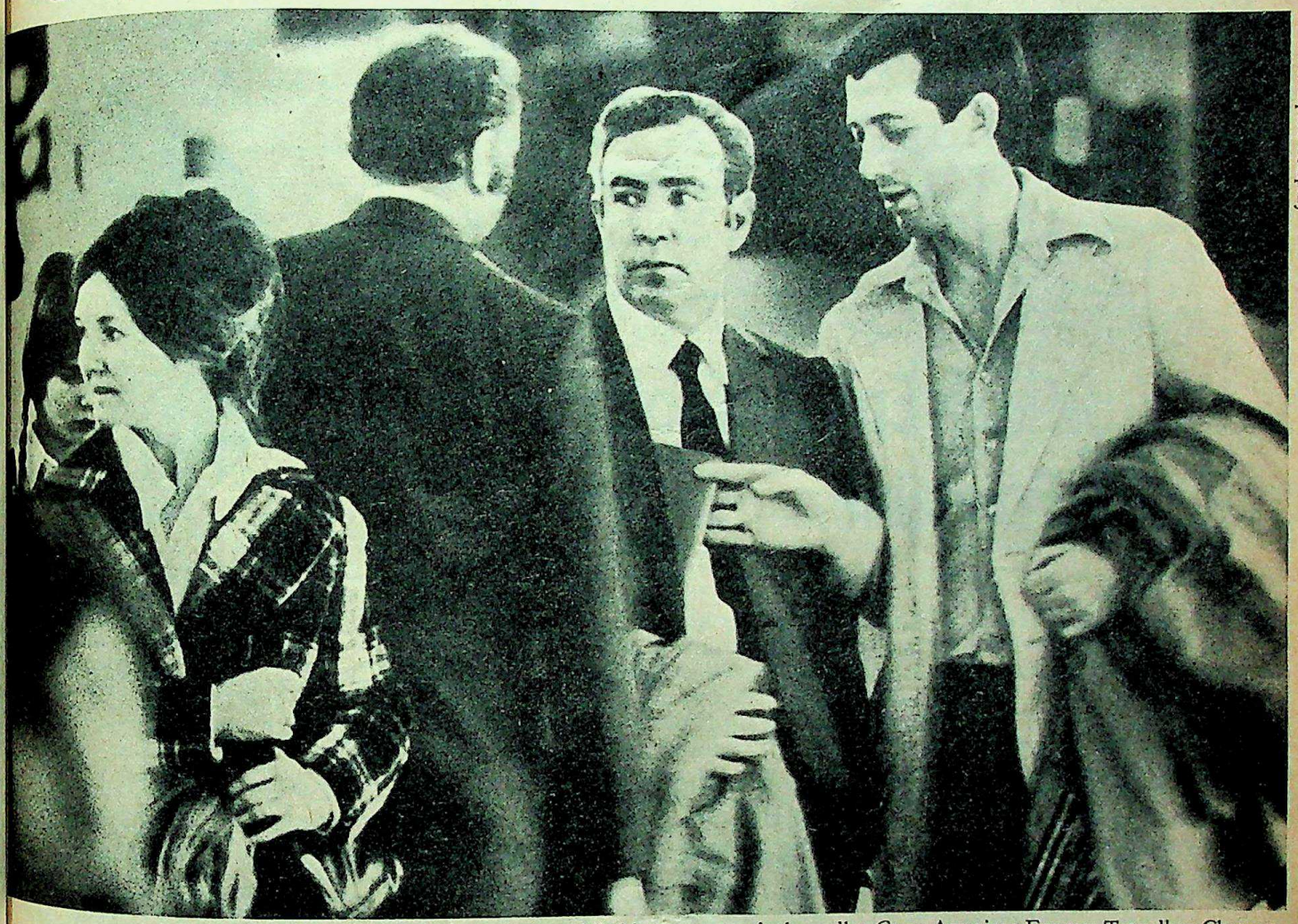
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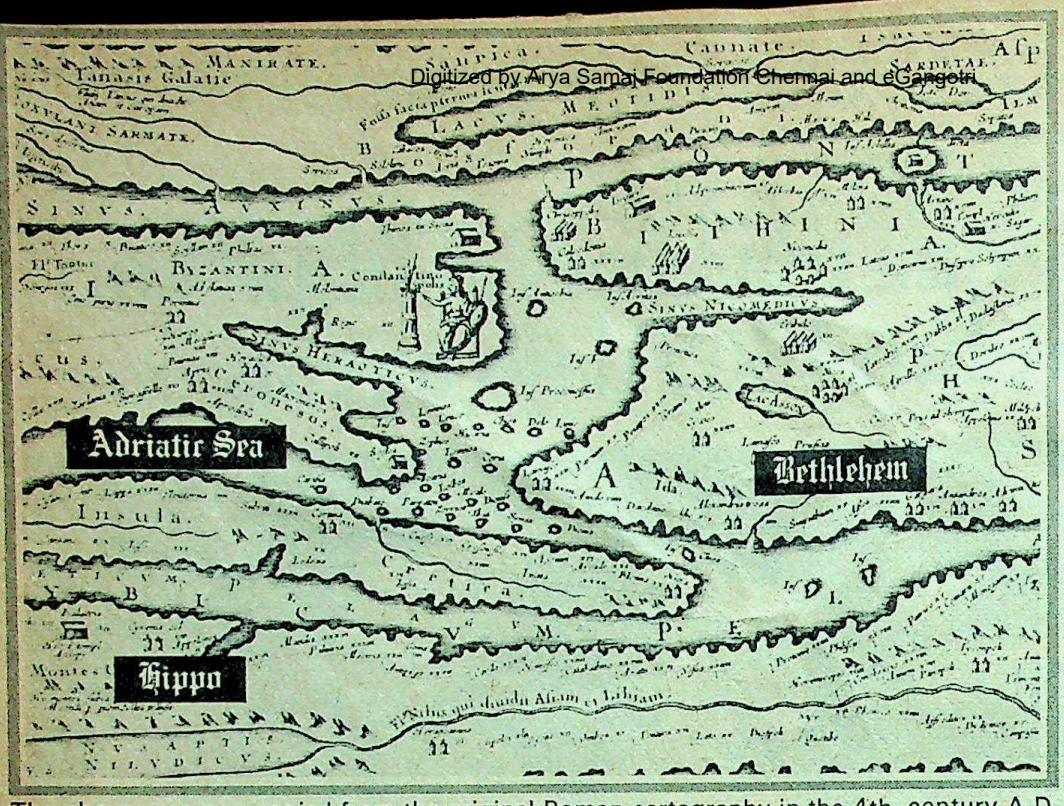


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St. Augustine's Epistle Took Five Years to Reach Palestine.

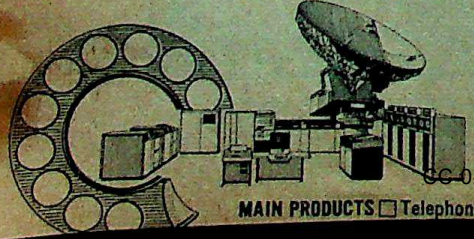
Saint Augustine, the early Christian theologian, entrusted friends to hand-carry his epistle. As bishop of Hippo in North Africa, he sent a letter to Hieronymus in Bethlehem. The man charged with delivering the epistle passed the duty on to another person. Exact details of what followed are sketchy. But, five years later a friend of Hieronymus discovered the lost letter on an island in the Adriatic Sea and delivered it.

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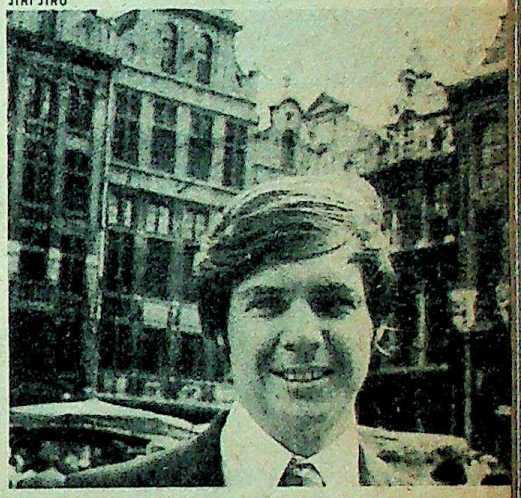
MANAGING DIRECTOR, TIME INC.: Yasuo Kitaoka

A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

Bankers are not notoriously chatty men, and especially not with the press. To get some of them talking was only one of the myriad complexities involved in reporting this week's stories on the banking blues. Talk they did, though, to TIME correspondents in Washington and in half a dozen European cities, providing an invaluable background to the mood of crisis that haunts the world's financial board rooms.

The man at TIME who talks most often to the bankers is European Economic Correspondent Henry Muller, 27. Although he is based in Brussels, where he covers the Common Market's activities, he is a frequent commuter to the business centers of London, Paris, Zurich, Frankfurt and Rome. Covering the intricacies of international banking, he finds, requires not only frequent contact with the men who control the world's money but also a heavy schedule of reading ranging from professional journals to the most abstruse economics texts.

JIRI JIRU



HENRY MULLER IN BRUSSELS' GRAND' PLACE

A native of Switzerland, Muller received part of his education there, and part of it in California. In 1968 he graduated from Stanford University, where he was editor of the Stanford *Daily* and worked as a part-time correspondent for TIME. His economics education began with a TIME assignment to interview bankers and economists on the role of gold in the economic system. "I'm still asking the same questions today," he says. After a two-year stint with the Peace Corps in Ethiopia (where he taught "everything from new math to Ethiopian history, but not a scrap of economics"), he joined the TIME staff in New York City, then moved to Canada to work briefly in Ottawa before becoming Vancouver bureau chief. There he learned about energy firsthand, traveling to within 700 miles of the North Pole to observe gas and oil exploration.

When he moved to Brussels as economics correspondent in 1973, he was plunged into the European monetary crisis almost as soon as he stepped from the plane: less than 24 hours after his arrival, he covered an all-night Common Market marathon at which some European countries decided to float their currencies. Since then, he has provided the bulk of TIME's European reporting on the oil crisis and the looming petromoney recycling problem. "There has never been a more fascinating time to observe international economic developments," he says. "The future of Europe, as we know it, rests on orderly solutions to the problems ahead."

Ralph P. Davidson

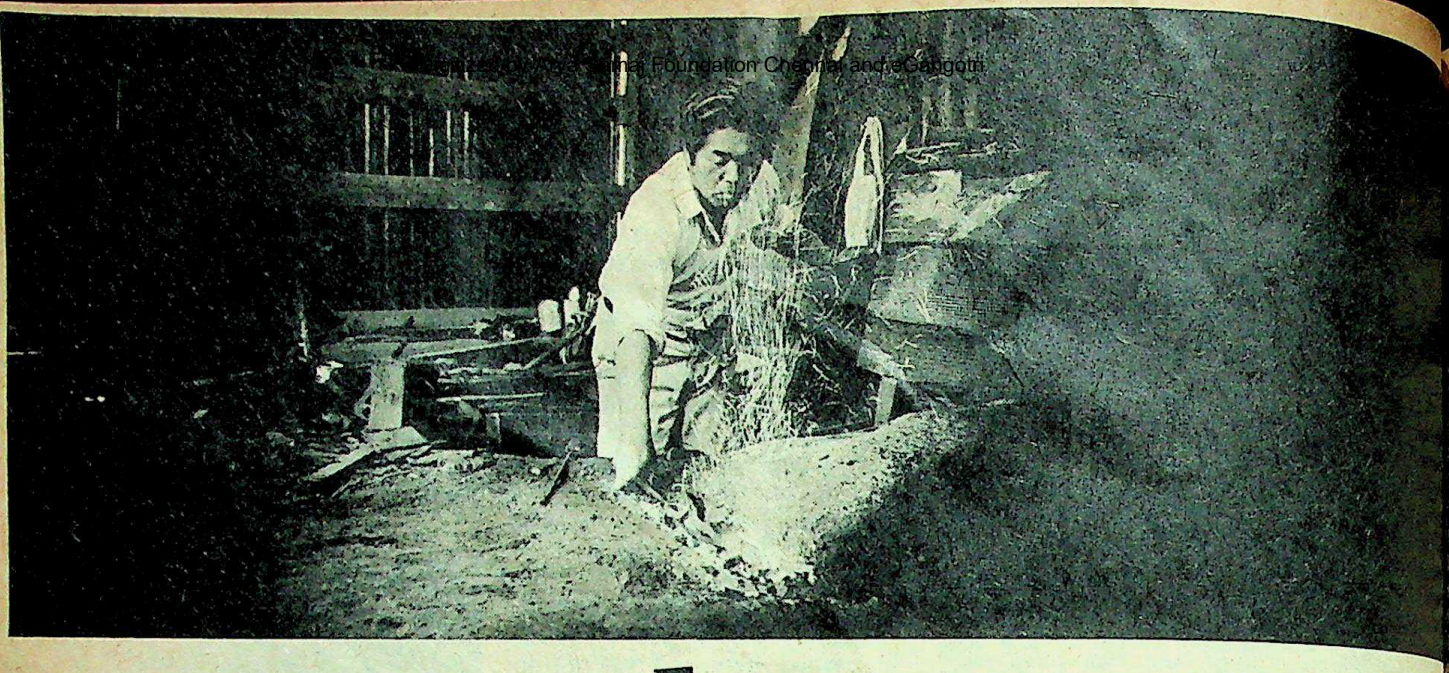
INDEX

Cover Story 14
Books 49
Cinema 47
Economy & Business 42
Law 38
Letters 1
Medicine 41
Milestones 46
People 36
Science 46
Sexes 40
Sport 48
U.S. 12
World 7

The Cover: *Photos by Dirck Halstead (President Nixon); Pete Turner (gavel); Harris & Ewing (Supreme Court Justices).*

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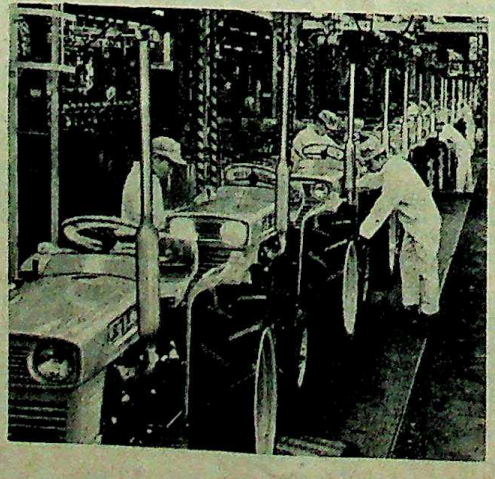


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ANADA

Triumph for Trudeau

Through the long months of winter nd spring it seemed that 1974 might remembered as the year of minority overnments. Nearly every Western na-on, from Britain to Italy to Denmark, as being run by minority or coalition overnments narrowly holding on to ower. Canada, which had been with-ut a majority party since 1972, seemed nly one more among their number. But his week Prime Minister Pierre Elliott rudeau will lead into office a Liberal overnment with a margin that should e large enough to assure a full five-year erm.

Contrary to most predictions that he ould barely retain power, Trudeau, 54, merged from last week's elections with solid victory. "What Trudeau had go-ng for him was precisely the malaise roaring inflation and instability—of he industrialized world," reports TIME orrespondent William Mader. "The opulace craved stability. It sensed that t this juncture there must be greater overnmental strength."

Last Hurrah. The surprising trength of Trudeau's Liberal Party gave is government a comfortable 141 seats f 264 in the House of Commons. Tru-eau's majority can now govern with-ut relying on the support of one of Can-da's splinter parties. The Conservatives ost twelve seats, ending up with 95, and he tiny, right-wing Social Credit Party ropped from 15 to eleven.

No party, however, suffered so bad-y as the New Democratic Party, which ad held the balance of power in the House of Commons. Canadian oters blamed the N.D.P. pitiless-y for having brought down the overnment two months ago by ailing to support the Trudeau udget, thus provoking the elec-on. For its blunder, the party lost early half its parliamentary eats, falling from 31 to 16, while avid Lewis, its leader, was giv-n an ignominious last hurrah by oronto Freelance Writer Ursula ppolloni, making her first race. ood humoredly, Lewis bade arewell: "One of the basic dem-cratic rights is the right for the eople to be wrong."

Trudeau will need all his new arliamentary strength to deal ith the immense problems that ow face Canada. Chief among em, as in all industrial nations, the soaring rate of inflation, hich reached an annual rate of 1.4% last month—the highest in

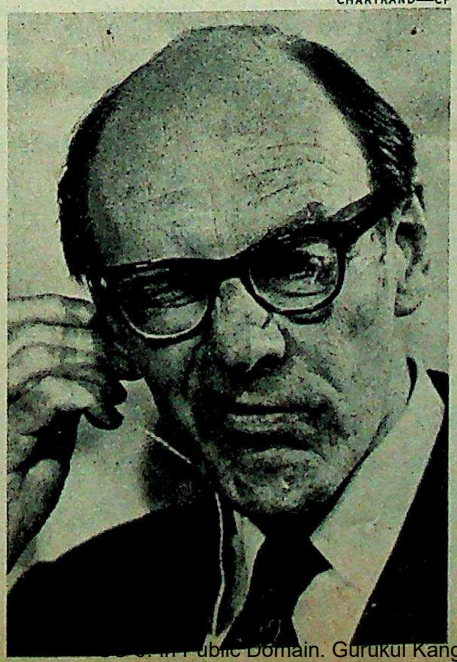
Provoked largely by the fear of even more inflation to come, labor unrest is spreading. There have already been strikes and demands for wage increases by airline employees, policemen and lumber-mill workers. Other chronic troubles are the country's economic dependence on imports (50% of its manufactured goods) and the smoldering but deeply felt antagonisms between French- and English-speaking Canadians and between Canada's regions, East and West.

Trudeau picked up many of these themes during the campaign, but unlike his two major opponents—Conservative Robert Stanfield, 60, and the N.D.P.'s Lewis, 65, he talked about them in more optimistic terms. Lewis concentrated his attacks on multinational corporations, which he described as the root of all economic evil. Stanfield, who in two earlier elections was defeated by Trudeau, claimed that the country's economy was in such grave trouble that immediate wage and price freezes should be imposed. That hardly endeared him to his more conservative supporters, and since the poor showing of such controls in both the U.S. and Britain, the proposal struck many voters as being unrealistic. But Trudeau chose to emphasize the country's existing strengths.

As he campaigned across the 4,500-mile breadth of the nation, the Prime Minister pointed out that Canada's inflation rate was still below the average of most of the industrialized world, now running at 15-16%. "Inflation is a problem, but let's not get obsessed by it," he told a rally at Edmonton. Arguing that a harsh control policy had already been discredited in Britain and the U.S. as a "proven disaster looking for a place to happen," Trudeau proposed instead tax benefits and consumer subsidies as protection against rising prices. Besides, he told audiences, the Canadian economy is still expected to advance by more than 5% this year, very close to its real growth potential.

Equally appealing to voters was Trudeau's ability to skillfully exploit a pub-

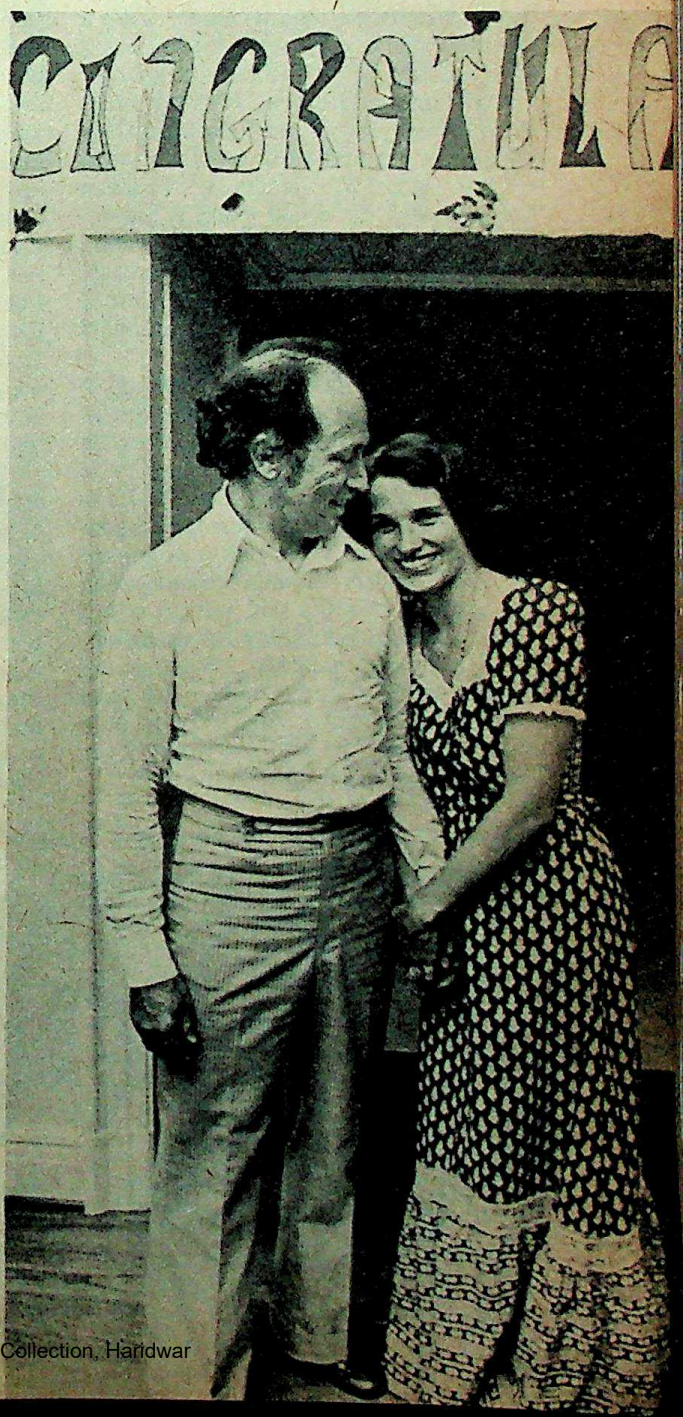
CHARTRAND—CP



TORY LEADER STANFIELD
Rejected once again

UPI

THE TRUDEAUS AT HOME AFTER VICTORY



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lic mood ranging between apathy and antipathy, distrust of establishments, and politics in general, which has been plaguing Western governments all year. Though he has been the country's Prime Minister since 1968, Trudeau was convincingly able to appear as the candidate who hated holding a summer election as much as the voters did. Wherever he went, Trudeau's opening lines pointed out what a waste of everyone's time the campaign was. The message left the impression of a leader who wanted only to be back at work and not out bothering the public.

Political Handouts. Trudeau campaigned harder than he ever had in his political life. Abruptly changing style from his leisurely, lofty (and losing) "Conversations with Canadians" of 1972, he toured with his wife Margaret, 25, in grueling 16-hour days, traveling by plane and even whistle-stopping aboard a private nine-car train. While Pierre orated, Margaret used her fresh good looks to help soften Trudeau's abrasive and sometimes arrogant image. "He's a beautiful guy, a very loving human being who has taught me a lot about loving," she told their audiences. "He's shy, modest and very, very kind." Between their Canadian yin-and-yang act, there were a few political handouts: Trudeau pledged that he would enact a low-income housing program with small down-payment mortgages; $500 in cash, tax free, from the government toward the purchase of a first house; guaranteed incomes for the disabled.

Whether or not Trudeau lives up to his campaign promises, the interest of other Western leaders will be focused on his performance in handling the basic problems of the economy. Because Canada now has one of the few stable governments in the West with a dominant national leader, Canada's example in the coming months will not go unnoticed. But Trudeau seems, as usual, unshaken by the challenge. "We have the people, we have the resources, we have the vitality and the confidence to do a very great job," he said last week. "I am very anxious to get on with the job."

PORTUGAL

Drifting Toward Dictatorship

After barely 75 days of freedom, Portugal last week looked like a country headed for a return to the half-century of authoritarianism from which it had just emerged. The Prime Minister resigned, frustrated at the government's inability to reconcile the competing demands of rightists and leftists. The Vice Prime Minister, the Minister of Economic Coordination, the Internal Affairs Minister and the Defense Minister then followed suit. Two days later the President dismissed the remaining ten Ministers and set out to form a new Cabinet. In the streets undisciplined demonstrators demanded greater freedom, wildcat strikers demanded higher wages, and the parties that made up the government coalition competed for power.

The key to Portugal's uncertain future was the corps of young officers of the Armed Forces Movement, the group that overthrew the Caetano dictatorship on April 25. The A.F.M. appointed old soldier António de Spínola, 60, as Provisional President and established an unlikely coalition government of Communists, socialists, military men, left-center groups and independent technocrats. But the government simply could not govern. Divided, buffeted by an annual 30% inflation rate and demands for price controls and sweeping economic reforms, lacking in political experience and hobbled by an A.F.M. requirement of unanimity on all projects, it could only talk and delay.

For Prime Minister Adelino da Palma Carlos, 69, a moderate law professor appointed by Spínola, conditions were intolerable. The Cabinet he headed was not of his choosing, and he had no authority over it. Among other things, he insisted that the Council of State, which is dominated by the military and acts as the country's watchdog committee, draw up a constitution and elevate him to something more than a mere "Cabinet coordinator." The council agreed to let him appoint Ministers but refused added authority.

Palma Carlos quit, saying: "I come to terms with the situa which we find ourselves, of disc the streets, lack of social discipli the invasion of public buildings climate of indiscipline is contrary temperament and to my idea of w mocracy should be." The bla added, belonged to the Council of which Palma Carlos called "a body than the provisional gover It has a strong military represent and they imposed their point of vi

Spínola had his own trouble was busy trying to buttress his po He could preside, make speeches not really rule. When Palma Carlos to pressure the Council of State moving the presidential election u next year to this autumn, pres with the expectation that Spínola be elected President, he was re Spínola was accused of trying to power in his own hands.

Heavily Weighted. For the ment at least, Spínola remains in but the civilian phase of the Port revolution seemed to be nearing a At week's end, Spínola named as gal's Premier Colonel Vasco Gon who will preside over a new m civilian coalition government. B was no guarantee of stability, sin young officers of the A.F.M. app divided as the civilians. Some want to pull out of Portugal's re colonies completely; some want thoritarian government while particularly from the navy, are lef ing and may want to move closer leftist civilian parties, including Communists, who have been building up their strength thro the country. Said the aide of one ex ister: "The armed forces had all power anyway. It is best that the ern in the open directly."

DEMONSTRATOR HARANGUING POLICEMAN IN LISBON



PRESIDENT SPÍNOLA ADDRESSING TROOPS



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SPAIN

Toward an Uncertain Future

Although Francisco Franco is 81 and in failing health, the announcement was a shock. He had entered a Madrid hospital for treatment of phlebitis* in his right leg. An hour later when workers poured into the streets for lunch, Franco's illness was the topic of conversation all across Spain.

The announcement in itself was without precedent. Spaniards had long been forbidden even to speculate publicly about the timing of *el Caudillo's* death. Although he was known to suffer from Parkinson's disease, so far as Spanish officialdom was concerned, the only times he had ever been indisposed were when he had a couple of teeth extracted and when he suffered a gunshot wound in the hand while hunting. Last week the government rushed out photographs showing the diminutive (5 ft. 3 in.) and frail general walking into the hospital without assistance, and doctors said his condition was not serious.

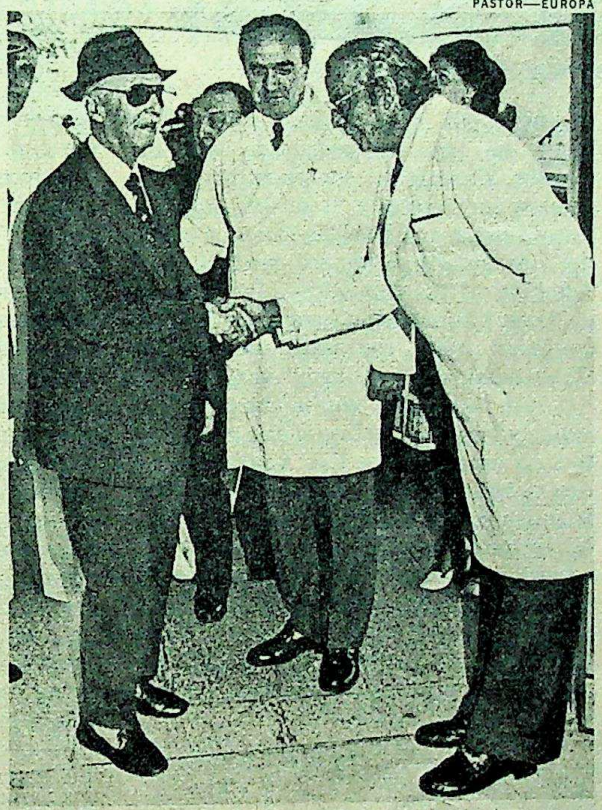
40 Years. Nonetheless, it threw into stark relief the uncertain future facing the country. Europe's oldest dictator, after almost 40 years of iron-fisted rule, has no obvious successor. There were fears, however exaggerated, that his death could touch off the kind of partisan fighting that engulfed Spain during the Civil War when, as the youngest general in the army, he gained power by overthrowing Spain's republican government.

Throughout the week a procession of generals, admirals, ministers and family streamed to Franco's bedside at the modern medical center named for him in Madrid, presumably to show that *el Caudillo* was still in control. But behind the scenes there was obvious concern for maintaining stability. Cabinet ministers and high military officers met to consider emergency measures in case of Franco's death, and Spain's secret police and paramilitary Civil Guard were put on round-the-clock alert.

Suspicions that Franco's illness might be more serious than acknowledged grew when Premier Carlos Arias Navarro reportedly made preparations for Franco to name Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón y Borbón, 36, grandson of Spain's last King, as provisional chief of state. Under the constitution, the prince can take over in the event of Franco's ill health.

Franco chose the young Juan Carlos to be his figurehead successor mainly because he is docile and malleable. In the event of Franco's death, the real ruler—until Juan Carlos had "matured"—was to have been Vice Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco, Franco's conservative and like-minded crony who was named Premier last year. But the plan was destroyed when Basque terrorists assassinated Carrero Blanco last December. Though Franco frequently consults Juan Carlos, the prince has no influence on policy, and probably lacks the skill or the military support to hold the country together. Some cynics, in fact, have already nicknamed him "Juan Carlos the Brief."

PASTOR—EUROPA



FRANCO (LEFT) ARRIVING AT MADRID HOSPITAL
Jittery about the road map.

Even before Franco's illness, Spain's old-guard right-wingers were already jittery over the April coup in neighboring Portugal. They feared that Spanish leftists would see the events there as a road map to bring about revolutionary changes at home. As a result the regime of Premier Arias has retreated from a policy of political moderation back to authoritarianism.

Last month Arias backed down on a promise to allow the formation of political "associations" (nascent parties), which have been banned throughout Franco's rule. The same day General Manuel Díez Alegría, the comparatively progressive chief of staff of the armed forces, was sacked. All during May, General Díez Alegría had regularly received a monocle in his mail—a pointed hint that he should emulate Portugal's António de Spínola and liberate Spain. To foreclose the possibility he was replaced by the more reliable General Carlos Fernández Vallespín.

Although the army is the only Spanish institution strong enough to perpetuate Franco's power, it lacks a strong and compelling leader. Franco has systematically cashiered military upstarts who showed signs of building a popular following, and there are no signs of political dissension in the rank and file. Civilian moderates have held no real power in the government since the relatively liberal Opus Dei technocrats were booted out of the Cabinet after Carrero Blanco's assassination.

Bad Day. While Franco lives, most Spaniards see no likelihood of political change. But no one can be sure how long that will be. On "good days," he keeps up a reasonable schedule, but at other times he may be completely senile. When Vice President Gerald Ford arrived in Madrid last December, Franco was in such poor shape that it was difficult to arrange a protocol visit. Spanish television recently had to cancel a film that was to have shown the dictator fishing. It was a bad day, and Franco had to be propped up by two aides.

"Until now, everyone seemed to think that Franco would be eternal," said one of Spain's leading editors last week. "Now there is a lot of looking into the future. The trouble is that all you see is a giant vacuum. Like any good dictator, Franco has made sure there is no successor." That failing could some day mean grave trouble for Spain.

*The same ailment that President Nixon suffered from during his Middle East trip. An inflammation of a vein, it can be fatal if a blood clot breaks off and travels to the lungs or brain.

WEST GERMANY

The Just and Unjust

If West German law locksteps to its literal conclusion, a Nazi-hunter will go to jail while the convicted war criminal she tried to kidnap and spirit away to France will stay free. The hunted Nazi is Kurt Lischka, 65, the wartime Gestapo chief in Paris, who was tried *in absentia* by a French court in 1950 and sentenced to life imprisonment for his part in the deportation and extermination of 100,000 French Jews. The hunter is Beate Klarsfeld, 35, German-born Protestant wife of a French Jew, who moved to Paris in 1960 and has made a career of trying to bring Nazis to justice.

Beate's first encounter with German authorities came in 1968, when she was arrested for slapping then Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger, an exonerated onetime member of the Nazi Party. Though Beate was tried and sentenced to a year's imprisonment (later changed to probation), her hatred of Nazis grew even greater. She and her law-student husband, whose father died at Auschwitz, began to compile dossiers on unpunished

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DPA

NAZI-HUNTER BEATE KLARSFELD & SYMPATHIZERS OUTSIDE COURT IN COLOGNE



AP

EX-GESTAPO CHIEF KURT LISCHKA
Still the quarry.

German war criminals. In 1971, Beate launched almost singlehanded a campaign to catch and arrest "the Butcher of Lyon," ex-SS Captain Klaus Barbie, who had fled to Peru, then Bolivia. Released from jail several months ago, he is now free in Bolivia.

That same year Beate also tried to kidnap Lischka, now a senior bank clerk in Cologne, and transport him to France. Under German law he can neither be extradited nor retried in a German court. The kidnap attempt, on a Cologne street, failed when Lischka's shouts frightened off Beate's four male accomplices.

Beate, who has dual French-German citizenship, finally was tried, convicted and sentenced on narrowly legalistic grounds last week in a Cologne courtroom. Presiding Judge Victor de Somoskeoy, ignoring an expression of concern from French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, gave her two months in jail. Not even the prosecution had sought a jail term; it had urged that Beate be put on probation for six months. Though the sentence has some support in Germany, it set off protests in both Israel and France: *Davar,* a leading Israeli daily, criticized the court for "sticking to the dry letter of the law"; in Paris, left, right and center united to condemn what the daily newspaper *Combat* called a "revolting" verdict.

Still, Beate may win in the end. She is likely to get probation if she promises to stop breaking the law. Lischka's future is bleaker. The trial, and Giscard's friendship with West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, may have built up enough pressure to force the Bundestag to ratify a treaty it has sat on for three years. The treaty would permit the retrial in German courts of some 300 war criminals convicted *in absentia* by the French, including Lischka.

ITALY

Protesting Rumor's Remedies

As Italians basked in their first hot summer weather last week, they were in an "If this is Tuesday, it must be Tuscany" mood that had nothing to do with the country's annual swarm of tourists. In Tuscany, the Piedmont and Sicily, Italy's three giant labor federations called carefully orchestrated half-day work stoppages to protest government fiscal policy. Each day the protests occurred in a different region. In Turin, 25,000 auto workers poured into Piazza San Carlo for a noisy protest. Then in Florence, 40,000 mounted a parade. In Sicily, in turn, peasant farmers waved large banners that said it all succinctly: NO TO THE SUPER-DECREE!

The super-decree was actually a package of the most drastic anti-inflation measures any European government has attempted. Premier M... Rumor's government imposed the... weeks ago to control rampant inf... (currently 17% per year). The mov... soak up $4.8 billion and help redu... aly's massive balance-of-trade d... which has reached $1 billion per m...

Taxes, fees and rates all we... abruptly. Property taxes leaped as ... as $80 per room. Public transpor... electricity rates were increased, an... price of gasoline rose sharply to $... gallon. Added taxes were put on ... ury" goods, including imported be... well as cameras and alcohol. The ... unexpected and resented increase ... the surtax on automobiles. Italy's 11 ... lion automobile owners will now ... to pay a one-time surtax ranging ... $10 on a Honda to $50 on a family ... Fiat 124, to $400 on a Lamborghini ... $575 on a Rolls-Royce.

"We know well that we are a... heavy sacrifices of the Italians," R... told the public. Added Treasury ... ister Emilio Colombo: "If there were ... the courage for unpopular measures ... this moment, we could expect co... quences that would be even m... serious."

Too New. But opponents of the ... new levies complained that the in... taxes soaked the poor. Communist ... bor Leader Luciano Lama protested ... "the measures are not equitably d... uted and the utilization of funds ... justly collected does not in any w... sure investments and social serv... Lama warned that the regional ... stoppages, along with strikes in sch... were not "bonfires of straw that ... go out in a few minutes." Labor ... ers, for the most part, are willing ... until autumn to let the governme... crees take corrective effect. But th... being pressed by militant workers ... resent the taxes and want to fight ... with a general strike.

Rumor's remedies are too ne... soundings yet on their efficacy. Bo... money (even state industries are ... to pay 24% interest) inside Italy ... ready bolstered the lira by forcing ... ians to repatriate some of the esti... $16 billion they have sent out o... country for safekeeping in the pas... ade. International bankers at this ... believe that the government's emer... cy measures are tough enough for ... to squeak through its current econ... crisis.

The economic reforms are ev... tending to Italy's bloated bureauc... Deputies last week debated legis... to eliminate many useless, semi... omous state agencies. No one ... how many there are. "They are l... stars in the night sky," says Liberal ... uty Aldo Bozzi, whose own estim... 55,000. There is, for instance, the ... cy for the assistance of war orp... the last of whom is by now ... old, and the "agency for the w... position of 1942," which was ne... because of World War II.

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UPI

PRESIDENTE ISABEL PERÓN

RGENTINA

abel Begins

"What was good for General Perón ll be good for me. Neither at home r abroad will the national line vary much as a whit." Thus did Isabel erón, 43, open her first formal Cabet meeting in Government House last ek, one week after the death of her sband and predecessor. To emphasize r plea of no change, she confirmed as r private secretary Conservative José pez Rega, who had held the same poion under her husband and is also inister of Social Welfare. Moments er she reaffirmed Perón's economic licy, having earlier retained José Gelrd as Economics Minister. The next y she appeared at Buenos Aires' cadral for a *Te Deum* commemorating e 158th anniversary of Argentina's inpendence. As she appeared in the orway, carrying the presidential ba- and wearing a theatrical black cape, e crowd spontaneously cheered her.

In all, Isabel's actions were a aracteristically Peronist performance. mpromise, giving a little here to get ittle there, a dramatic personal aparance—these typified the style of n Perón. Judging by her first few ys, the old leader had passed his abilon to the former cabaret dancer who ow Latin America's first female head state.

Though she is an object of genuine ection, Mrs. Perón is a long way from oving her capacity to lead, or even to rvive. Reports TIME's Buenos Aires reau Chief Rudolf Rauch: "The inited style of leadership passed on by rón may be enough now when the na-n, blind with veneration for her hus-nd and bewildered by the sudden turn people here doubt that it will be enough when things go badly."

Probable sources of trouble are abundant. One is the enmity between López Rega, 54, and Gelbard, 57. As Perón's closest, most influential aide, López Rega became a highly controversial political figure, distrusted by moderate and leftist Peronistas both in and out of the government. When he went to Libya last March to negotiate an oil deal, later criticized as too costly, he complained that he had been hindered because Argentina had too many Jews on its economic team. Gelbard is a Jew. This conflict is expected to get worse as it becomes increasingly difficult to hold the line on Argentina's 30% inflation, especially after the recent wage hikes—some as high as 80% —for such groups as journalists, the military and police.

New Warnings. Then there are the guerrillas. Although there has been a lull in terrorism, most observers feel that the leftist Peronists and the out-and-out guerrillas have only been taking stock. Both the Marxist People's Revolutionary Army (E.R.P.) and the Montoneros, left-wing Peronist guerrillas, have issued warnings of new revolutionary activity. Wrote Domingo Menna, a high E.R.P. officer, "We are at the beginning of a revolutionary situation."

Even without an upsurge of terrorism, however, the situation could easily get out of hand. Even Perón, with all his popularity, was unable to maintain order among the country's conflicting groups. None of the problems disappeared with his death. They all await solution by *La Presidente* Isabelita.

MIDDLE EAST

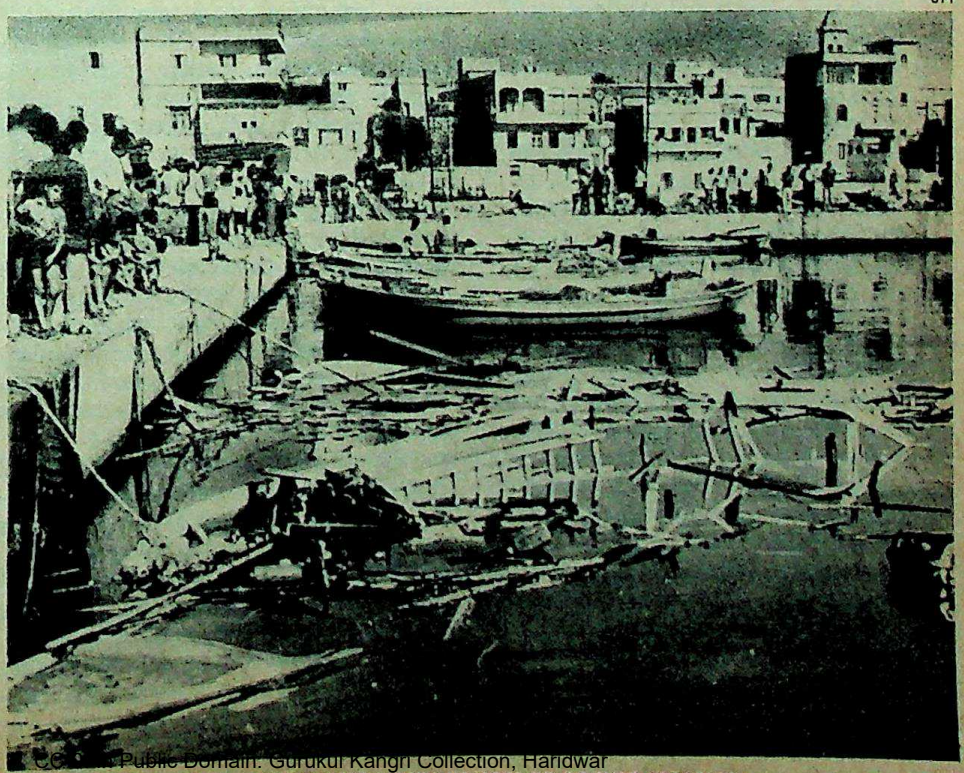
Harbor No Evil

Israel has never been in the habit of turning the other cheek to fedayeen raids. Far more customary has been instant retaliation, delivered via ground and air and often focused on the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon that have been fertile breeding grounds for fedayeen. But following the June 24 attack on the Israeli seacoast town of Nahariya that cost four Israeli and three Arab commando lives, there was no response—possibly in deference to President Nixon's Moscow trip, possibly because Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres was in Washington, D.C., shopping for new weapons.

Last week in an unusual naval operation, the Israelis finally retaliated. Israeli missile boats anchored under cover of night off the Lebanese ports of Tyre, Sidon and Sarafand. An elite crew of frogmen carrying timed explosives swam the two miles to shore and blew up 21 or more Lebanese fishing vessels. A few hours later, the boats sped safely back to Haifa.

Although Lebanese Defense Minister Nasri Maalouf quickly called for the strengthening of his country's armed forces, the raid was considered in Beirut to be not much more than a psy-war gesture. Leaflets scattered by the frogmen admonished Lebanese fishermen against assisting Palestinian guerrillas in launching other seaborne attacks similar to the assault on Nahariya, which Israel believed must have originated in a Lebanese port. "Take this warning to heart before it is too late," the leaflets said in Arabic. "Shun evil. Avoid it at all cost."

UPI



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FISHING BOATS WRECKED BY ISRAELI RAIDERS IN HARBOR OF TYRE, LEBANON

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AMERICAN NOTES

"God, Give Us Men!"

With jowls jiggling and eyebrows all but airborne, North Carolina's retiring Democratic Senator Sam Ervin could not resist going out on a quote. As the Senate Watergate committee gathered in the Old Senate Caucus Room for its final news conference, Ervin summed up the meaning of it all with the help of liberal sayings from the Scriptures and the classics, including a ripely solemn phrase from Rudyard Kipling: "For the sin they do by two and two they must pay for one by one."

As for guarding against future Watergates, Ervin said that he knew of no better guide than a selection from a verse by an all-but-forgotten American poet named Josiah Gilbert Holland (1819-81). Senator Sam may well have been the only man in the United States who could recall the lines he intoned for a spellbound crowd of newsmen, Senate aides and tourists:

God, give us Men! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking!
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking.

Straight Talk

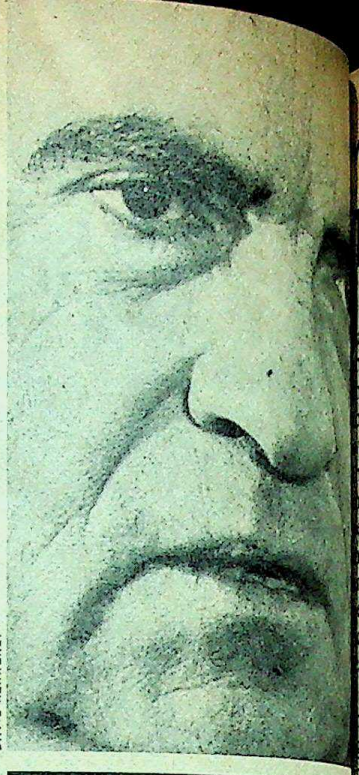
A multicolored map of the U.S. appears on the television screen and slowly begins to burn from the center. As the flame widens, voice-over narration accompanies a dramatic juxtaposition of images and objects to conjure up for the viewer a reckless driver, an unconcerned citizen littering a street, a man confronted by a bottle-laden table who declares, "One more won't hurt," and another man's gruff refusal to sign a petition to fight pollution. After the map is burned totally black, a wind begins to scatter the ashes and a deep, doom-ridden voice warns: "Great civilizations decay from within. But it's up to you. Will history repeat itself?"

This apocalyptic message is not the handiwork of aging cynics gone sour on the American dream but of six Naperville, Ill., teen-agers. Invited by A. Eicoff & Co., a Chicago advertising agency, to dream up a 60-second public-service spot, the youngsters produced a stark, unadorned outcry against what they conceived to be a deadening decline in the quality of American life. When agency professionals suggested that they coat their bitter pill with a cartoon format or offer solutions to the problems they were portraying, the students flatly refused. The commercial will be aired as is in Chicago next week, and the agency hopes to distribute it nationally. "They wouldn't put any icing on the cake," says Carole Darr, the agency's creative director. "They figured nothing will ever change if you give people an out."

Surveillance Sale

In the wake of détente, American businessmen have discovered that the Soviet Union is a promising market for everything from soft drinks to heavy machinery. But now a more sensitive line of goods is about to go on sale in Moscow. The Soviet Chamber of Commerce has invited several U.S. companies to put on display at an exhibit of modern crime technology such wondrous electronic devices as an $8,700 spectrograph (voiceprint identification machine), a $3,695 psychological-stress evaluator, which serves as a lie detector or interrogation aid, and an as yet unmarketed "fraudproof identification system," which uses light patterns that cannot be duplicated to prevent the fraudulent use of credit or ID cards (all Soviet citizens over age 16 now carry identification cards). The most likely Russian customers: the KGB (the Soviet secret police) and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which monitors the compulsory Soviet ID system.

There is a growing congressional sentiment that the peddling of surveillance gadgetry in the Soviet Union is carrying détente too far. This is "analogous to selling gas chambers to Hitler," says Ohio Congressman Charles Vanik, one of 50 Congressmen who support a bill that would sharply restrict such sales. They fear that political prisoners and dissidents would be the first and most obvious targets of such equipment and that the sale of it by U.S. businessmen is unconscionable.



DAVID KENNERLY



BRACK—BLACK STAR



STREEKY—CAMERA 5

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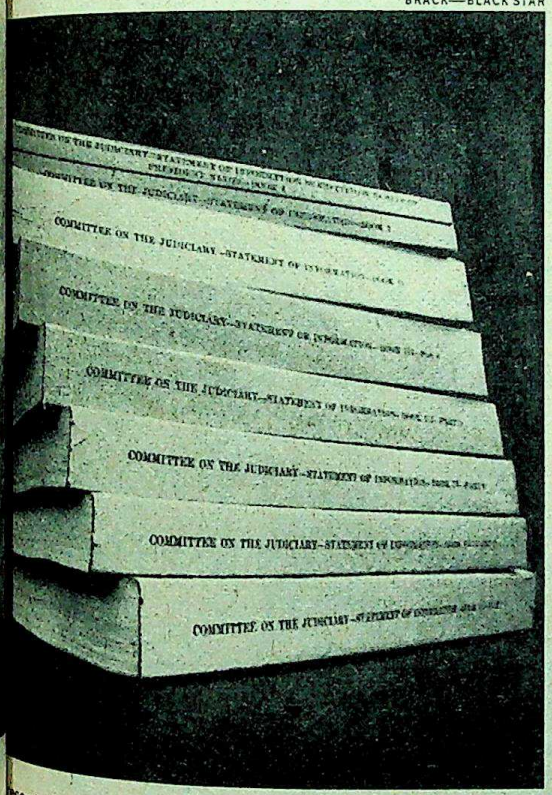
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The Tide Turns Back Toward Impeachment

In recent weeks President Nixon has had reason to believe that he was on the upswing in his battle to turn back the advance of impeachment. His trips to the Middle East and the Soviet Union were marked by some modest successes that reinforced his record of accomplishment in foreign policy. At home the impeachment drive seemed to be faltering in Congress, slowed by legalistic detail and partisan bickering. There were no new Watergate sensations, and the public appeared weary of the deepest political scandal in U.S. history.

Last week the mood in Washington changed abruptly. Impeachment once again picked up momentum in Congress. Despite some past mistakes, Rep-

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resentative Peter Rodino's Judiciary Committee was now seen to have performed remarkably well in virtually uncharted constitutional waters. As it wound up its examination of Nixon's "defense" witnesses—who turned out to be markedly unhelpful to the President—it seemed almost certain that a vote for impeachment would come by the end of the month. The previous week's minimum estimate of votes for impeachment (25 to 13) was now moving toward the maximum estimate (29 to 9). House Speaker Carl Albert and Democratic Floor Leader Thomas P. O'Neill have agreed that the full House come to a final vote no later than Aug. 23.

The President had his own day in court. Special Counsel James St. Clair squared off against Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski before the Supreme Court in three hours of historic arguments about presidential privilege. At issue was whether the President must turn over 64 more White House tapes to Judge John Sirica for use as evidence in the trial of seven other Nixon aides *(see cover story next page)*. It was not known just how damaging to the President's cause the withheld tapes might be. But Nixon, tempted to turn them over to avoid a confrontation with the courts, made the final decision to suppress them after spending two entire mornings listening to them.

While the suspense built up in anticipation of the court decision, it was a week of growing troubles for Nixon:

▶ A federal jury in Washington convicted John Ehrlichman, one of the President's two former closest advisers, of conspiring to violate the civil rights of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist, and of lying to both the FBI and a federal grand jury about authorizing the break-in of the psychiatrist's office.

▶ The House Judiciary Committee released more than 4,000 pages of evidence that it has compiled so far on the Watergate break-in and cover-up. There was fresh and (for the President) damning new detail. The bulk of evidence indicated that Nixon was deeply involved in the cover-up—and even earlier than some of his critics had previously assumed.

▶ The Judiciary Committee also released a carefully transcribed version of the White House tapes containing some astounding discrepancies with the President's edited version. Conversations were shown to have been truncated or omitted entirely from the version of the tapes that the President had proclaimed to be finally telling the full story. Some of the dialogue contains exhortations to his aides to "stonewall" rather than tell the truth to investigators.

▶ The Senate Watergate committee finally published its report on the case. To Nixon, the most damaging part was an account of how his closest friend, C.G. ("Bebe") Rebozo, had probably used about $50,000 in campaign contributions—some of them carefully laundered to conceal the source—to pay for diamond earrings for the President's wife and other personal luxuries.

Those who believed that the President had not been hurt by last week's reports argued that only some major bombshell establishing the President's criminality would lead to his impeachment. Whether such an overwhelming piece of evidence exists—or if it does, whether he would allow it to be revealed—is doubtful. Moreover, the view that impeachment should occur only for an indictable crime is denied by most constitutional experts.

"[This doctrine] leaves the country without the means to assure responsible self-government in certain contingencies," Columnist William F. Buckley Jr. pointed out last week. "There are any number of activities, not formally proscribed by the law, which a President could legally undertake at indescribable cost to the Republic." Buckley imagined a number of fanciful actions for which a President should be indicted, such as commuting the sentences of all federal prisoners or taking a six-month vacation. Notwithstanding such *reductio ad absurdum*, Buckley says, the principle remains: "Congress has got to retain the right to pass judgment on gross presidential abuses: the true, and studied, disrespect for the sophisticated obligations of office."

Sheer Volume. The evidence produced so far would lead to an indictment of Nixon in almost any U.S. court. Yet what his supporters now seem to be demanding for impeachment is not merely an indictable offense but some piece of evidence that will make a prima facie case for conviction. There are growing signs in Congress that this strategy is losing ground. A move in the House among supporters of the President to convert the impeachment vote to a motion of censure—thereby allowing them to vote against Nixon without alienating many voters who still back him—is also likely to fail.

The White House clearly hoped that the sheer volume of the disclosures—218 pages of Judiciary Committee comparisons of transcripts, more than 4,000 pages of other committee evidence, the 2,217-page draft of the final Senate Watergate committee report, the long arguments before the Supreme Court—would further numb the minds of many Watergate-weary Americans. Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler dismissed the Judiciary Committee transcripts as part of "a hyped-up public relations campaign," and the Watergate committee allegations about the Rebozo fund as "warmed-over baloney."

The President may well be underestimating the public. When all 1,253 pages of the original White House transcripts were released in April, many Administration supporters hoped that the formidable mass of evidence would deter many people from inspecting it closely. But it turned out differently, and it probably will again.

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"The United States v. Richard M. Nixon, President, et al."

Under few political systems in the world could a head of state find himself locked in legal combat before his country's highest court as the proclaimed adversary of his own Government. Even by the distorted standards of Watergate, the case before the U.S. Supreme Court was unique in terms of law, politics and history. The President faced the lawful challenge of a Special Prosecutor he himself had appointed only seven months before. The prosecutor pleaded for a ruling to compel the release of evidence that might hasten Richard Nixon's removal from office by impeachment. The President, through his advocate, sought protection from such an order, plus the court's imprimatur on his very special view of presidential prerogatives.

It was a confrontation of high suspense because of the issues and because of the uncertainties of the climax. How broadly the court would rule, by what margin, and how the President would respond could only be guessed at week's end. Each of these elements could be crucial in the months ahead.

The specific legal questions before the court did not, of course, involve impeachment directly. As debated in a historic three-hour oral argument last week, the basic dispute was constitutional: Does the President have the power to withhold from use in the September conspiracy trial of six former aides 64 tape recordings of White House conversations—merely on his assertion that it is not in the public interest to release them? That extravagant claim of absolute Executive privilege, applying even to conversations that may have been part of a criminal conspiracy, had never been made to the court before.

There were signs that the answer from the Justices would be no. At week's end, it was understood, one Justice had already been assigned to write an outline for an opinion. That preliminary draft was to be used as a basis for discussing a final decision. Though not necessarily of one mind on all of the issues, the jurists plainly recognized both the constitutional importance and political explosiveness of the case. Therefore they were expected to try to find common ground for a unanimous ruling.

In a sense, the Justices as well as the parties involved have a stake in *United States of America* v. *Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States.* A panel that has been reluctant to break new judicial ground has now been asked to rule on a fundamental question involving the constitutional balance between the judiciary and the presidency. More immediately, the decision could force Nixon to yield evidence that might bolster the Special Prosecutor's conspiracy case against former Nixon aides and influence the eventual outcome of the impeachment process under way in the Congress by providing significant new evidence.

It is widely assumed that the tapes he is withholding are at least as harmful to his cause as the conversations he has already released—and little more is needed to convince all but his die-hard supporters in Congress that he was part of the cover-up conspiracy. Although no one could be sure, the additional material might even provide evidence to satisfy Presidential Defense Attorney James St. Clair's narrow definition of an impeachable act: A serious, indictable crime. Few constitutional scholars agree with St. Clair's restrictive view; most consider such a broad offense as failure to faithfully execute the laws grounds for impeachment.

Ostensibly, Nixon's no-win choice in the face of an adverse decision would be to yield the tapes and their damaging contents or defy the Supreme Court. Theoretically, he could also, of course, take the embarrassing step of pleading his Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination.

Failure to comply with the court would seem a certain [illegible] to impeachment in the House and conviction in the Senate. [illegible] Vice President Gerald Ford, who contends that the prospect [illegible] impeachment has been diminishing, concedes that defiance [illegible] the court would create "a whole new ball game." Yale Law [illegible] fessor Alexander Bickel, who has been both critical of and [illegible] pathetic toward various Nixon legal claims, declares, "I [illegible] know anyone who argues that when you get to a court de[illegible] after adjudication there is any kind of moral or legal rig[illegible] defy it." Nixon's rationale for intransigence would doubtless be based on the separation-of-powers principle expressed in [illegible] already submitted—that he must not subordinate the Execu[illegible] Branch to the will of the judiciary in a matter he considers essential to the effective functioning of the presidency.

No President has ever explicitly defied a direct order of the Supreme Court when it was acting as a body. Franklin D. Roosevelt was apparently prepared to do so "to protect the economic and political security of this nation" in 1935, when the court was expected to rule that holders of Government bonds were entitled to payment in gold. But the court surprised him by voting, 5 to 4, to uphold his position. Andrew Jackson in 1832 sharply objected to a ruling that federal authorities, rather than the state of Georgia, should take jurisdiction over the case of a missionary to the Cherokee Indians who was imprisoned by the state. Jackson reputedly said, "Well, [Chief Justice] John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it." That ruling, however, did not specifically require Jackson to take action. Other Presidents have bowed to decisions they considered wholly wrong. When Harry Truman's seizure of struck steel mills during the Korean War was declared unconstitutional, he yielded to the Supreme Court ruling. "I have no intention," he said, "to be a dictator."

Yet noncompliance by Nixon now remains at least a possibility. St. Clair told reporters after the Supreme Court

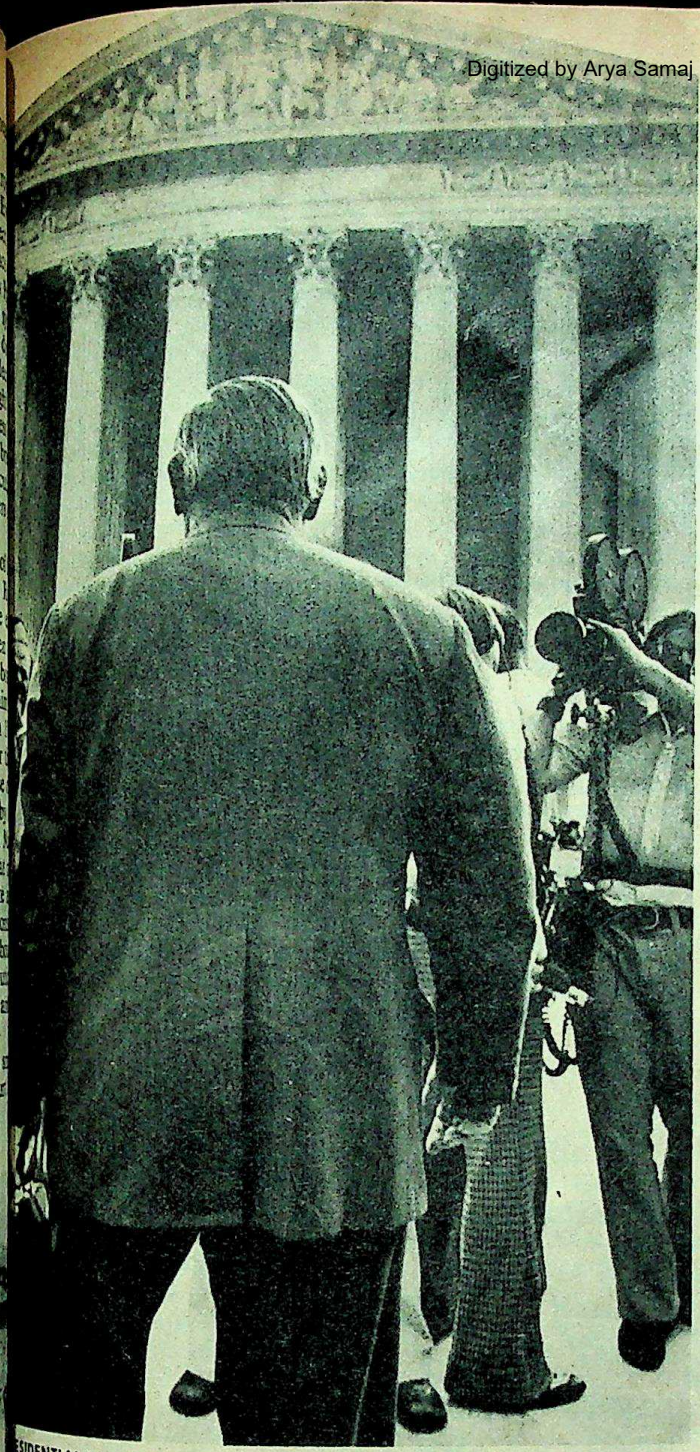
SPECIAL PROSECUTOR JAWORSKI ARRIVING AT SUPREME COURT



BLACK STAR

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SIDENTIAL LAWYER ST. CLAIR BEFORE ENTERING COURT

ments that he did not know whether the President would yield. would seem more politically expedient, and more in keeping th previous tactics, for Nixon to cooperate in principle—and en delay actual delivery of the tapes as long as possible. St. air seemed to suggest that possibility when he said that it ght take two months for the 64 tapes to be submitted for screen- by Federal Judge John J. Sirica if Sirica's original order to pro- ce the tapes is sustained by the Supreme Court. Special Pros- tor Leon Jaworski is now thinking in terms of a few days.

f the tapes are produced, the White House might report, as it has in the past, that some recordings mentioned in the sub- poena simply were never made. So far the White House has said that 13 tapes previously sought do not exist. Others may ntain gaps, like a 19-minute blank reported last week by the ecial Prosecutor's office to have been discovered in one tape.

Assuming that Nixon does comply with an adverse deci- n, it seems unlikely that the tapes would reach the House in e for its impeachment debate. Democratic leaders are al- dy reconciled to having the Judiciary Committee proceed with vote on articles of impeachment without any such added ev- nce. The full House, too, probably will act without it. But se- r Democrats who will be running the proceeding are con- nt that if the tapes must be yielded for the criminal trial of

them for the trial of the President will be overpowering—and they will almost certainly be available by then.

However uncertain the final impact on Nixon's fate, the Supreme Court hearing with its anticipation of a high-stakes legal showdown gripped Washington. The event drew a mixed crowd of Washington's legal elite, some Watergate figures and an eager assemblage of college students, law instructors, office workers and tourists. Many people waited outside the imposing marble structure through two warm nights to get a crack at the 390 seats reserved for the public. Most were to be available only on a rotational basis, their occupants moving on after five minutes. When the doors opened at 9 a.m., the crowd jammed into the ornate, high-ceilinged chamber, squeezed shoulder-to-shoulder on benches or knee-to-knee on metal folding chairs. H.R. Haldeman, a defendant in the September trial, walked in beside Assistant Special Prosecutor Richard Ben-Veniste and found himself sitting beside Jaworski's wife in the VIP section.

The audience rose in silence as all nine black-robed Justices filed solemnly from behind maroon draperies and took their black leather swivel chairs behind their long, semi-hexagonal bench. From Chief Justice Warren Burger, sitting with white-haired dignity at the center, the Justices were positioned on his flanks in order of descending seniority: William O. Douglas, William J. Brennan, Potter Stewart, Byron R. White, Thurgood Marshall, Harry A. Blackmun, Lewis F. Powell Jr., William H. Rehnquist. After Burger briefly announced an action in an unrelated case, Rehnquist, a recent Justice Department colleague of two of the Watergate cover-up defendants, left the chamber. He did not take part in the Nixon case. "I feel like a starting player injured just before the big game," he has said. From their elevated platform, the unsmiling Justices imposingly dominated the scene.

As the trio of lawyers who argued the case took turns at the lectern, each was rendered somewhat less than life-size by the hugeness of the marble-columned chamber. Some of the tension eased as the arguments progressed. Occasionally a Justice would exchange asides with a colleague. The opposing attorneys shunned oratorical flights, spoke in calm tones that at times almost understated their cases. Yet each was distinctive.

Appearing first in opposing the President's attempt to overturn Judge Sirica's ruling, Special Prosecutor Jaworski spoke softly in the muted twang of a Texas gentleman. Almost immediately he was thrown off stride by technical questions from the unusually attentive and loquacious Justices. Although this was his fourth Supreme Court appearance, Jaworski even forgot the procedural reality that he was representing Sirica as well as his own position on the tapes subpoena; his counsel passed him a note reminding him of that fact.

Yet Jaworski rose to the moment in making his major point: "Now, the President may be right in how he reads the Constitution. But he may also be wrong. If he is wrong, who is to tell him so? This nation's constitutional form of government is in serious jeopardy if the President, any President, is to say that the Constitution means what he says it does, and that there is no one, not even the Supreme Court, to tell him otherwise."

Making his first appearance before the high court, St. Clair proved more assured and forceful than Jaworski. He folded his hands at ease on the lectern, waved his dark-rimmed glasses to emphasize an argument. Brilliantly maneuvering to make the best of a case that many constitutional experts consider untenable, he nevertheless was cornered by deft questioning into revealing the unreasonable limits of the President's privilege claims. Yet he repeatedly drove home his central theme: "The President is not above the law. Nor does he contend that he is. What he does contend is that as President the law can be applied to him in only one way, and that is by impeachment." But a decision against Nixon would inevitably affect impeachment, St. Clair warned the court, and that is a political "thicket" into which the Justices should not intrude.

Finally, appearing in rebuttal to complete Jaworski's case, his diminutive (5 ft. 6 in.) chief counsel, Philip Lacovara, 30, proved most professionally proficient of the three. Speaking quickly and precisely without notes, he rescued Jaworski from technical pitfalls and calmly challenged the Chief Justice on his

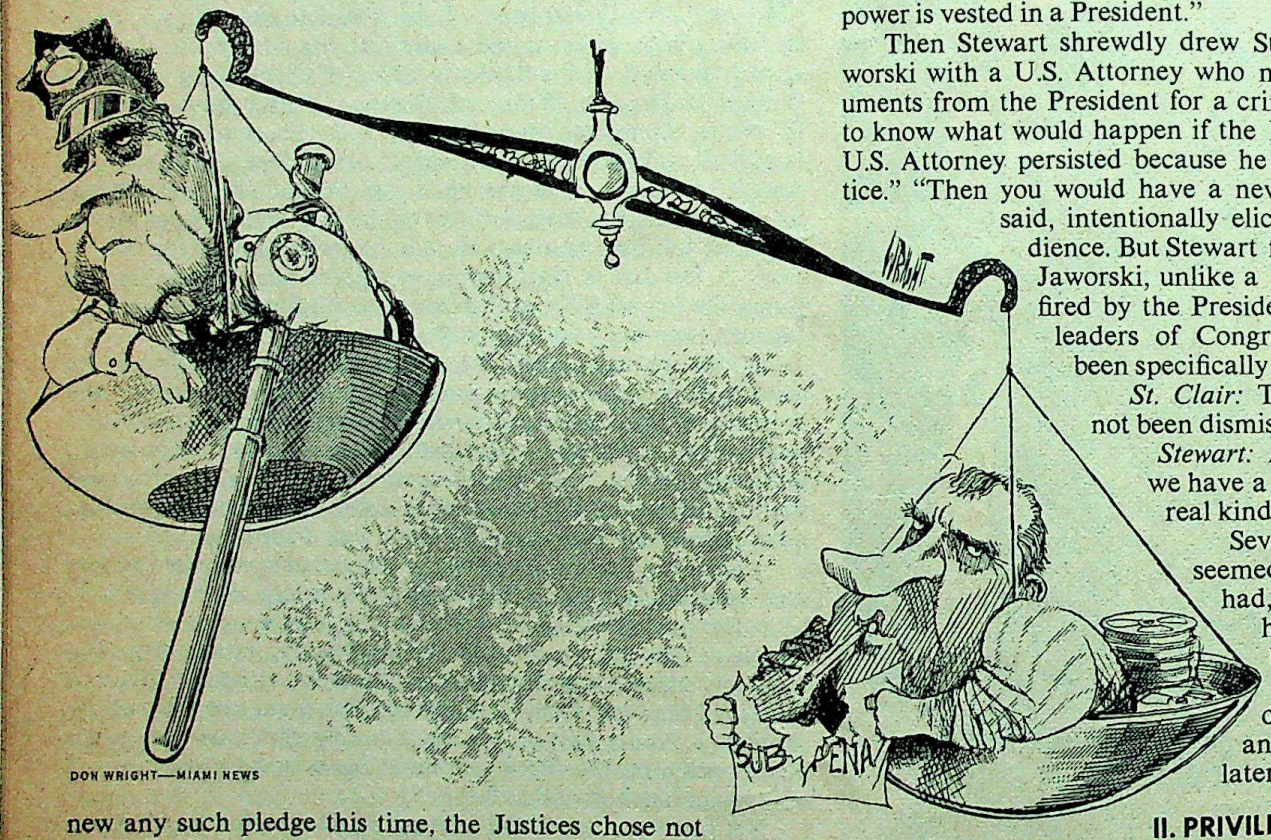
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interpretation of legal precedents. He urged the court not to shy away from a decision that might have profound political implications nor to shun its duty to decide a basic constitutional issue. He asked the Justices to "fully, explicitly, decisively—and definitively—uphold Judge Sirica's decision."

Lacovara's use of the term "definitively" was a subtle reminder that the President had once pledged to obey a "definitive" decision of the Supreme Court in the original tapes fight waged by Jaworski's predecessor Archibald Cox. After Nixon had Cox fired for seeking this evidence, the political furor that followed forced the President to drop his planned appeal to the Supreme Court. Instead he yielded to an appeals court ruling that he surrender the first group of recordings. At that time Nixon's constitutional consultant, Charles Alan Wright, assured Judge Sirica, "This President does not defy the law. He will comply in full with the orders of this court." To Wright's embarrassment, two of the nine subpoenaed tapes then turned out to be "nonexistent" and a third contained the celebrated 18½-minute buzz-filled erasure.

Though Nixon and his aides have pointedly refused to renew any such pledge this time, the Justices chose not to ask St. Clair pointblank whether Nixon would comply. St. Clair adroitly sidestepped whenever the question seemed imminent. Yet the subject became tantalizingly relevant when several Justices objected to Jaworski's charge that Nixon was setting himself up as the sole judge of the Constitution. As Justice Stewart said of the President: "He is submitting his position to the Court and asking us to agree with it." Jaworski was hardly in a position to say that Nixon might not comply, but Justice Marshall later invited St. Clair to clarify the matter.



DON WRIGHT—MIAMI NEWS

Marshall: You are still leaving it up to this court to decide?

St. Clair: Yes, in a sense.

Marshall: In what sense?

St. Clair: In the sense that this court has the obligation to determine the law. The President also has an obligation to carry out his constitutional duties.

Marshall: Well, do you agree that [Executive privilege] is what is before this court, and you are submitting it to this court for decision?

St. Clair: This is being submitted to this court for its guidance and judgment with respect to the law. The President, on the other hand, has his obligations under the Constitution.

Technically, of course, the question of compliance was not before the court. The Justices, operating on the longstanding presumption of acquiescence to their rulings, were properly more interested in the fundamental legal issues. They showed their interest by barraging the three attorneys with nearly 350 ... tions. Since the heaviest burden rested on St. Clair to pro... Sirica order invalid, the most provocative questions were ... at the President's lawyer. In the process, St. Clair some... seemed trapped in the illogic of his position. His major clai...

I. THE COURT LACKS JURISDICTION

The President is the nation's chief law-enforcement o... with final authority over whom to prosecute and with wha... idence, St. Clair argued. Hence the Special Prosecutor is ... ordinate member of the Executive Branch. The courts s... have no authority to intervene in such an "intra-branch" ... pute between these two officials. Referring to Jaworski a... brother"—a courtroom courtesy—St. Clair belittled the Sp... Prosecutor's claim that he had been granted independen... thority having the force of law by both the President and th... torney General in the prosecution of Watergate crimes. "A... cial Prosecutor with the power that my brother suggests h... is a constitutional anomaly," St. Clair claimed. "We have ... three branches, not three and a third, or three and a ha... four. There is only one Executive Branch. And the Exec... power is vested in a President."

Then Stewart shrewdly drew St. Clair into comparing ... worski with a U.S. Attorney who might seek confidential ... uments from the President for a criminal trial. Stewart w... to know what would happen if the President disagreed and ... U.S. Attorney persisted because he was "sworn to uphol... tice." "Then you would have a new U.S. Attorney," St. C... said, intentionally eliciting a laugh from the ... dience. But Stewart forced St. Clair to admit ... Jaworski, unlike a U.S. Attorney, could n... fired by the President without the approv... leaders of Congress—a condition that ... been specifically prescribed by Nixon.

St. Clair: That is correct. And he ... not been dismissed. Nor is he likely to ...

Stewart: And until and unless ... we have a case in controversy of a ... real kind.

Several other Justices ... seemed to agree that the Pres... had, as Stewart put it, ... himself out" of the ... branch argument by in... ing the independence ... office of Special Prose... and by relinquishing the ... lateral power to fire Jawors...

II. PRIVILEGE IS ABSOLUTE

St. Clair contended that the Constitution grants the P... ident, at least as an implied power, an unqualified right to ... tain the confidentiality of his conversations with his adv... Only he can decide which conversations he will make p... and the courts cannot challenge that decision. It is a politic... cision and, if abused, the only remedy is impeachment. B... and White wondered if the subpoenaed conversations did ... least have to deal with official duties, and St. Clair agreed ... ell then elicited the catch-22 kind of circuitous reasoning ... characterizes much of the St. Clair argument.

Powell: What public interest is there in preserving ... with respect to a criminal conspiracy?

St. Clair: The answer, sir, is that a criminal conspir... criminal only after it's proven to be criminal.

Powell: What is the public interest in keeping that secre...

St. Clair: To avail the President, if your honor please, ... free and untrammeled source of information.

Marshall attacked the point by posing a hypothetical ... versation involving the sale of a judgeship. Should the Pre... be entitled to confidentiality?

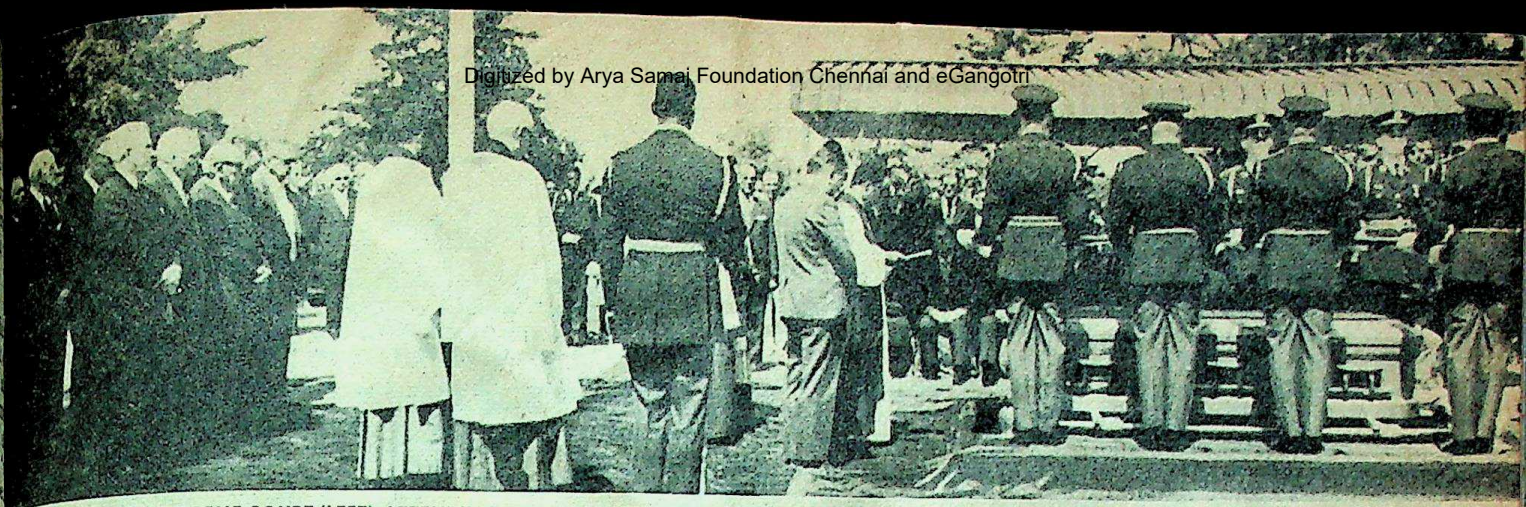
St. Clair: Absolutely ... The remedy is that he sh... impeached.

Marshall: How are you going to impeach him if you ... know about it? You're on the prongs of a dilemma, huh.

St. Clair demurred. Marshall pushed on. "If you know

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MEMBERS OF THE U.S. SUPREME COURT (LEFT) ATTENDING FUNERAL LAST WEEK OF FORMER CHIEF JUSTICE EARL WARREN — DAVID KENNERLY

dent is doing something wrong, you can impeach him. But the only way you can find out is this way, so you don't impeach him. You lose me some place along there.

St. Clair: Human experience has not demonstrated that's a fact. Very few things forever are hidden.

II. JAWORSKI HAS INSUFFICIENT NEED

St. Clair argued that Jaworski has not demonstrated a need for the subpoenaed conversations sufficient to overrule the President's presumed privilege. Procedural rules place a burden upon Jaworski to specify his reason for wanting each tape; he did so in a 49-page memo to Judge Sirica. Lacovara contended that since Sirica had found the explanations satisfactory, the Justices should only involve themselves in the question if they believed Sirica had abused his discretion. "This Prosecutor [Jaworski] has a plethora of information," countered St. Clair. "He says he wants to try the case with all the evidence. Nobody tries any case with all the evidence. You would be buried in minutiae." Later, St. Clair accused Jaworski of really wanting the tapes to aid in the impeachment inquiry and not for the trial.

Marshall asked how St. Clair could be certain that the subpoenaed tapes should be protected by privilege when the President's lawyer readily admitted that he had not heard them himself. St. Clair claimed that it was enough to know that they were conversations between the President and his advisers. White wanted to know how Jaworski could be expected to specify what the conversations involved.

White: He's never listened to the tapes. He doesn't know precisely what's on them. You would say that he could never subpoena a tape unless he had already gotten it.

St. Clair: That's right . . . There must be a specific showing of relevance and admissibility . . . That's his problem, not mine.

III. NIXON CANNOT BE NAMED A CO-CONSPIRATOR

Though several Justices seemed to think that the matter was largely irrelevant to their main decision, St. Clair drew relatively few objections to his contention that the Watergate grand jury did not have the right to name Nixon as an unindicted coconspirator in the cover-up case. "For the purposes of our decision, we can just lay that fact aside," Justice Brennan observed. But St. Clair claimed that it had already prejudiced the impeachment inquiry against Nixon and that he had been unfairly reduced to "an 85% President."

In apparent agreement with St. Clair, Powell observed, "With grand juries sitting all over the United States, and occasionally you find a politically motivated prosecutor—that's a rather far-reaching power, if it exists." Stewart, on the other hand, did not accept the St. Clair argument that if a grand jury lacks the power to indict a sitting President, it cannot name him as an unindicted co-conspirator either: "I should think you could run the argument the other way, saying that since the President cannot be indicted, then all that can happen to him is that he can be named as an unindicted co-conspirator."

Yet it was the possible effect the Supreme Court case might have on the impeachment that obviously most concerned St. Clair. Reversing their normal roles of worrying about the ultimate impact of a decision rather than the narrow legal issues before the court, the more liberal Justices this time seemed Brennan: "You have not convinced me that we are drawn into it by deciding this case. How are we drawn into the impeachment proceedings by deciding this case?"

St. Clair: The impact of a decision in this case undeniably, in my view . . . will not be overlooked.

Brennan: Any decision of this court has ripples.

When the surprisingly low-key debate ended, some court experts professed disappointment that the arguments had not been as sophisticated or deeply probing, on the part of either the Justices or the attorneys, as the occasion demanded. To most laymen, however, the legal subtleties were not important. Mobbed by photographers and spectators on emerging from the hearing, Jaworski was confronted by loud applause and a shouted, highly unprofessional accolade: "Dynamite job, Leon!" St. Clair, smiling broadly and radiating confidence, was surrounded by a smaller but enthusiastic crowd.

The Justices retreated to their private conference room to begin the hard work of constructing a decision—one for which the present court will be long remembered. During Warren Burger's five years as Chief Justice, the court has seemed unable to establish a firm identity or to move with consistent direction. The Burger bench contrasts sharply with its activist predecessor, and the difference was being vividly recalled last week because of the death of former Chief Justice Earl Warren (*see* THE LAW).

The four Nixon appointees have given the court a more conservative tone. That was to be expected; Candidate Nixon in 1968 promised to appoint "strict constructionists." But the Burger Court has also on occasion seemed so indecisive as to leave confusion in the wake of crucial opinions. When it ruled against capital punishment—an emotional issue that even the Warren Court had avoided—the vote was 5 to 4 and each Justice wrote a separate opinion. Partly as a result, half the states have drafted new statutes (still untested) reviving the death penalty.

Last year the court gave local jurisdictions the right to apply their own standards in determining what is illegally obscene. But this year it unanimously overturned one such local ruling while upholding another. Now the way is open for an endless string of smut cases to be appealed to the Supreme Court. In school desegregation disputes, the court has seemed ambivalent, particularly on the question of busing. After one decision that appeared to encourage busing, Burger issued an unusual "memorandum" suggesting that lower courts were misreading the ruling.

On some important occasions, of course, the court has left no doubt about where it stands. It has struck down state laws barring abortion, for instance, and extended the guarantee of counsel to persons accused of misdemeanors that carry a jail term (previously the guarantee was for felony defendants only). The court unanimously rejected the Administration's claim of authority to install wiretaps without warrants in domestic national-security investigations.

Part of the reason for the zigzag effect is that Burger has been less adept than Warren was in building consensus—or even promoting amity—among the nine jurists. Stories about bickering behind the bench have been surfacing regularly. Promoting harmony would not be easy for any Chief Justice now because of the court's delicate ideological balance. There are three

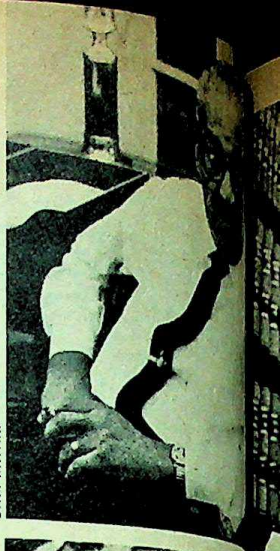
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consistent conservatives (Burger, Blackmun, Rehnquist), three liberals (Douglas, Brennan, Marshall) and three swing men who are often unpredictable (White, Stewart, Powell).

Privately Burger insists that the court has ended a long period of transition from the Warren era. "We're moving straight down the road, holding to our course," he has said. "Just because we refuse to extend a rule further, some people say we're backing away from progress made by the Warren Court. That is simply not true. In some cases, the Warren Court went too far. Now we're coming out of that phase."

Any court, of course, can be difficult to handicap on a given case. Despite the predictions of experts, despite the hints expressed in last week's hearing, no one could be completely certain how any of the eight Justices would fall. Yet each Justice has a record that law professors and others continually consult in trying to assess how he may rule in a specific case. TIME Correspondent David Beckwith, a lawyer himself, has surveyed such experts and offered this shorthand guide to the eight Justices as they forge their portentous decision:



STAN WAYMAN



JUSTICES THURGOOD MARSHALL (TOP), WILLIAM DOUGLAS & LEWIS POWELL (BELOW) & BYRON WHITE (BOTTOM)

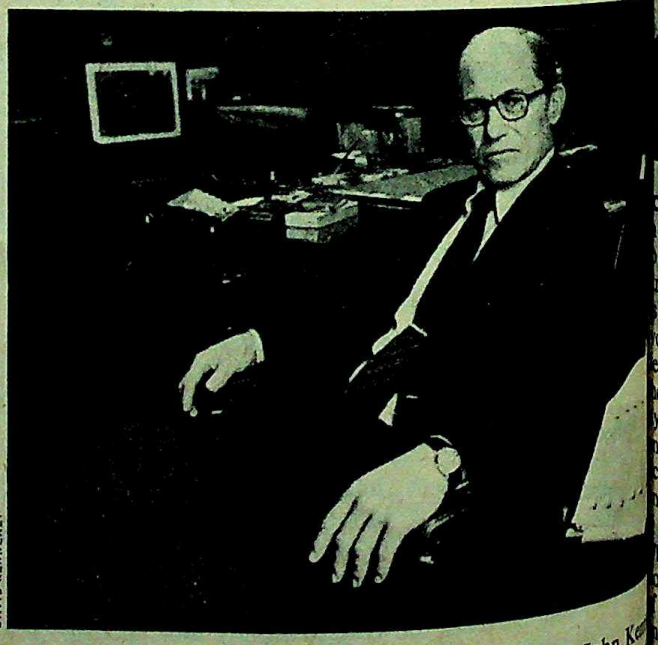


BRACK—BLACK STAR

WARREN E. BURGER, 66, a Republican appointed by Nixon in 1969, believes so strongly in public figures' right to confidentiality that he has often said that "interviewing a judge's clerk is like bugging his phone." Thinks that many newsmen are biased against him personally and against Republicans in general. As an Assistant Attorney General in 1953, argued that the Supreme Court had no authority to review the President's hiring and firing power (the court disagreed). As an appeals judge and as Chief Justice, has generally been a law-and-order man with a narrow view of the judiciary's right to innovate, but has reacted angrily to arbitrary decisions by Executive agencies. Likes Nixon personally and is said to have held up last year's decision quashing state anti-abortion laws for a couple of weeks to avoid embarrassing the President during the inauguration period. Voted for the abortion decision despite strong personal reservations, apparently because his vote would not have changed the result and he felt that the Chief Justice should not undermine the majority on such a controversial issue. He seemed to be on the fence, but is the man considered most likely to vote for Nixon—on the ground that the court should not decide the case since it is a political question.

HARRY A. BLACKMUN, 65, a Republican appointed by Nixon in 1970. Called one of the Minnesota Twins because he and Burger agree on most decisions and because the two jurists were childhood friends in St. Paul. Shy, slow in his work, and still somewhat intimidated by the pace and pressure of the high court. Personally sensitive to violations of confidentiality, but also favors giving prosecutors the tools they need. Has castigated the "pall of Watergate" with its "unusual doings in high places." His essentially strict-constructionist sense of judicial power often outweighs personal sense of what is right; a foe of the death penalty, but voted to uphold its constitutionality. Appeared to be sharing the fence with Burger, and while the Twins might lean toward Nixon, they were probably reluctant to stand alone.

LEWIS F. POWELL JR., 66, a Democrat who joined the court in 1972, is one of the least predictable of the eight and the most flexible of the Nixon appointees. A gracious, old-school Virginia gentleman, easily shocked by wrongdoing of all kinds; before last year's restrictive decision on pornography, reportedly favored a liberal ruling on First Amendment grounds, then switched after viewing reams of hard-core smut. Just before joining the court, was on record as pooh-poohing fears about Government wiretapping, then wrote the sharply worded decision rejecting the Nixon-Mitchell claim that the Government should be able to bug suspected domestic-security risks without first obtaining a court order. Universally regarded as a key vote that Nixon must have, but appeared incredulous during the oral arguments when St. Clair asserted that Executive privilege covers even the discussion of a criminal conspiracy. Was considered to be leaning slightly toward Jaworski.



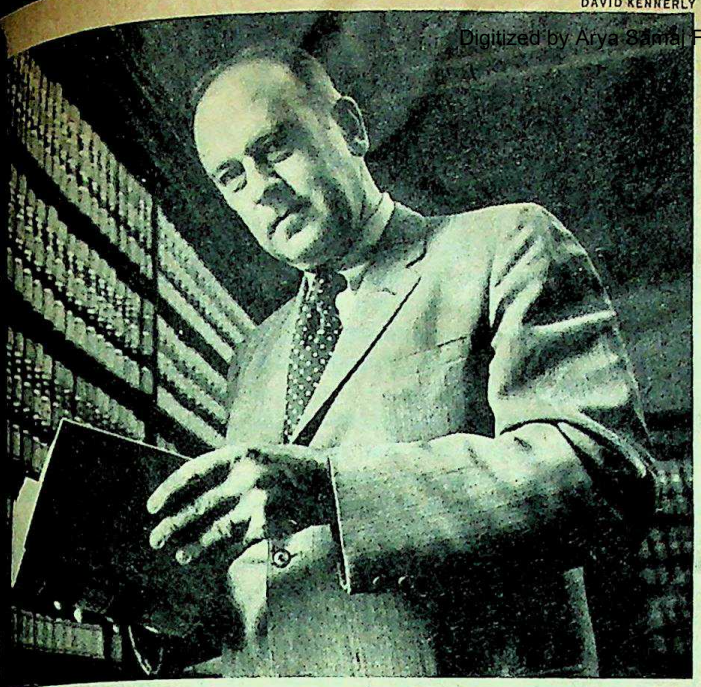
DAVID KENNERLY

BYRON R. WHITE, 57, a Democrat appointed by John Ke... in 1962, has become a pivotal vote who often sides with the ...servatives to form a narrow majority. Least predictable ... the court, criticized by some scholars for failing to deve... clear legal philosophy despite twelve years on the bench... theless said to have the quickest mind on the court. Thoug... in supporting desegregation and antitrust enforcement. ... ence as No. 2 man in the Kennedy Justice Department ... him a strong advocate of prosecutors' authority. Also ... an active Federal Government and Executive power, ... thorized by Congress. In this case congressional protec... the Special Prosecutor's independence may be the key to ... stand. Like Powell, appeared to be leaning toward Jaworski.

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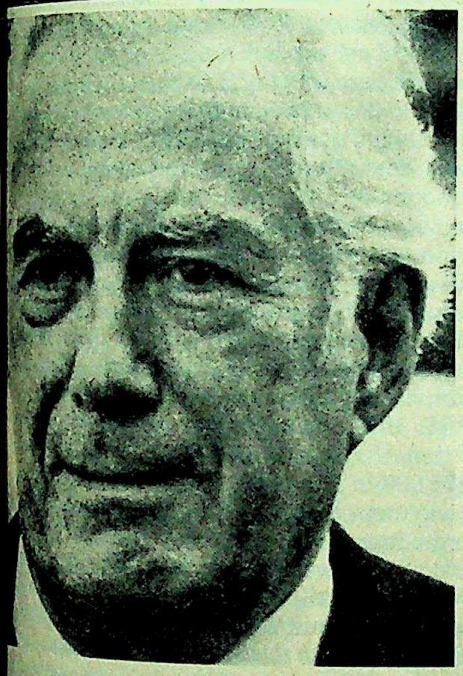
DAVID KENNERLY

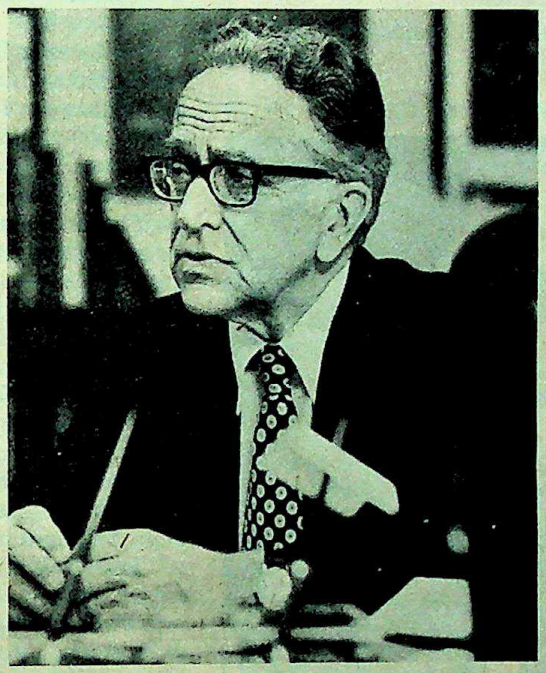


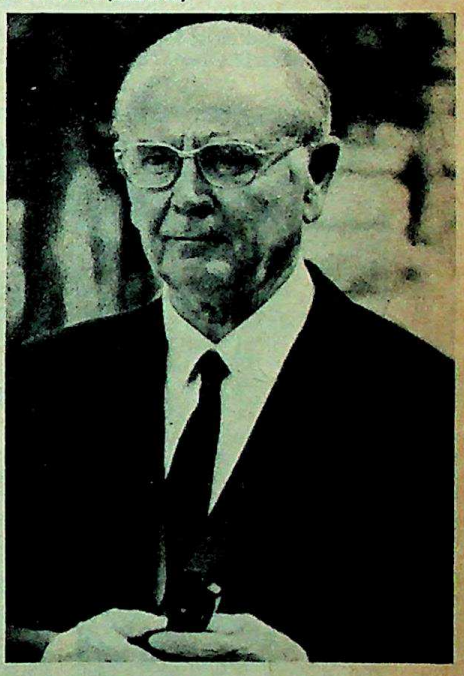
the most liberal and libertarian Justice in history as well, ever ready to strike a blow against those who abuse executive or legislative power ("I believe that any time an individual is coerced by his Government, he has an action"). Some law school professors criticize him for shortchanging his large talent and writing sloppy, ill-researched opinions, none of which fazes him in the least. However the court now rules, undoubtedly was tempted to write a characteristically abrasive opinion of his own. Appeared to be firmly pro-Jaworski.

THURGOOD MARSHALL, 66, a Democrat appointed by Lyndon Johnson in 1967, won a score of cases while representing the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund before the Supreme Court prior to 1962, but now finds himself in the Burger Court's liberal minority. The court's best raconteur, who sometimes likes to jive groups of whites by lapsing ostentatiously into a broad black dialect. Has collected an informal panel of law professors and judges to help choose his clerks, who as a result are now usually the best in the building. Still impatient with legal complexities, preferring to go to the right or wrong of a situation as he sees it. An-

JUSTICE POTTER STEWART (TOP) & CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN BURGER, JUSTICES HARRY BLACKMUN & WILLIAM BRENNAN (BELOW)







OTTER STEWART, 59, a Republican appointed by Eisenhower 1959, once seemed mildly conservative but has since moved middle ground and often votes against the Nixon bloc. A rong supporter of civil rights and First Amendment privileges, in his dissents in pornography cases. The most aware, least ory tower among the Justices. Pragmatically concerned with a ecision's impact. A modest phrasemaker in an effort to give e public a handle on a case's difficulties (on defining obscen-: "I know it when I see it"; on court antitrust decisions: "The nly consistency is that the Government always wins"). Has pubely praised the reporters who helped expose Watergate. Seemed almost certain pro-Jaworski vote.

ILLIAM J. BRENNAN, 74, a Republican appointed by Eisenower in 1957, has been a consistent liberal with a broad view judicial powers. The court's only Roman Catholic, voted to d obstacles to abortion, then suffered through demands that be excommunicated. Personally distrusts the press, and in reent years has generally avoided interviews, but devoutly deends First Amendment rights. Is known to dislike Nixon so uch that three years ago, when tempted to resign in order to pend more time with his seriously ill wife, he decided to stay in fice rather than let the President appoint another conserva-e. Considered a certain pro-Jaworski vote.

ILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, 75, a Democrat appointed by Franklin oosevelt in 1939, holds the record for Supreme Court longev-: both he and his pacemaker seem to be going strong. Perhaps other activist who will have no difficulty concluding that the court has authority to decide the case. The most certain pro-Jaworski vote.

On rare occasions, of course, the Supreme Court has mocked prognosticators with a ruling contrary to all expert expectation. In the subpoena case, it was conceivable—barely—that the Justices could deadlock at 4 to 4. Legally, that would leave the original Sirica order in force, but politically it would be a kind of victory for Nixon. Another option was to return the case to Sirica on some technicality—also a highly improbable result.

Were it to act out either of these scenarios of surprise, or some other, the court in effect would be vindicating St. Clair's bold, circular argument. Stripped of frills, that contention leaves the President virtually invulnerable. It says that he cannot be indicted by a grand jury unless he is first impeached and convicted in Congress, that he can be impeached only for offenses that are subject to criminal indictment and that he is the only rightful arbiter of what evidence in his possession should be made available either to the courts or to the Congress.

At the center of this circle is the totem of Executive privilege —Nixon is ostensibly not protecting himself but his own and his presidential successors' institutional prerogatives. The irony is that the Watergate scandal, and the particular showdown before the Supreme Court, is more dangerous to the presidency than any voluntary concession concerning his privilege would be. By his actions, Nixon has invited a ruling from the highest court that may for the first time put stated limits on the very immunity he professes to protect.

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The Case of the Doctored Transcripts

"I don't give a shit what happens. I want you all to stonewall it, let them plead the Fifth Amendment, cover up or anything else if it'll save it—save the plan. That's the whole point . . . We're going to protect our people, if we can."

Thus spoke Richard Nixon to some of his top aides on March 22, 1973, as he urged them not to cooperate with the many investigations of the Watergate scandal that were getting hotter. His words were tape-recorded, of course, like most conversations in the Oval Office. But this particular call for a continued cover-up was somehow omitted from a transcript of the March 22 meeting that the White House finally released —under duress—last April.

The President's instructions to his lieutenants* emerged now because the House Judiciary Committee made its own transcripts of eight White House tapes that were turned over to the committee by Federal Judge John Sirica. When the committee published this material last week, observers quickly discovered scores of discrepancies between the White House transcripts and the committee's versions.

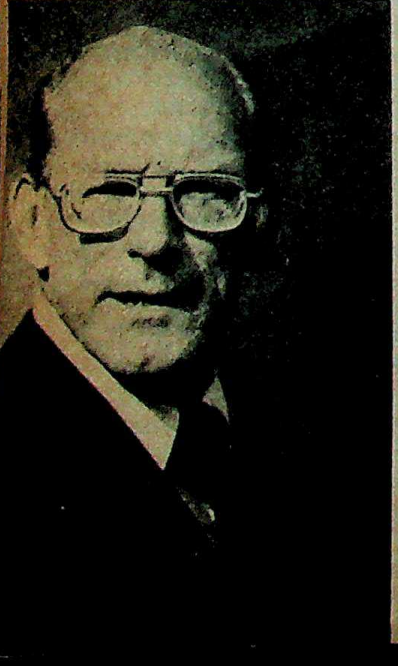
*Present at the meeting were: the President, H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, John Dean and John Mitchell.

RODINO COMMITTEE WITNESS JOHN DEAN

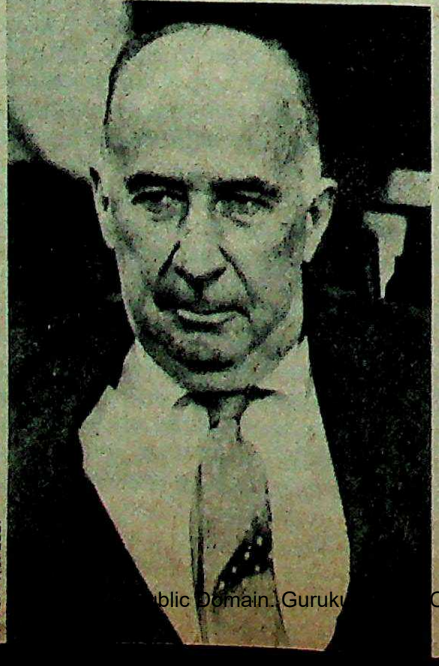


BRACK—BLACK STAR

FREDERICK LARUE



JOHN MITCHELL



ROBERT MCNEELY

Some stenographic errors were inevitable in so la mass of material, but curiously, in practically every ins the mistakes in the White House transcripts put the ident in a better light than did the committee's correcte uments. To Nixon's critics on Capitol Hill, the many sions and apparent misstatements in the White House ve seemed nothing less than a clumsy effort to doctor th idence, to cover up the original cover-up. These revela damaged the President and added impetus to the impe ment drive.

In addition to the release of the transcripts last week Judiciary Committee also published an extraordinary of evidence concerning the Watergate case—eight vo in all of more than 4,000 pages *(see following story)*.

Unhelpful Witnesses. In the meantime, the com moved ahead toward an impeachment vote, now expecte the end of the month. For a time last week it appeared the vote might be delayed until mid-August, and a curiou change of notes took place between House leaders sittin of all places, the President's table. While listening to a W House briefing from Secretary of State Henry Kissi House Speaker Carl Albert slipped a piece of paper to D ocratic House Leader Thomas ("Tip") O'Neill on which h served that the Rodino committee was now running a m behind schedule. O'Neill quickly scribbled a reply: he talked to Chairman Peter Rodino, and the committee w damned well vote soon.

The first four witnesses who testified before the com tee in closed session last week had all been requested b President's special counsel, James St. Clair. His aim has to narrow the grounds for impeachment by maintainin the committee that it must establish a direct link be Nixon and a criminal offense: in this case, the payme hush money to Convicted Watergate Conspirator E. Ho Hunt on March 21, 1973. Accordingly, he wanted the nesses to declare that Nixon had not specifically ordere payment of the $75,000 to Hunt. But no witness remem the timing of the payment in such a way as to absolve N of involvement in the incident.

The week's first witness was Frederick LaRue, onetim sistant to John Mitchell at the Committee for the Re tion of the President, who said that he could not rem exactly when John Dean had telephoned him about p Hunt. Another witness, William O. Bittman, former att for Hunt, was equally unilluminating.

Nailing Water. The third witness, former Attorney eral John Mitchell, betrayed a failing memory of almos maying proportions. But he remembered precisely that (Bob) Haldeman, then the White House chief of staff not mentioned the payment of hush money when he phoned Mitchell in Manhattan on March 21, 1973. It w this reason that St. Clair had wanted Mitchell as a witne demonstrate that Haldeman had not passed on instruc from Nixon to see that Hunt was paid off.

Instead, said Mitchell, he had discussed the proposed ment with LaRue, who had asked Mitchell whether he th the money should be paid. Mitchell said he replied that money was to be used for legal fees, he would advise L to pay it.

Neither Democrats nor Republicans seemed muc pressed by Mitchell's testimony. "He has what I call a venient memory, it's selective," declared Congressman Ge Danielson, a California Democrat. Trying to get inform from Mitchell, he added, was "like trying to nail a di water to the wall." Republican M. Caldwell Butler of ginia allowed that as a result of Mitchell's appearance sum total of human knowledge is not changed a bit." A Republican Tom Railsback of Illinois: "Mitchell pers the stonewall."

Then came John Dean, the star of last summer's tergate committee hearings. St. Clair had hoped to dis Dean as a witness, since it was the former White Hou

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...el's sharp memory that had formed the original scope of the ...se against the President. But not even the toughest cross-ex...mination by St. Clair would shake Dean in his basic charg... that Nixon knew of and participated in the cover-up be...re March 21. In fact, Dean also furnished some hitherto ...known details about life in the Oval Office. The President, ...id Dean, once vowed to remove one of his most respected ...abinet members, Treasury Secretary George Shultz, if Shultz ...d not cooperate with the White House plan to "punish" the ...00 "enemies" on its list. "If George Shultz thinks he's some ...rt of candy-ass over this [the crackdown on 'enemies']," ...e President told Dean, "tell me and I'll get him out."

The last witness of the week was Assistant Attorney Gen...al Henry Petersen, who was in charge of the original Wa...rgate investigation. Petersen testified that he had "never ...ceived any information which involved the President in ...y cover-up." He described how he had passed on to the Pres...ent some confidential information concerning the progress ...f the investigation. But Petersen professed to feel that the ...esident had acted "within his rights" when he broke his ...ord to Petersen and repeated the confidential information ...several White House aides who were under investigation.

Another subject that fascinated the committee was the lat..., 19-minute tape gap, mentioned last week by a Watergate ...secutor in Judge Sirica's court. The White House explained ...at, during a conversation between Nixon and John Ehr...chman in the Oval Office on March 20, 1973, the recording ...achine had run out of tape. Skeptics noted that March 20 ...d been a Tuesday—a workday when the machines were or...narily carefully monitored by the Secret Service.

This week, as the hearings end, the committee will begin ...blishing massive additional evidence on the non-Water...te charges against the President: testimony concerning the ...ilk industry contributions, the ITT antitrust settlement, the ...llsberg break-in and other matters. But nothing in this ma...rial is likely to be as potentially damaging to the Presi...nt's cause as the transcripts released last week.

Too Late for the Hang-Out. The differences between ...e White House and Judiciary Committee transcripts were ...scinating, and at times crucial. In the March 22, 1973, con...rsation, for instance, the White House version quoted Nixon ...s saying Mitchell favored a flexible strategy "in order to get ...f the cover-up line"; in the committee version, it was "in ...der to get on with the cover-up plan."

In a March 13 conversation, according to both versions, ...ixon asked Dean whether it was still possible to make full ...sclosure of the facts: "Is it too late to, to, frankly, go the hang-...t road?" In the committee version—and only that version ...the President quickly answered his own question: "Yes, it ..." Then he added, in the committee version: "The hang-out ...ad's going to have to be rejected. I, some, I understand it ...as rejected." This exchange took place eight days before ...e famous date of March 21, on which Nixon has stead...stly maintained he first learned of the Watergate cover-up. ...et by March 13, according to the new evidence, the Pres...ent had come to believe that he no longer had the option of ...mply telling the truth.

On the same day, according to both versions, Dean told ...ixon that Gordon Strachan, an aide to Haldeman, had al...ady lied twice to federal investigators. In the White House ...rsion, Dean told Nixon: "He can go in and stonewall and ...y, 'I don't know anything about what you are talking about.' ...e has already done it twice, you know, in interviews." The ...diciary version is only slightly but subtly different. Dean ...ys, "He'll go in and stonewall it...he has already done it ...ice, as you know..." Then, in the Judiciary version, when ...ean remarks to Nixon that he does not believe that John ...itchell knew about the Watergate bugging, Nixon replies in...edulously, "You kidding?" (That rejoinder was omitted from ...e White House version.)

On March 21, Nixon and Dean discussed Hunt's demands ...r $120,000. In the White House version, Nixon asks Dean, ...Your major guy to keep under control is Hunt?" In the Ju...iary version, this is a flat statement: "Your major guy to ...under control is Hunt." And when, in the same version,

House Judiciary Committee Transcript, p. 121	White House Transcript, pp. 236-37
PRESIDENT: that's why your, for your immediate thing you've got no choice with Hunt but the hundred and twenty or whatever it is. Right?	P That's why for your immediate things you have no choice but to come up with the $120,000, or whatever it is. Right?
DEAN: That's right.	D That's right.
PRESIDENT: Would you agree that that's a buy time thing, you betten damn well get that done, but fast?	P Would you agree that that's the prime thing that you damn well better get that done?
DEAN: I think he ought to be given some signal, anyway, to, to --	D Obviously he ought to be given some signal anyway.
PRESIDENT: Yes.	
DEAN: Yeah - you know.	
PRESIDENT: Well for Christ's sakes get it in a, in a way that, uh --who's, who's going to talk to him? Colson? He's the one who's supposed to know him.	P (Expletive deleted), get it. In a way that -- who is going to talk to him? Colson? He is the one who is supposed to know him?

JUDICIARY & WHITE HOUSE VERSIONS OF MARCH 21 CONVERSATION

Dean reflects, "He knows so much," the President adds ominously, "about a lot of other things." (This, again, is omitted from the White House version.)

Then, as the already well publicized discussion of the payment to Hunt continued, Nixon, according to the White House text, asked: "Would you agree that that's the prime thing, that you damn well better get that done." In the committee version, the President says: "Would you agree then that that's a buy-time thing, you better damn well get that done, but fast?"

In the White House version, Nixon said of Hunt: "His price is pretty high, but at least we can buy time on that." In the Judiciary version, it becomes: "His price is pretty high, but at least, uh, we should, we should buy the time on that, uh, as I pointed out to John." When Presidential Assistant John Ehrlichman mentioned that Hunt also wanted to get a pardon, Nixon, in the Judiciary version, replies: "I know ... I mean he's got to get that by Christmas time." The White House version also included this remark, but attributed it to John Dean rather than to the President.

The same day, as he reflected on the amount of money that Dean estimated might be required by the original Watergate defendants, Nixon, according to the White House version, observed: "It sounds like a lot of money, a million dollars. Let my *[sic]* say, that I think we could get that. I know money is hard to raise." But in the Judiciary version his words are sharper: "Let me say that I think you could get that in cash, and I know money is hard, but there are ways."

One of the more eye-opening passages in the Judiciary Committee's version is a 15-minute conversation that does not appear at all in the White House transcripts. It was omitted, Press Secretary Ron Ziegler explained with a straight face last week, because "in our judgment it was of dubious relevance." This incredible assertion was echoed by St. Clair. It contains this comment by the President on March 22, 1973: "John Dean ... put the fires out, almost got the damn thing nailed down till past the election and so forth. We all know what it

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is. Embarrassing goddamn thing the way it went, and so forth."

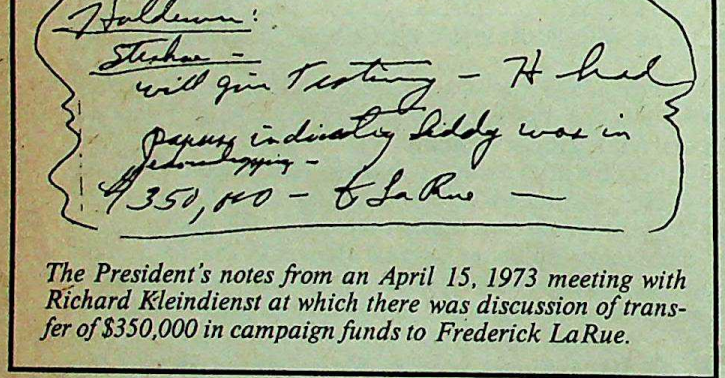
The excised passage also contains the President's instruction to his staff that they strive to block the investigation by stonewalling or by invoking the Fifth Amendment, if necessary. The line is reminiscent of a suggestion that the President offered on March 21, 1973, when his aides were discussing the possibility of appearing before a federal grand jury: "But you can say, 'I don't remember.' " (In the Judiciary Committee version: "Just be damned sure you say, 'I don't . . . remember.' ")

Did the White House really believe that by quietly altering —or just not meeting—the taped evidence, it could deluge army of investigators now poring over every detail of the W tergate case? That is hard to believe. But the responsibility the petty cover-up is less ambiguous. Last week Ron Ziegle affirmed that it was Richard Nixon himself who had made final decision on what material would be released. As the P ident declared on April 29, when he finally surrendered the scripts (rather than the tapes) to the Judiciary Committee have spent many hours of my own time personally revie these materials and personally deciding questions of releva

The Evidence: Fitting the Pieces Together

Never in the 25-month history of the Watergate scandal had so much of the evidence been brought together in one place. The eight volumes of material released last week by the House Judiciary Committee assembled all the available bits and pieces of the Watergate mosaic: previously secret grand jury testimony furnished to the committee by Judge John Sirica, memos written by President Nixon and some of his high aides, Senate Watergate Committee testimony, tape recordings from the Oval Office, a presidential Dictabelt, and notes scrawled on legal-size pads in the President's irregular hand. The Judiciary Committee formed no conclusions and drew no verdicts. In a serious effort to be fair and impartial, it simply presented all the materials it had acquired.

The overwhelming weight of the evidence is against Nixon, though there is no single piece of new information that could conclusively decide the case. There is much ambiguity about specific words and actions of the President. But the broad pattern



The President's notes from an April 15, 1973 meeting with Richard Kleindienst at which there was discussion of transfer of $350,000 in campaign funds to Frederick LaRue.

of motives and strategies suggested by the mass of material leaves little doubt about the major aim of the President: to protect himself and his aides from the flood of disclosures that began immediately after the Watergate break-in on June 17, 1972.

New evidence assembled by the committee confirms, and in many instances sharpens, the impressions given by already published material. The President and his men often judged possible actions for their publicity value, rarely for their potential in getting out the complete truth or bringing individuals to justice. Though the White House insists that the impeachment inquiry should be limited to the Watergate break-in and cover-up alone, the committee, beginning this week, will produce ten more volumes of information on other allegations against Nixon.

The President's defense on Watergate is contained in a separate 242-page volume, which the committee released together with last week's seven books of evidence. Prepared by Presidential Lawyer James St. Clair, it is the only portion of the massive document that attempts to draw specific conclusions. St. Clair cites Senate Watergate testimony by H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman and John Mitchell that the President had no knowledge of the burglary or the cover-up. The defense counsel's main focus, however, is on the crucial $75,000 payment to E. Howard Hunt, one of the convicted Watergate conspirators. St. Clair argues that the transcript of the meeting that Nixon held with White House Counsel John Dean on March 21, 1973, "clearly demonstrates that the President recognizes that any blackm and cover-up activities then in progress could not continue."

St. Clair's relatively slender volume of defense is overs owed by the seven books of evidence (ranging from 271 to pages). Part 1 of the Judiciary Committee document details formation of the "sophisticated intelligence-gathering syst that eventually led to the Watergate break-in and bugging. A ond volume deals with the initial attempt to limit the case to seven original burglars and their accomplices, while keeping scandal away from the White House. A third section of two v umes focuses on the hush-money payments to Hunt and the c tinued cover-up efforts. The three-volume fourth section c tains material on activities after March 22, 1973, emphasi the role of President Nixon—whether he launched an inv gation or participated in the cover-up himself.

Herewith the major elements of the evidence:

The Immediate Cover-Up

One of the more startling disclosures is that Nixon fore a need to conceal information about the Watergate affair jus days after the June 17 break-in. At a meeting with Halde and Mitchell, which was called to discuss Mitchell's resigna as Nixon's campaign director, this dialogue took place:

HALDEMAN: Well, there maybe is another facet. The longer wait, the more risk each hour brings. You run the risk of stuff, valid or invalid, surfacing on the Watergate caper— of thing—

MITCHELL: You couldn't possibly do it if you got into a—

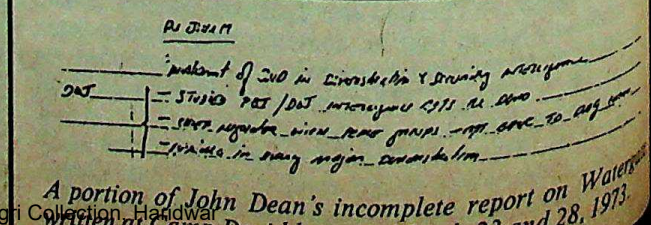
HALDEMAN:—the potential problem and then you are stuck—

PRESIDENT: Yes, that's the other thing, if something does out, but we won't—we hope nothing will. It may not. But is always the risk.

HALDEMAN: As of now there is no problem there. As of any ment in the future there is at least a potential problem.

PRESIDENT: Well, I'd cut the loss fast. I'd cut it fast. If going to do it I'd cut it fast.

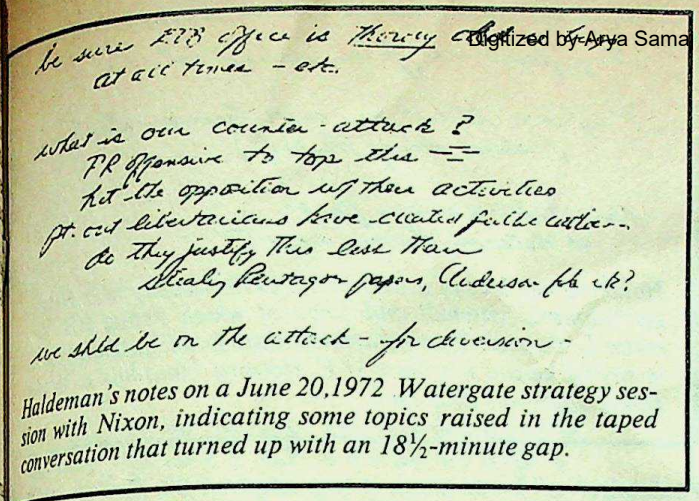
It is possible that by "cut the loss" Nixon meant that M ell would have to resign. But in expressing his fear that some formation might "come out," the President seemed already cerned that an open policy of complete disclosure would



A portion of John Dean's incomplete report on Watergate written at Camp David between March 23 and 28, 1973.

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Haldeman's notes on a June 20,1972 Watergate strategy session with Nixon, indicating some topics raised in the taped conversation that turned up with an 18½-minute gap.

fraught with danger—fully nine months before he claims he first became aware of the Watergate cover-up.

Less than three weeks after the arrest of the Watergate wiretappers, the possibility of granting them Executive clemency was discussed by the President and Ehrlichman. Ehrlichman later recalled before a Watergate grand jury that he held a "very long, rambling conversation" with the President on or about July 4, 1972. Testified Ehrlichman: "We talked about the Watergate defendants, and I raised the point with the President that presidential pardons or something of that kind inevitably would be a question that he would have to confront." Ehrlichman added in his testimony that Nixon expressed the "firm view [that] he would never be in a position to grant a pardon or any form of clemency in this case." Despite Ehrlichman's report that Nixon rejected clemency, the conversation raises a sticky question for the White House: Why did Ehrlichman feel that the question of Executive clemency would "inevitably" come up over what was then being described by Nixon's spokesmen as a "third-rate burglary"?

That question indeed occurred to an assistant special Watergate prosecutor, Richard Ben-Veniste. Logically, one Watergate defendant that the White House should have been worried about was G. Gordon Liddy, then a fairly high official of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. Ehrlichman testified that he knew by June 20 that Liddy had headed the Watergate break-in team. Yet Ehrlichman told Ben-Veniste that he did not inform the President of Liddy's role.

Q. Now when was the first time that you were aware that the President was aware that Liddy had an involvement?

A. I don't know.

Q. Was the President aware of that by the Fourth of July [1972]?

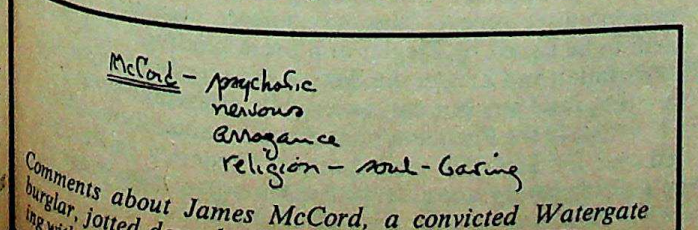
A. I haven't any idea.

Q. Was he aware of it before the 10th of July, based on your long and very complete discussions with him on the 6th, 7th, and 8th of July?

A. I don't know.

Then, moments later, Ben-Veniste asked incredulously:

Q. And are you testifying that you were aware of that and you had conversations with the President about the possibilities of Executive clemency for these people, and you just omitted to tell the President that the general counsel for the finance committee [Liddy] had admitted to Dean that it was his operation?

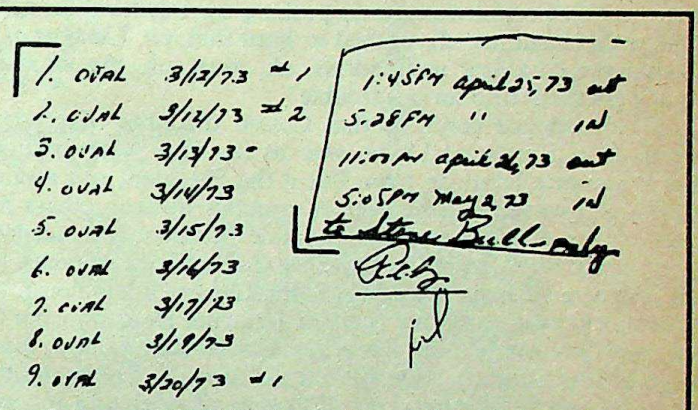


Comments about James McCord, a convicted Watergate burglar, jotted down by Ehrlichman at April 5, 1973 meeting with Paul O'Brien, a re-election committee lawyer.

Nixon's Involvement Deepens

The most damaging material concerns the events of March 1973. President Nixon has repeatedly stated that it was only on March 21 that he first learned, from Dean, of the Watergate cover-up. There are strong indications in the new evidence that the President discussed the cover-up at least eight days before March 21. More incriminating still is material showing that President Nixon perpetuated the cover-up rather than launching a complete investigation, as he has frequently claimed he did.

The Judiciary Committee's version of a March 13 conversation between Nixon and Dean shows clearly, as do the transcripts issued by the White House, that the President was then aware of perjury by Gordon Strachan, Haldeman's top aide. The President on that day also explicitly rejected the "hang-out road"—meaning a complete disclosure.



Grand jury exhibit showing a Secret Service log of presidential tapes and some temporary withdrawals by White House Aide Steve Bull.

The evidence shows that Nixon again discussed the Watergate cover-up with Dean on March 17. A committee subpoena for the tape of that conversation was rejected by the White House. But during a later talk between Nixon and Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler, a tape of which was obtained by the Judiciary Committee, Nixon recounted that on March 17 he ordered Dean to "cut off any disclosures that might implicate him in Watergate." The Judiciary Committee states: "The President said that [the former deputy campaign director] Jeb Magruder 'put the heat on, and [the former treasurer of Nixon's finance committee, Hugh] Sloan starts pissing on Haldeman.' " As the committee report summarizes the conversation: "The President said that 'we've got to cut that off. We can't have that go to Haldeman.' The President said that looking to the future there were problems and that Magruder could bring it right to Haldeman, and that could bring it to the White House, to the President. The President said that 'We've got to cut that back. That ought to be cut out.' "

The evidence also amplifies the record of the events of the fateful March 21. A statement made by the President on his Dictabelt machine just after his meeting with Dean and transcribed by the Judiciary Committee shows that he admired those of his aides who lied to investigating groups and had contempt for those who told the truth. He praised Gordon Strachan—who at the time was stonewalling FBI investigators and Government prosecutors with denials that led later to his indictment for perjury. In Nixon's words, Strachan was "a real . . . courageous fellow through all this." By contrast, Nixon talked of Magruder, who was cooperating with prosecutors, as "a rather weak man, who had all the appearance of character, but who really lacks it when the, uh, chips are down."

Strangely, Nixon began the Dictabelt by saying that March 21

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was "relatively uneventful." But he went on to recount his long conversation with Dean and made a possible damaging statement about one of the most crucial parts of the Watergate case, E. Howard Hunt's demand for money. Lawyer St. Clair has argued that, in his March 21 discussion of a payment to Hunt from campaign funds, Nixon meant only legal-support payments. But the President's Dictabelt indicates that this was not so. "Hunt," said the President, "needed a hundred and—thousand *[sic]* dollars or so to pay his lawyer and handle other things or he was going to have some things to say that would be very detrimental to Colson and Ehrlichman, *et al.* This is, uh, Dean recognizes as pure blackmail."

On the Dictabelt, Nixon placed much of the blame for the whole Watergate imbroglio on Charles Colson, who had recently resigned as White House special counsel. "Apparently what happened is that Colson, with Liddy and Hunt in his office, called Magruder and told him in February to get off his ass and start doing something about, uh, setting up some kind of an operation . . . Colson was always pushing terribly hard for action, and in this instance, uh, pushed so hard that, uh, Liddy *et al* following their natural inclinations, uh, went, uh, the extra step which got them into serious trouble."

The evidence confirms that Colson did urge Magruder to speak with Hunt and Liddy, who at the time were promoting the Watergate break-in plan. But if the President was aware of Colson's involvement, he seemed anxious to keep others from finding out. A week after Nixon made the Dictabelt, according to evidence revealed in the Judiciary Committee's volumes, Nixon instructed Ehrlichman to inform Richard Kleindienst, then the Attorney General, that "neither Dean nor Haldeman nor Colson nor I nor anybody in the White House had any prior knowledge of this burglary." On March 30, nine days after the President recorded his suspicions of Colson, Ziegler told reporters: "As we have said before, no one in the White House had any involvement or prior knowledge of the Watergate event, and I repeat that statement again today."

Ziegler was asked about that pronouncement by a Watergate grand jury last Feb. 12. His testimony included:

Q. Did the President tell you to make that statement in March?

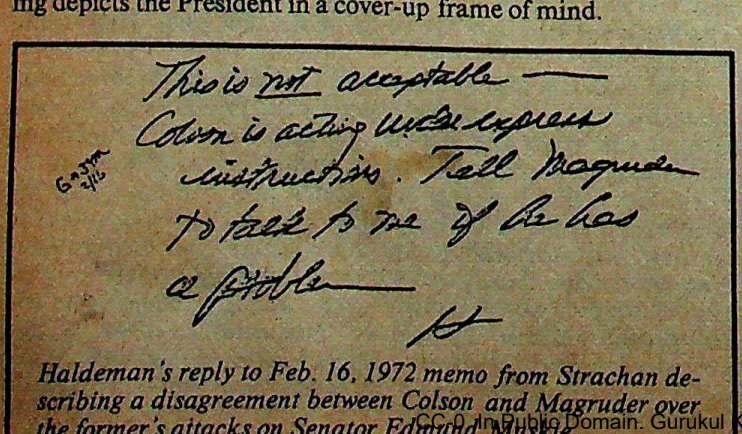
A. Yes, he did.

Q. So the President didn't tell you what he had learned on March 21st [from John Dean] prior to your making the March 30th statement?

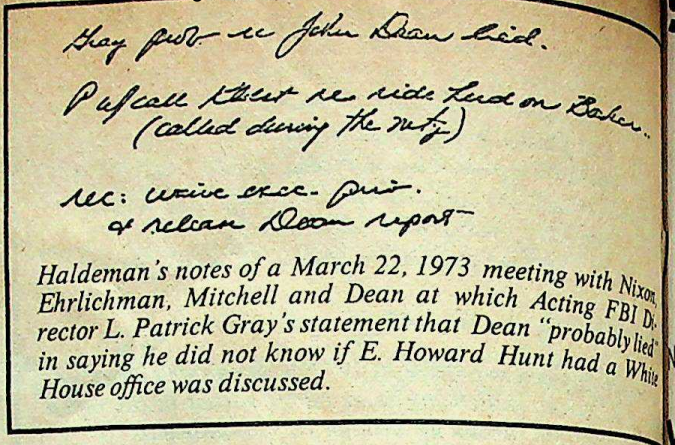
A. No, he didn't.

Cover-Up of the Cover-Up

After the March 21 meeting with Dean, the President and his top aides spent weeks huddled in strategy sessions, looking for ways to limit damaging disclosures about Watergate while trying to give the appearance of exhaustively examining the case. A 15-minute portion of a March 22 meeting of Nixon, Mitchell and Dean was entirely left out of the White House transcripts. The Judiciary Committee transcript of that portion of the meeting depicts the President in a cover-up frame of mind.



Haldeman's reply to Feb. 16, 1972 memo from Strachan describing a disagreement between Colson and Magruder over the former's attacks on Senator Edmund Muskie.



Haldeman's notes of a March 22, 1973 meeting with Nixon, Ehrlichman, Mitchell and Dean at which Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray's statement that Dean "probably lied" in saying he did not know if E. Howard Hunt had a White House office was discussed.

PRESIDENT: . . . I was going to say, uh, uh, John Dean is, uh, (unintelligible) got—put the fires out, almost got the damn thing nailed down till past the election and so forth. We all know what it is. Embarrassing God damn thing the way it went, and so forth. But, in my view, uh, some of it will come out; we will survive it. That's the way it is. That's the way you've got to look at it.

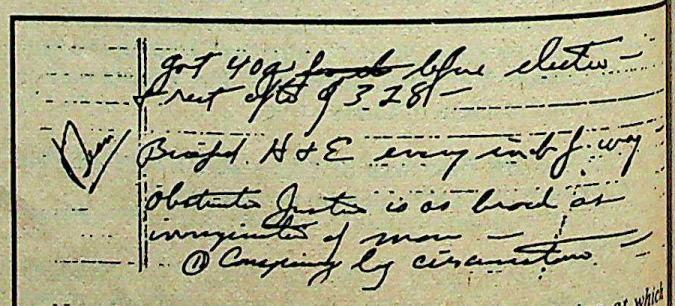
Significantly, when John Dean claimed before the Ervin committee that Nixon praised his efforts to contain the Watergate affair, the White House denied that Nixon had done so. The transcript, however, clearly shows the President complimenting Dean on his work. In the March 22 conversation, the President seems still to be looking for a way to "put the fires out" without making a full disclosure:

DEAN: We were within a few miles months ago, but, uh, we're—

PRESIDENT: The point is, get the God damn thing over with.

DEAN: That's right.

PRESIDENT: That's the thing to do. That's the other thing I [illegible] about this. I'd like to get—But you really would draw the line



Notes made by the President on April 15 meeting at which Dean said that he had gone to the prosecutors.

—But, I know, we can't make a complete cave and have the people go up there and testify. You would agree on that?

▶ The President stated in August 1973 that he ordered Ehrlichman to investigate the Watergate case after he learned that Dean was unable or unwilling to carry out his inquiry. Ehrlichman testified before the Senate Watergate committee that the orders came at a noon meeting on March 30. But a White House transcript for that meeting shows that, in the words of the committee report, "the only subject discussed was a statement to be issued by Ziegler at a press briefing." The President, Ehrlichman and Ziegler did discuss the possibility of going up before the grand jury but only as a public relations device.

▶ One of the President's handwritten notes shows that he [illegible] ted over the $350,000 shelled out by Frederick LaRue, a [illegible] re-election committee aide, to the Watergate conspirators. "Why will LaRue say he got the 350 for?" wrote the President on April 15, 1973—the day when Nixon was told by Prosecutor Henry Petersen that Haldeman and Ehrlichman were [illegible] cover-up activities. The exact meaning of Nixon's [illegible]

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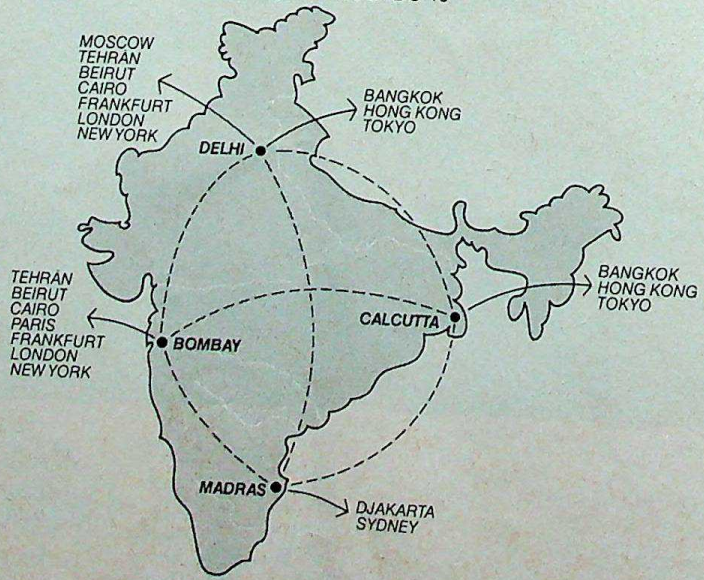
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clear. But apparently he was not thinking that telling the simple truth would be the best course for LaRue.

Previously undisclosed evidence reveals a seamy, desperate attempt to pin the blame for the break-in on a couple of vulnerable faithful servants of the President. The White House tried to use Mitchell and Magruder to protect the President and his top aides. The method: secretly tape separate conversations with Mitchell and Magruder and then turn their words against them.

On April 13, 1973, while Magruder was cooperating with the prosecutors, he was called by Lawrence Higby, an aide to Haldeman. According to a transcript of the tape, Higby charged Magruder with leaking information to two reporters. Magruder reported that that was "just ridiculous," but he went on to implicate both himself and Mitchell: "I've committed perjury so many times now that I'm, uh, you know, I'm, uh, I've got probably a hundred years on perjury alone." Then he talked about his decision to "make a clean breast of things." He added: "Of course, he [Mitchell] will be upset with me because I obviously will implicate John Mitchell." Finally Higby extracted from Magruder exactly whom his testimony would implicate: Dean, Strachan and Mitchell—but not Haldeman and not the President.

This was just what Higby and Haldeman wanted. The next evening, Ehrlichman told the President: "He [Higby] tape recorded this thing. Higby handled it so well that Magruder has closed all his doors now with this tape."

PRESIDENT: What good will that do, John?

EHRLICHMAN: Sir, it beats the socks off him if he ever gets off the reservation.

"Can you use the tape?" the President wanted to know. After some discussion, Haldeman said that, according to Washington, D.C., law, they could.

Also on April 14 Ehrlichman, at Nixon's request, taped a conversation with Mitchell. The apparent purpose: to get Mitchell to admit that he had approved the Watergate break-in and engineered the original cover-up, and thus take the heat off the White House. Mitchell took a commercial flight to Washington that afternoon. Ehrlichman quickly ushered him into his office without giving him a chance to see the President. Also, Ehrlichman pulled a chair close to his desk so that Mitchell would be close to the hidden microphone.

Nixon, Ehrlichman said, would get the credit if Mitchell would only confess his guilt to the U.S. Attorney. But Mitchell proved to be too shrewd to say anything that would incriminate himself. According to a transcript of his conversation, he denied his own guilt and accused the White House of responsibility. "Well let me tell you where I stand," he told Ehrlichman. "Uh, there is no way that I'm going to do anything except staying where I am because I'm too far, uh, far out. Uh, the fact of the matter is that, uh, I got euchred into this thing, when I say, by not paying attention to what those bastards were doing, and uh, well, you know how far back this goes . . . this . . . whole genesis of this thing was over here—as you're perfectly aware."

That put Ehrlichman, who knew the meeting was being recorded, on the immediate defensive. "No, I didn't know that," he replied.

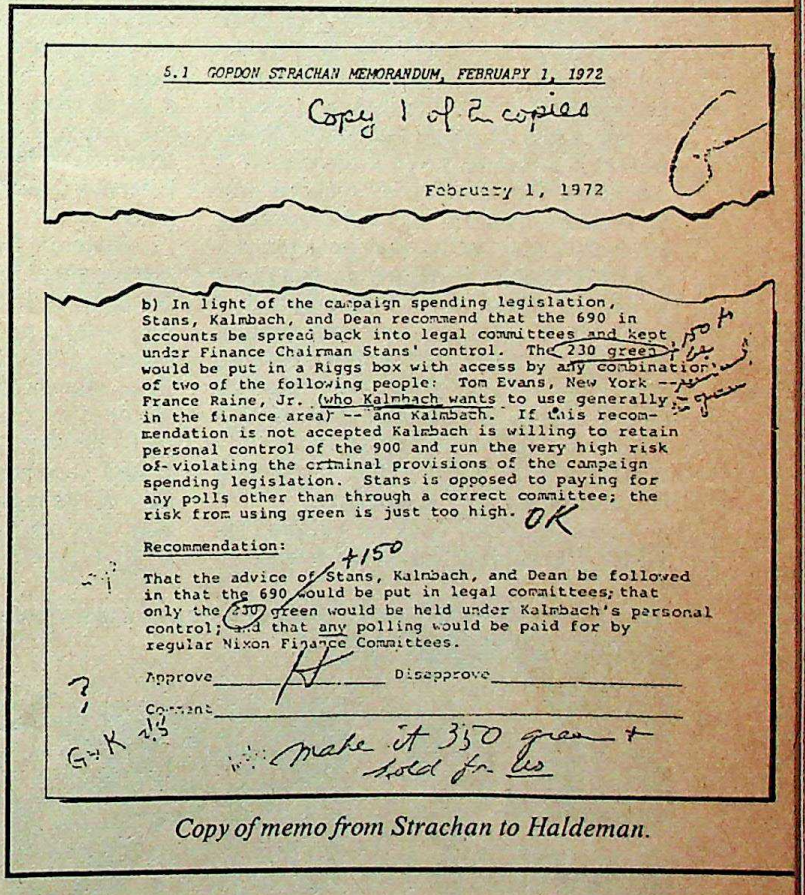
Some Light on the Origins

The Judiciary Committee evidence shed a bit of light on the origins of Watergate by recounting some of the practices, power relationships and internal rivalries in the Nixon political camp during the months before the break-in and cover-up. What is clear is that the White House kept the tightest control over even the smallest details of President Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign.

The control was exercised by Haldeman. He gave his orders to Strachan, his liaison at the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, who is currently under indictment for covering up the Watergate burglary. A lot of ordinary and extraordinary campaign decisions were made through a blizzard of "Political Matter" memos that Haldeman got from Strachan. Haldeman indicated a preferred course of action in specific situations by placing the initial H next to an alternative.

In the memo dated Dec. 2, 1971, with which the evidence begins, Strachan mentioned that "the Attorney General [Mitchell] discussed with John Dean the need to develop a political intelligence capability. Sandwedge [a previously considered plan] has been scrapped." In a memo four days later, Haldeman approved a pay raise, from $26,000 to $30,000, for Liddy, who had just shifted over from his job as an Ehrlichman aide to handle political intelligence and legal matters for the re-election committee. In these and later memos, Haldeman approved such trivia as the idea of starting a tabloid for the campaign to get news to the organization, and the request by Maurice Stans, the re-election committee's finance chief, for permission to eat in the White House mess. Haldeman accepted without comment the news that Political Adviser Harry Dent had counseled that President Nixon could break "without undue political flak" an unwritten promise to National Urban League Chief Whitney Young that the Veterans Administration would create $9 million worth of jobs for blacks. Dent had recommended, Strachan reported, that the funds be used instead for recruiting blacks "who can deliver for the President on Nov. 7, 1972."

Several memos deal with a sensitive topic—money. Both Haldeman and Strachan used the same slang as the underworld when discussing finances. Zeroes were dropped from large sums; cash is called "green." Wrote Strachan: "Of the 1.2 fund Kalmbach has a balance of 900 [meaning $900,000]-plus under his personal control." Strachan presented to Haldeman the recommendation of Stans, Dean and Herbert Kalmbach, the President's private lawyer and a major fund raiser, that "690" be put in legal committees and that "only the 230 green would be held under Kalmbach's personal control." Haldeman approved with his "H," and in a handwritten note at the bottom of the page told Strachan to "make it 350 green and hold for *us.*"



5.1 GORDON STRACHAN MEMORANDUM, FEBRUARY 1, 1972

Copy 1 of 2 copies

February 1, 1972

b) In light of the campaign spending legislation, Stans, Kalmbach, and Dean recommend that the 690 in accounts be spread back into legal committees and kept under Finance Chairman Stans' control. The 230 green would be put in a Riggs box with access by any combination of two of the following people: Tom Evans, New York -- France Raine, Jr. (who Kalmbach wants to use generally in the finance area) -- and Kalmbach. If this recommendation is not accepted Kalmbach is willing to retain personal control of the 900 and run the very high risk of violating the criminal provisions of the campaign spending legislation. Stans is opposed to paying for any polls other than through a correct committee; the risk from using green is just too high. OK

Recommendation:

That the advice of Stans, Kalmbach, and Dean be followed in that the 690 would be put in legal committees; that only the 230 green would be held under Kalmbach's personal control; and that any polling would be paid for by regular Nixon Finance Committees.

Approve H Disapprove

Comment

make it 350 green + hold for us

Copy of memo from Strachan to Haldeman.

No theme emerged from the evidence with more regularity than that of hear no evil. When Sloan, the treasurer of the re-election campaign, asked Stans about Liddy's request for $83,000, Stans replied: "I do not know what's going on in this campaign and I don't think you ought to try to know." And when Liddy, depressed because his plan for the burglary seemed to be getting nowhere, approached Dean early in 1972, Dean gave him a moral stiff-arm: "Well, Gordon, you recall that we're not going to talk about that."

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The Crack in Ehrlichman's Stonewall

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For John Ehrlichman, it was a hang-tough defense all the way. On trial in federal court in Washington for authorizing the burglary of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office in September 1971 and then lying about his participation, Ehrlichman conceded nothing. Not only did he deny approving the break-in but he claimed that he did not even know about it until after it happened. Yet the weight of evidence—many memos and recalled conversations—counted against him. Last week, after a little more than three hours' deliberation, the jury found him guilty of conspiracy and three counts of perjury. The other, lesser defendants—G. Gordon Liddy, Bernard L. Barker and Eugenio Martinez—were also convicted of conspiracy.

Euphemistic Exchange. Ehrlichman is the highest official of the Nixon Administration to be convicted so far of Watergate-related crimes. Due to be sentenced on July 31 by Gerhard A. Gesell, the U.S. district judge who conducted the trial, he could receive a prison term of up to 25 years; each of the co-defendants could be given a maximum of ten years. Ehrlichman announced that he would appeal the decision, repeating his earlier contention that he could not get a fair trial in Washington, a city that is heavily Democratic and preponderantly black. (His jury was composed of nine blacks and three whites.) He also complained that a "great deal of the substance and background of this case has been excluded by rulings of the court," a reference to Judge Gesell's rejection of national security as a defense.

Unable to fall back on national security, Ehrlichman based his defense on the claim that he had never specifically ordered a break-in but only a "covert" operation that would give the White House "plumbers" access to Ellsberg's psychiatric files. The two former White House aides in charge of the plumbers —David Young and Egil Krogh—testified that they had discussed the operation only in general terms with Ehrlichman, their immediate boss. In a delicate exchange of euphemisms, they were careful never to utter such words as "entry" or "burglary." Nevertheless, said Krogh, "it was clear to me, at any rate, that an entry operation would be necessary to examine the files."

Other witnesses brought Ehrlichman closer to the commission of the crime. Charles Colson testified that only a few days before the break-in, Ehrlichman had asked him to raise $5,000 immediately for a plumbers' operation. Ehrlichman told Colson of a project to get derogatory information about Ellsberg. Colson would then have to devise a game plan to spread the dirt. After the burglary, said Colson, Ehrlichman admitted to him: "The boys tried to get Ellsberg's psychiatric papers. They failed."

General Robert E. Cushman Jr., commandant of the Marine Corps, told the court how Ehrlichman had phoned him several times about a White House operation. Ehrlichman first asked Cushman, who was then serving as deputy director of the CIA, to give some assistance to E. Howard Hunt, one of the White House plumbers who was a field manager of the burglary. Later, when Cushman was instructed by the CIA to write a report on his contacts with Hunt, Ehrlichman phoned him with another quest: Keep White House names o his memo. Cushman obliged.

Ehrlichman's defense received help from high places. In respons written interrogatories, President N stated that he had urged the plumb operations to be kept secret. He thus plied that Ehrlichman was acting presidential orders when he tried to o ceal the break-in and was not just neuvering to camouflage his own ro

Three Noes. The most dramatic fense witness was Secretary of S Henry Kissinger. On the day of his timony, people queued up as early a.m. to try to get a seat in the co room. Those few who succeeded w disappointed. Kissinger was on stand for less than two minutes as he swered three questions. No, he had authorized David Young to reque psychological profile of Ellsberg the CIA. No, he had not known that was being assembled. No, he had been aware of a plan to obtain in mation from Ellsberg's psychiat That succinct testimony by the Se tary of State ran counter to Young's sertion that both Kissinger and Ehrl man had asked for the profile.

With his wife Jeanne and their children observing in court, Ehrlich took the stand in his own defense emphasized that he had nothing ill in mind when he approved the co operation. "My mind didn't dwell on various possibilities. I didn't run possible means or methods."

In his summation to the jury, sistant Special Prosecutor William M rill said that it was not necessary prove that Ehrlichman had ordered break-in. It was sufficient to show he had approved a covert operation

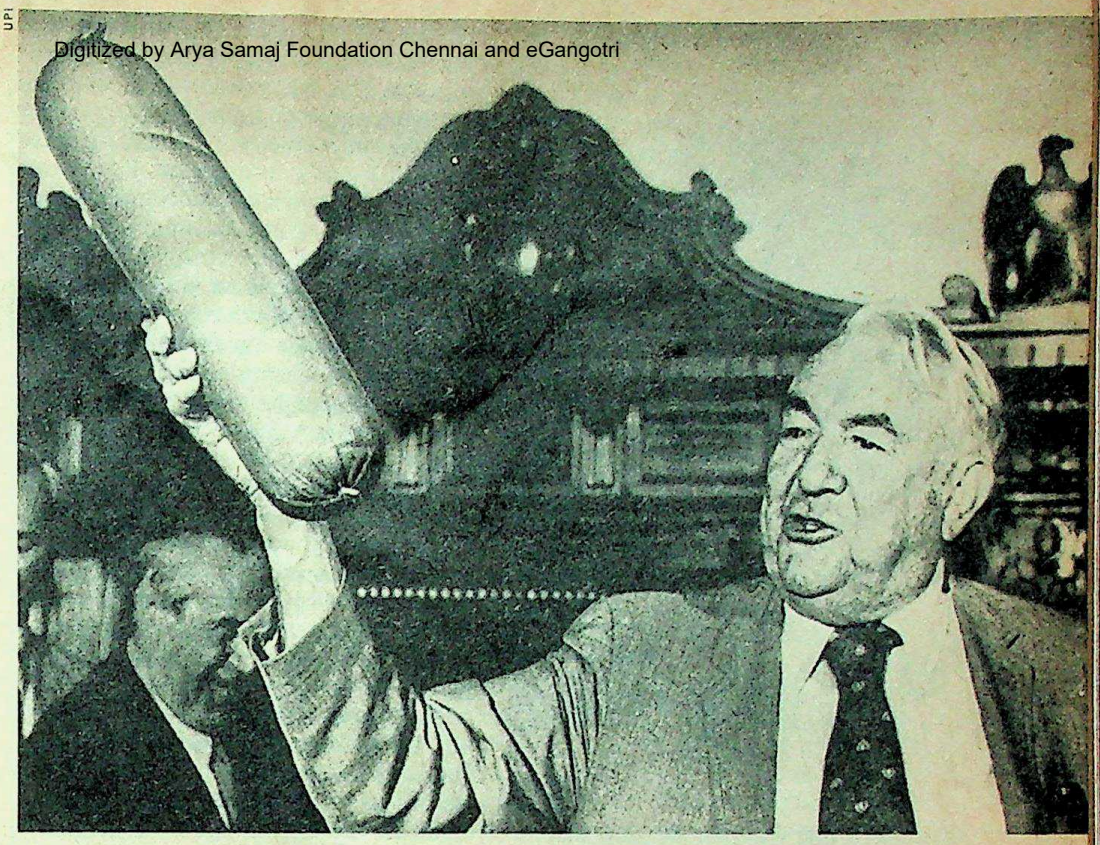
JOHN EHRLICHMAN ARRIVING AT FEDERAL COURT IN WASHINGTON WITH WIFE JEANNE & THEIR FIVE CHILDREN



STREEKY—CAMERA 5

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SENATOR ERVIN HOLDS UP THE 10-LB. "WARMED-OVER BALONEY" GIVEN HIM BY COLLEAGUES

The Ervin Committee's Last Hurrah

The Senate Watergate committee passed quietly into history last week —and with it an extraordinary episode in congressional annals. Having accomplished its primary objective—to inform the U.S. public about the facts and dimensions of the Watergate case—the committee bequeathed the continuing investigation to a host of other legislative and judicial bodies. But before it expired, it issued one last broadside: a 350-page staff report alleging, among other things, that leftover campaign funds had been used by President Nixon's good friend C.G. ("Bebe") Rebozo to pay for various major improvements to the Nixon properties at Key Biscayne and for a pair of platinum-set diamond earrings that the President gave to Pat in 1972 for her 60th birthday.

Then, finally, on a warm summer day, the committee assembled for a closing ceremony in the marbled Old Senate Caucus Room. At the long table sat the Senators and key staff members, like a senior class on graduation day. Only four of the committee's seven members were present: Chairman Sam Ervin, Lowell P. Weicker Jr., Joseph M. Montoya and Daniel K. Inouye. Vice Chairman Howard H. Baker Jr. was home in Tennessee; Herman E. Talmadge was busy elsewhere; and Edward J. Gurney was beset by troubles of his own *(see story page 37)*.

Attention focused naturally on Sam Ervin, now serving the last of his 20 years in the Senate. Through some ten weeks of televised hearings last summer, he had become, at the end of his career, a folk hero, a landmark of integrity. As TIME Correspondent Stanley Cloud observed last week: "Sam Ervin hadn't been discovered as a result of Watergate; he had simply been there waiting, as though his entire life had been a preparation for this final service."

After paying tribute to his colleagues and to the committee staff, Ervin was presented with a 10-lb. sausage by Committee Counsel Samuel Dash, in recognition of White House Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler's denunciation of the committee's special report on Rebozo as "warmed-over baloney." Then Sam Ervin delivered a short speech, quoting right and left from his favorite writings, and it was over.

Without Demagoguery. Whatever its weaknesses—excessive leaking and petty rivalries—the committee accomplished its basic task. After a year and a half of existence, it had spent about $2 million of the public's money, produced 13 volumes and 5,858 pages of testimony and exhibits, and written a three-volume 2,217-page final report. Without engaging in demagoguery and without acting as prosecutor or persecutor, the committee had laid out the basic story of Watergate as clearly and fully as it could. Moreover, it had largely carried out this task in public, so that the American people would be able to make their own decisions about who was telling the truth and who was not.

The committee's special report on Bebe Rebozo's expenditures was not particularly important for the amounts of money involved. Compared with the

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ED STREEKY

PRESIDENT'S WIFE WEARING BIRTHDAY GIFT

Pat Nixon's Earrings

1968 Campaign Contributions

Florida Nixon for President Committee Account, Key Biscayne Bank

$6,000 withdrawn April 15, 1969,

deposited to: Thomas H. Wakefield Special Account, Key Biscayne Bank

$4,562.38 withdrawn June 28, 1972,

deposited to: Wakefield, Hewitt & Webster Trust Account, Key Biscayne Bank

$5,000 withdrawn June 28, 1972,

deposited to: Wakefield, Hewitt & Webster Trust Account, First National Bank of Miami

$5,000 withdrawn June 28, 1972,

cashier's check bought at First National Bank of Miami,

payable to Harry Winston:

	$5,000
plus Richard Nixon check	560
Rose Mary Woods check	90
Paid for earrings:	$5,650

TIME Chart by W. Hortens

abuses of power already documented in the Watergate affair, for example, the allegation that Rebozo spent $4,562.38 in leftover campaign funds for earrings for Pat Nixon would not ordinarily have been of much consequence. But it was perceived as a vivid symbol, calling immediately to mind a much younger Richard Nixon who bragged on television that his wife wore only a "respectable Republican cloth coat." Strategically, the allegation was also important to investigators because it helped them trace the means by which much of Nixon's campaign funds had apparently been "laundered."

The report alleges that the $4,562.38 portion of the $5,650 spent on the earrings was originally derived from campaign funds and that Bebe Rebozo attempted to disguise the money's source by transferring it in and out of four separate Florida bank accounts. The $4,562.38, the report charges, was part of $6,000 that Rebozo withdrew on April 15, 1969, from the Florida Nixon for President Committee account in the Key Biscayne Bank and Trust Company —which he heads—and immediately deposited in a trust account in the name of his lawyer, Thomas H. Wakefield.

Nice Discount. Then, on June 28, 1972, the report continues, Rebozo (or his lawyer) transferred $4,562.38 to another Wakefield trust account in the Key Biscayne bank, immediately transferred $5,000 from this account to still another Wakefield trust account in the First National Bank of Miami, and finally bought a $5,000 cashier's check payable to New York Jeweler Harry Winston —all in the same day.

The rest of the cost of the $5,650 earrings was covered by two personal checks—one from Richard Nixon (for $560), the other from his personal secretary, Rose Mary Woods (for $90). The sale was apparently made by Winston's man in Washington, the late Don Carnavale, who was a close friend of Miss Woods. The earrings, containing 20 diamonds, were delivered to a presidential aide, Lieut. Commander Alex Larzelere, and the bill was marked "Please send to Rose Mary Woods." The earrings were subsequently appraised by Carnavale at $9,000—indicating that Winston gave Nixon a nice discount.

Rebozo admitted to the committee that the $4,562.38 had originated from campaign funds, but maintained that it was a proper reimbursement to him of money he had spent on campaign costs. The Ervin committee saw the transaction differently. "This complex four-stage process of payment for this gift," declared its report, "concealed the fact that the funds originated from contributions to the 1968 campaign and were ultimately used by Rebozo on behalf of President Nixon."

The report also charges that Rebozo used various trust accounts (again in the name of Thomas Wakefield or his law firm) for the deposit and transfer of at least $20,000 in $100 bills, and [illegible] these funds were subsequently used [illegible] pay for part of the $45,621.15 in [illegible] provements to the Nixons' Key [illegible] cayne properties. These improvements included a new swimming pool and [illegible] cessories, a fireplace, a putting green [illegible] a billiard table.

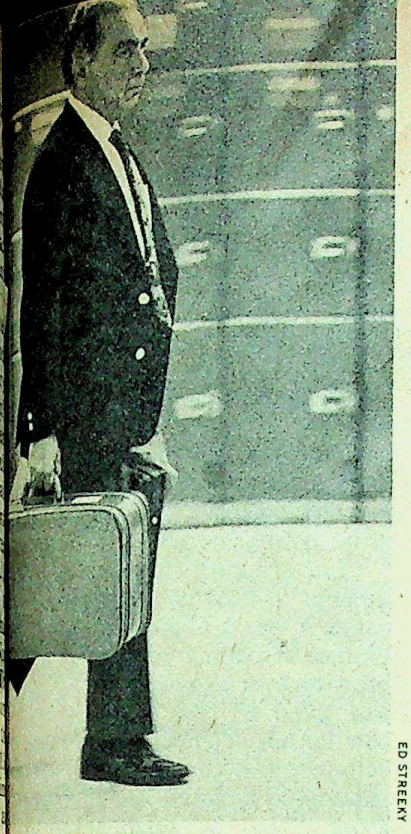
Whether specific laws were violated in the alleged use of campaign funds for private purposes is subject to varying legal interpretations. But certainly such funds would be taxable, and there is no record that the committee could find showing that the President paid any income tax on them. Nor, according to the committee, is there any record that Rebozo filed a required [illegible] gift tax return for 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972 on any improvements of more than $3,000 that he may have made to Nixon on properties from his own funds. The committee noted that the only record of a reimbursement to Rebozo by the President had been a check for $[illegible] 642.52, issued in August 1973 at a time when Rebozo's affairs were being actively investigated by the Internal Revenue Service as well as by the Watergate committee itself.

Indeed, Rebozo seems to have conducted his business affairs with consistent vagueness. When asked by the Watergate committee earlier this year whether he had ever been reimbursed for bills that he paid for improvements to the Nixon properties, he replied, "Yes, I say, usually, I'm not going to pick with the President. If there's something I think he should have, I might just go ahead and do it without even him knowing about it. He just does not concern himself at all with financial problems; never has."

The committee failed in what had been a primary purpose of the Rebozo investigation: to establish a definite link between Rebozo's expenditures on the President's behalf and the $100,000 campaign contribution from Billionaire Howard Hughes. The report alleges but does not prove that, contrary to Rebozo's sworn testimony, he did not keep the Hughes contribution intact in a safe deposit box for three years before returning it to a Hughes representative in June 1973. As previously reported, the President's former 'lawyer, Herbert Kalmbach, told the committee that Rebozo had told him that he gave part of the $100,000 to the President's brothers, Edward and F. Donald Nixon, to Miss Woods, and to "unnamed others."

Special Account. The report contains some fascinating details about Rebozo's role as a part-time political fund raiser. In February 1969, according to a White House memorandum, Nixon asked Rebozo to solicit Billionaire Paul Getty in London for "major" campaign contributions—only a few months after he had completed his victorious campaign for the presidency. Getty subsequently contributed $125,000 to [illegible] 1972 Republican campaign [illegible]

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ED STREEKY

E REBOZO IN MIAMI
proper reimbursement?

69, Rebozo established a special ac-unt in his Key Biscayne bank to pay r what he described as "Administra-n-connected costs"; this was the ac-unt from which the "earring" funds ere withdrawn on June 28, 1972.

The special report on Rebozo and friends was but one part of the com-ete report that the Senate Watergate mmittee issued. Within this exhaus-e document, based on the testimony d other evidence, are 35 suggestions r governmental reform.

Spending Ceiling. Among these uld be the establishment of an office "public attorney"—a sort of perma-nt version of the Special Watergate rosecutor—who would prosecute crim-al cases involving conflicts of interest thin the Executive Branch. The com-ittee favored setting up a nonpartisan ections commission to enforce statutes verning campaign contributions and penditures. It proposed that cash con-butions by an individual be limited $100; that total contributions by any rson to a presidential candidate be mited to $6,000; and that the overall ending in any presidential campaign limited to an amount equal to 12¢ r every citizen of voting age. (This uld hold the 1976 campaign funds to proximately $17 million.)

At the closing ceremony last week, reporter asked Sam Ervin why the mmittee had failed to state in its re-rt any conclusions about the respon-sibility for the Watergate scandal. Ervin plied that it was possible to draw a pic-re of a horse in two ways. You could aw the picture of a horse, with a very od likeness. Or you could draw the ture and write under it, "This is a rse." Well, said Sam Ervin, "we just the picture."

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THE PRESIDENCY/HUGH SIDEY

The Man with the Wry Eye

Up until now, Henry Kissinger may have had more fun than almost anybody else on this earth.

Hard work—sure. Moments of anger and frustration—certainly. But for the most part, as he has gone about his remarkable rounds he has produced a lot of peace, and injected quite a bit of good sense, all the while casting a wry eye over the singular doings of mankind.

A growing worry in Washington is that President Nixon, to ease his own crisis, is allowing his Secretary of State to drift into the Watergate mess, a situation that would bring Kissinger's resignation if it impaired his effectiveness. But even that problem has not yet dampened Kissinger's special style.

When it seemed that millions of people would give their left arms for tickets to the World Cup soccer match, Kissinger came up with some choice seats without any strain. He ordered his jet to take a detour for one game, and was lifted by Luftwaffe helicopter to the playing field. When he got to his hotel in Munich for the finals, there was a call waiting for him from Elizabeth Taylor. "She wanted to get a briefing on the European Security Conference," he said, the old Kissinger grin growing wide above his chins.

The other night Kissinger devoured roast goose in a Bavarian restaurant. The discreet Secretary surveyed the bosomy waitresses, and after some hasty calculation observed that if those particular girls had not served the dinner, the hosts would have had to increase the guest list by 30% just to fill the room.

A few days before, he had stood fascinated on the lush grounds of the Black Sea dacha of Leonid Brezhnev as the Soviet Communist chief demonstrated the collapsible glass wall around his Olympic-sized swimming pool, which Kissinger was repeatedly asked to swim in. Kissinger has listened to Brezhnev "order" him to Siberia for failing to yield enough in negotiations. His comeback: "I should be a member of the Politburo since I meet with you guys so much." Kissinger came away from a negotiating session with the Soviets and said, "I would do anything for caviar —and I may have."

■

Usually Kissinger travels in a 707 jet that is just as big and just as plush as Nixon's. The Secretary's bulletproof limousine precedes him by air, as does a crew of advance men. Almost any service can be obtained for the Secretary in almost any place, his fame preceding him with amazing results.

He called for a massage in Israel recently. "You can say anything you want to about Jewish intellectual attainments," he reported, "but that guy almost killed me." When he asked the masseur what he thought about disengagement with Syria, the man said he was for it. Then Kissinger asked him how many kilometers he thought Israel ought to give up, and the masseur hammered the Secretary a little harder and said, "Absolutely none."

Reporters discovered only recently that Kissinger is fascinated by soccer, and as a boy in Germany played goalie until he broke his hand. Then he shifted to forward. Somebody asked him if he had been fast. Kissinger thought a moment. "I wasn't so fast, but I was tricky."

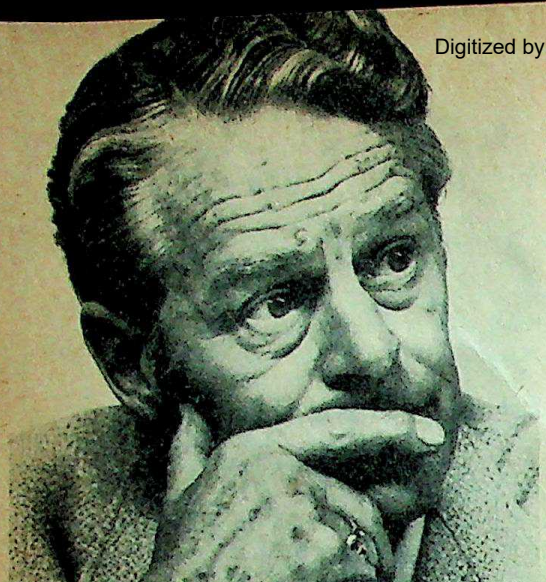
Like Nixon, Kissinger has found that sports and politics have much in common. So a while back when East Germany was still in world soccer contention, he sidled up to a Soviet bigwig. "I'll bet I know one team that you don't want to win," said the smiling Kissinger. "East Germany, because if they win they will be more trouble than ever." The Russian roared and slapped Kissinger on the back for displaying such wisdom in the ways of this wacky world.

GREETING WIFE NANCY ON RETURN LAST WEEK



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LITTLE—CAMERA 5

GURNEY DURING WATERGATE HEARINGS

INVESTIGATIONS

A Shaken Senator

A transplanted Yankee from Waterville, Me., Edward John Gurney was mayor of Winter Park, Fla., when he was elected to Congress in 1962. Six years later he became the first Republican Senator from Florida since Reconstruction. As the staunchest supporter of President Nixon throughout last summer's hearings of the Senate Watergate Committee, of which he was a member, the telegenic Senator earned national attention and conservative acclaim. Last week Gurney, 60, garnered a less lustrous distinction: he was the first U.S. Senator in 50 years to be indicted while in office by a federal grand jury.

For months two federal grand juries and a posse of Internal Revenue and other federal agents have been on the trail of a massive influence-peddling and extortion racket conducted in Gurney's behalf. Last week's indictment charges that Florida real estate developers and contractors who had business pending before the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development paid $233,160 into a secret slush fund from January 1971 through mid-1973. The money was used for Gurney's "personal, political and travel expenses" and for operating his offices in Washington and Florida.

In return Gurney and two of his aides, with the help of two local HUD officials, supposedly channeled mortgage insurance housing-project contracts to those kicking in. The indictment also charges that Gurney "corruptly solicited and accepted" a fifth-floor ocean-front apartment in a Vero Beach condominium in return for pressuring HUD to give the developer mortgage insurance.

Last spring a county grand jury indicted Gurney on a related misdemeanor charge; the indictment was later dismissed by a local judge as "fatally defective." But a federal grand jury got help when Larry E. Williams, a former Gurney aide, pleaded guilty to income tax evasion and agreed to testify against the Senator. The grand jury heard enough evidence to charge Gurney with seven felonies, including one count each of conspiracy to defraud the U.S., bribery and accepting unlawful compensation, and four counts of perjury. His two aides and the two helpful HUD officials were also indicted, as were two former officers of Florida's Republican Party —Earl M. Crittenden, onetime state G.O.P. chairman, and George Anderson, former state party treasurer. If convicted, Gurney faces up to 42 years in prison and fines of at least $80,000.

Too Trusting. Gurney denies the charges. Blaming Williams for illegal fund raising, Gurney says he was "careless and unobservant and too trusting." The day before the indictments were handed down, he mailed off his qualifying papers for September's primary, but he may well withdraw. His trial is not expected to begin—and will not be completed—before the primary.

Paula Hawkins, 47, the only woman on the state's public service commission, is being urged by fellow Republicans to file for the primary. Another probable candidate is Gurney's former law partner Louis Frey Jr., 40, now a Representative from Orlando. In largely Democratic Florida, any Republican will face a tough fight in November against the winner of the Democratic primary, for which nine candidates have filed. In any case, Gurney seems politically finished.

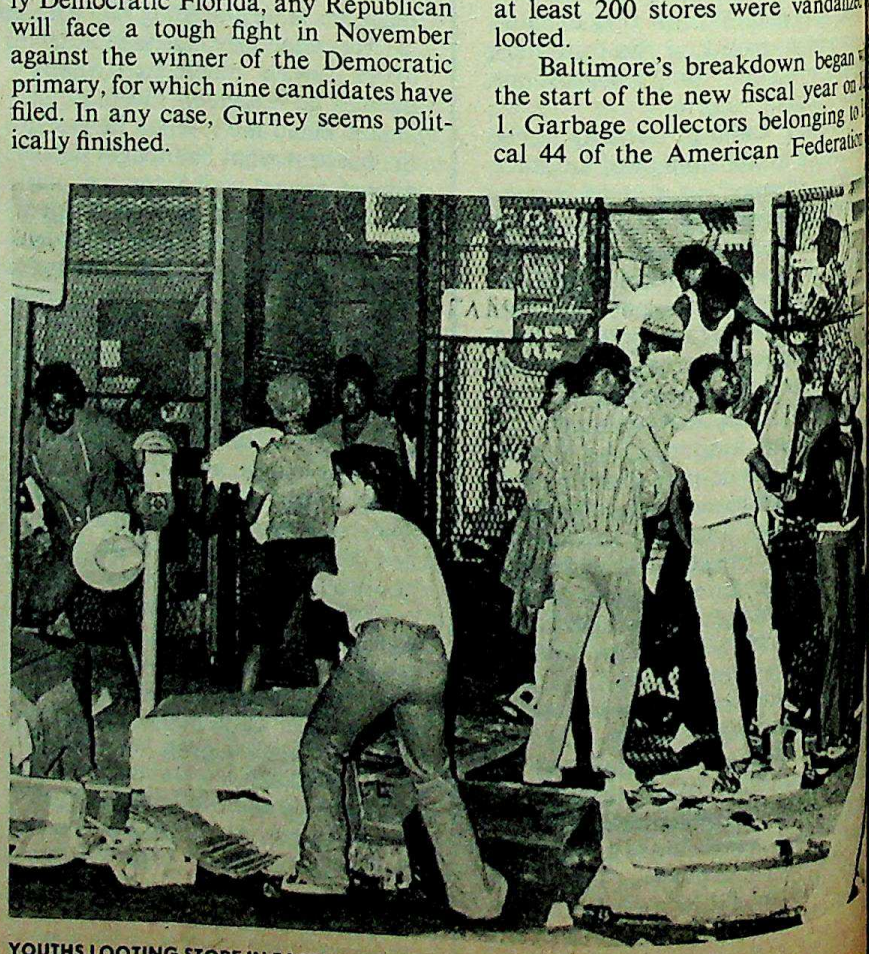
CITIES

Chaos in Charm City

All over the city, there are signs ing "Smile, you're in Baltimore." week the Baltimore Promotion Co launched a campaign to further enh the city's image by declaring that timore (pop. 900,000) would hence be known as "Charm City, U.S.A." gesture was spectacularly ill-ti Next day, Baltimore, which was alr mired in a ten-day-old strike by garbage collectors, zookeepers, guards and sewage workers, was hit a police walkout that brought on radic looting and arson.

For ordinary citizens as well a inmates in their cells and lions in cages, it was a rough time to be in timore. Ripening mounds of garb growing ever gamier in the hot sum sun, piled up next to the city's fa row houses. Temperatures in some cells rose as high as 110°, broiling the supervised inmates. Zoo officials siz a rumor that they might have to sla ter small animals in order to feed le ones. That persuaded union membe allow food to be brought in; but no nure was taken out, and it piled u the rate of a ton a day. Along with rank smells assaulting their noses, timoreans faced a cacophony of wa sirens, as fire engines raced after dreds of trash fires and nonstriking trolmen and state troopers chased looters. In the first two days of the at least 200 stores were vandalized looted.

Baltimore's breakdown began the start of the new fiscal year on 1. Garbage collectors belonging to cal 44 of the American Federation



YOUTHS LOOTING STORE IN EAST BALTIMORE DURING POLICE STRIKE
A rough time for everyone, including the lions.

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State, County and Municipal Employees had ratified a new contract that raised their salaries by 20¢ to $3.42 an hour, but rank-and-file opposition developed. Demanding an additional 30¢ pay boost, two-thirds of the men stayed out; union leaders quickly capitulated and declared the wildcat strike to be official. In its second week, the strike spread to other public-works employees, who were inspired by the garbage collectors' example.

At first Baltimore police, who are also members of the AFSCME, limited their protest to a time-consuming slowdown, carefully measuring how many inches cars were parked from the curb and filling out lengthy lost-property reports for pennies picked up off the pavement. One cop took particular delight in ticketing the chauffeur of Mayor William D. Schaefer for changing lanes without signaling.

But then, understandably dissatisfied with their own wage scale of $8,761 to $11,082, the cops walked out, demanding that they too be given a wage increase larger than that provided in the budget. Although so-called "job actions" have kept cops off the beat in other cities, this was the first official strike by police in a major U.S. city since 1919 in Boston. Police-union officials claimed that 1,300 of Baltimore's 2,300 patrolmen had joined the strike, although the police commissioner insisted that only 700 were out. Picketing cops marched with signs that said: "My life is on the line, but not for 5.5%," the maximum pay increase offered by the city.

Verge of Chaos. "There is no money at all," said Mayor Schaefer, who has refused to consider higher pay boosts. "There is no city money, no state money and no federal money on the horizon." The plight of Baltimore, which has the lowest per capita income and highest property taxes in Maryland, is similar to that of many other major cities faced with increasingly rebellious public employees.

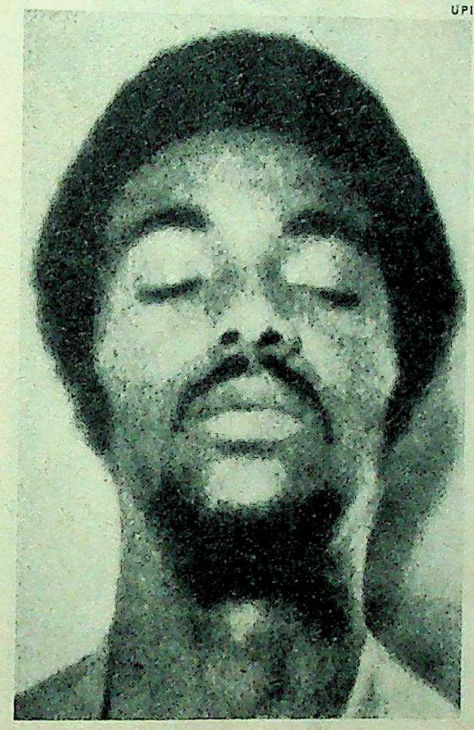
The AFSCME is the fastest-growing union in the AFL-CIO, and its militant leaders are determined to fight hard for higher pay for its 700,000 members. The union's goals appeal to municipal employees, especially policemen, who resent laws restricting the right of public servants to be on strike. Said one Baltimore cop with 17 years on the force: "I've bled for this city. I've been through riots and fires, but the people don't seem to care. Well, it's time they gave some-thing back."

At week's end Baltimore was on the verge of chaos. Officers from plainclothes and special divisions and riot-trained state troopers were on the streets, trying to keep looters under control. Negotiations resumed between city officials and Local 44, which was under court injunction to end the strike and faced fines of $15,000 a day. "We've had problems before. We'll solve this one," insisted Schaefer. He was not prepared

Jail Break Replay

Last Thursday afternoon, two convicts named Otis D. Wilkerson (alias Robert Nathan Jones), 24, and Frank Gorham Jr., 25, were brought from the Washington, D.C., jail to the U.S. district courthouse to confer with their lawyer. Coincidentally, John D. Ehrlichman and three other defendants were on trial for their roles in the Ellsberg break-in on the second floor of the building. After a conference with their attorney, the two men, both of whom were serving lengthy sentences on charges ranging from armed robbery to conspiracy to kidnap, were returned to their cells in the basement. A short time later, Gorham reached through the bars and pointed a gun at a federal marshal.

UPI



INMATE OTIS D. WILKERSON
Cool, calm negotiations.

Using the marshal's keys to open a locker filled with weapons, the two convicts began what Wilkerson later called "an instant replay" of an abortive jail break the pair had led in 1972.

On the stairs leading out of the cell block, Gorham encountered Deputy U.S. Marshal Joseph Sinkavitch. Shoving Gorham aside, Sinkavitch rushed back through the cell block's steel door and quickly shut it behind him, sealing in Wilkerson, Gorham, eight hostages and 15 other inmates, none of whom had taken part in the seizure. Among the hostages were four deputy marshals, a Justice Department auditor and his secretary, and two local attorneys (one of whom, John J. Hurley, had previously served as Wilkerson's lawyer). At first, the two convicts vowed that they would not release the hostages until they had been guaranteed air passage to Africa or Venezuela. Later, the pair reduced their demands to a clear path out the front door and a getaway car. At week's end authorities had refused all of their requests, and seemed willing to wait the two men out.

Compared to the confused negotiations that have taken place in other prisoner-hostage situations, the discussions between Gorham and Wilkerson and federal authorities were surprisingly calm and cool. It helped matters considerably that the cell block telephone was in good working order. As the ordeal continued, both captors and hostages talked freely to newsmen, relatives and negotiators. The hostages' fears were eased somewhat by this link with the outside world. At one point Gorham's mother Velma and sister Ena showed up outside the courthouse, and while there they talked to Gorham by telephone.

Smuggled Key. The situation, however, remained tense. Inexplicably, eleven hours after the ordeal began the two prisoners released one of the four marshals, later did the same for 14 of the 15 inmates holed up with them (one woman inmate was asked to stay). By Sunday morning both men were exhausted, and their attention began to waver, giving the remaining seven hostages a chance to escape. In a carefully devised scheme that had been prearranged by telephone with authorities outside, the lone woman hostage, Debra Collins, told the two men that she needed a sanitary napkin. Officials sent it in to her with a key to the cell block elevator wrapped inside. While Gorham slept and Wilkerson talked on the telephone, the seven captives opened the elevator with the smuggled key, quickly got inside, and escaped on the building's second floor. As of Sunday evening the two men, their hostages gone, were surrounded by heavily armed police.

GORHAM'S MOTHER HOLDING SON'S PHOTO

AP



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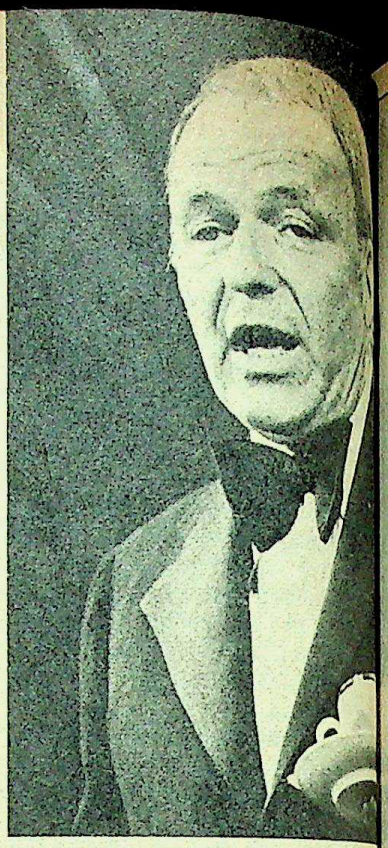
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Melbourne's Festival Hall was briefly the scene of a Prohibition-era drama. A squad of heavyweight "personal friends" of Singer **Frank Sinatra,** 58, shoved aside photographers and reporters waiting to greet Ol' Blue Eyes as he arrived for the first of five scheduled concerts Down Under. As one pal explained: "Frank doesn't like pictures, see. Somebody's going to get hurt." Then several newsmen were hurt by Frankie's boys. Onstage, Sinatra broke off his concert to ventilate his fury at the press. "They're bums," he told 7,000 bemused fans who had paid up to $29 for a ticket. Women reporters, said the singer, are "broads" and "hookers." Frankie, who is traveling with Close Friend Barbara Marx, 44, added, "I might offer them a buck and a half." Next day he learned he was really on alien turf. The Australian Journalists Association demanded an apology and other unions threatened to hamper future performances. Frankie said he was owed an apology for "15 years of shit," canceled the tour and summoned his private jet. Putting down at Sydney, Frank learned that airport refuelers refused to handle his plane. Tense negotiations resulted in a statement of mutual regret, and all but one of the remaining concerts were rescheduled. Not, however, before Frankie had time to ponder just what it means to become an Ugly American.

"THE AGE," MELBOURNE

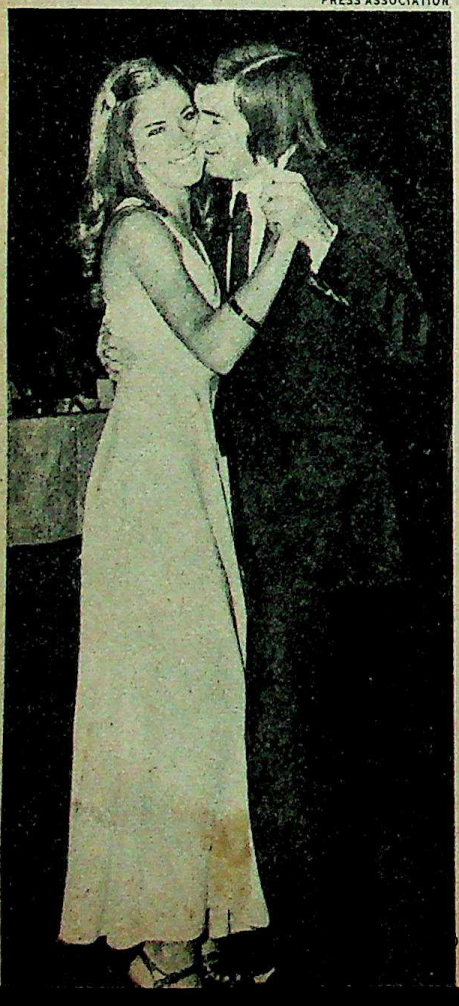


FRANKIE FLEEING NEWSMEN



SINATRA LAMBASTES THE PRESS

PRESS ASSOCIATION



"Every top player is a loner. You're not a follower. You're a leader," explained Wimbledon Women's Singles Champ **Chris** ("The Icicle") **Evert,** 19, after her easy victory over Russia's **Olga Morozova.** Fortunately, Loner Chris has another leader to lean on: Wimbledon Men's Winner Maverick **Jimmy Connors,** 21, who demolished **Ken Rosewall** in straight sets. Jimmy and Chrissie established a record of sorts: they are the first fiancés ever to win at Wimbledon in the same year, and got a big hand when they led the dancing at the ball at the end of the tournament. Jimmy revealed how he and Chrissie were brought together. After they had carried off the titles of London's Queen's Tournament two years ago, he suggested: "Would you like to wait for me because I'd like to have dinner with you?" Then, he added, "I took my normal 50-minute shower." Now they plan to be married in November, and Chrissie will retire when the children come along. Jimmy lets Chrissie take q tions on the timing, however, s "Answer that, Mother."

■

President Nixon, meet the Rev. D iel L. Pierotti of Georgetown Luth Church. He, too, knows what it i fall under the critical gaze of CBS respondent **Dan Rather,** 42, who att Pierotti's church when he is in W ington. Says Pierotti gamely, "He estly tells me what he thinks abou sermon." Pierotti turned the other c recently and asked Rather to ad the biennial convention of the Lut Church in America. Before an aud of 1,000 at Baltimore's Civic Ce Rather shed his hard-hitting imag offer a credo that required no ins analysis. "I believe," intoned Dan, one man can make a difference in happens in the world."

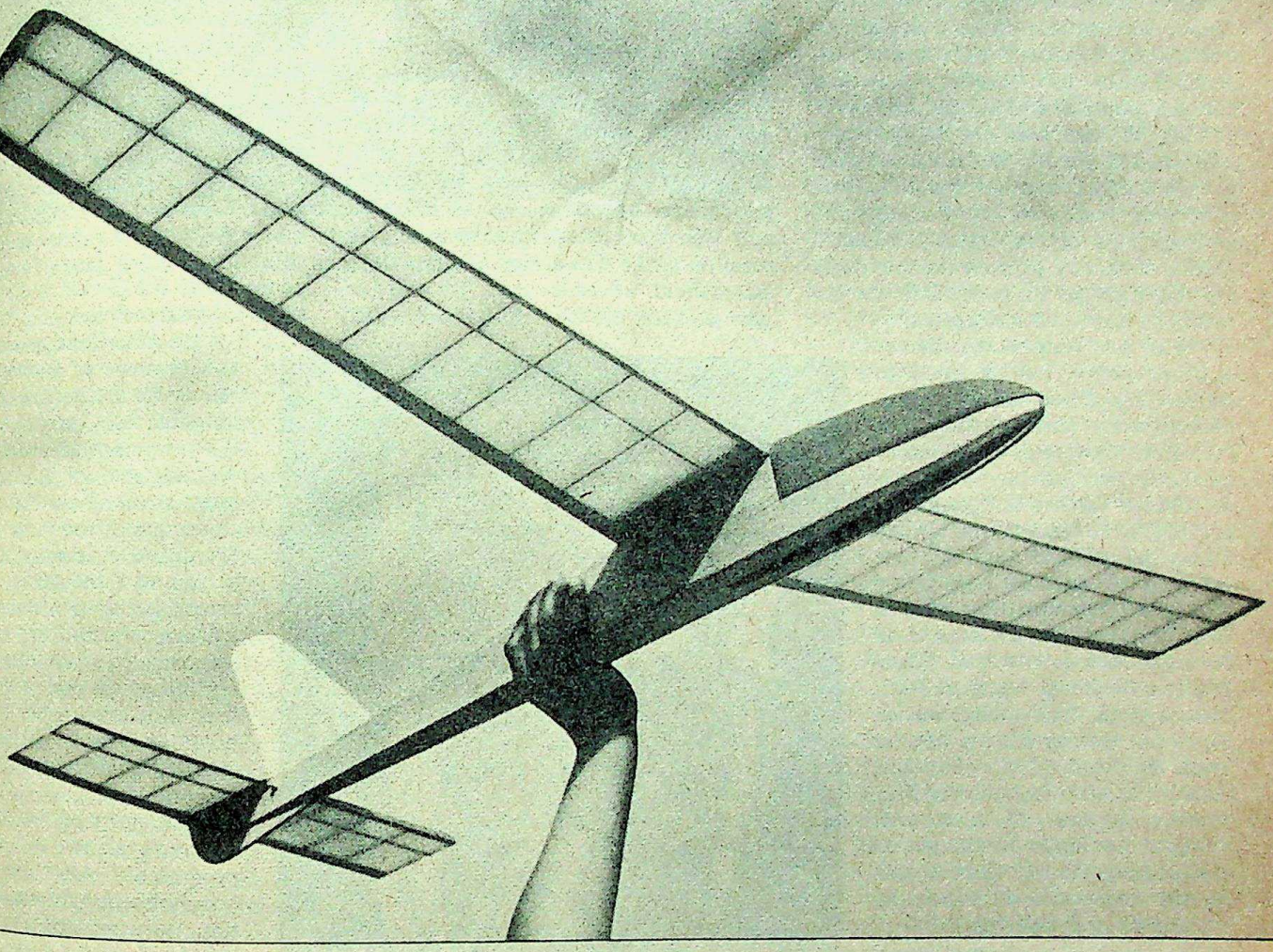
■

William Shakespeare was pow to prevent *West Side Story.* **Tenne Williams** is luckier. When Dir **Charles Lang** of West Berlin's Volksbühne theater decided to st revisionist production of Williams sic *Streetcar Named Desire,* he cast actor **Günther Kaufmann** as the necked Stanley Kowalski. Lang's change was even more radical: than being raped by Kowalski, Bla DuBois is seduced by him. Tenn learned of Lang's plans just before opening and immediately got an junction to stop the performance ing the show could go on, a judge panel reinstated the rape ordered the sepia-skinned Kauf to wear a wig of Caucasian hair. was disappointed. "Kowalski is brutal proletarian helping to d an old traditional civilization." "I see him as a democratizing f

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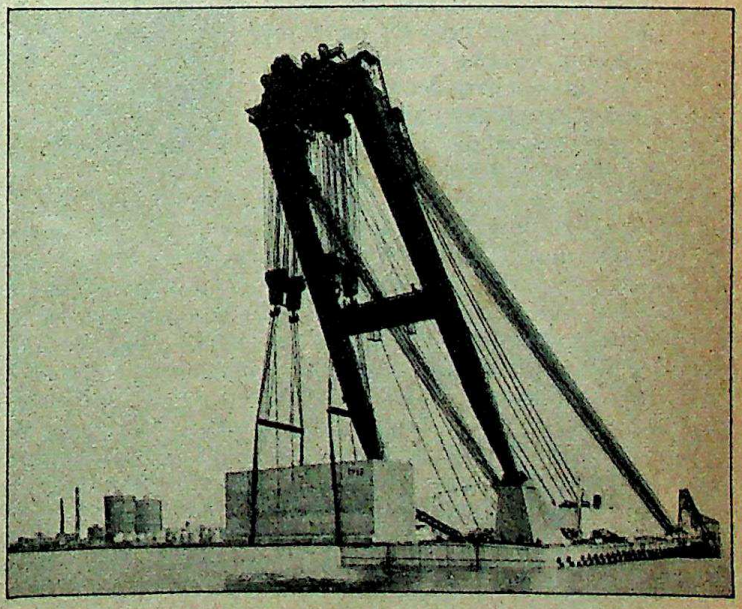
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Earl Warren's Way: "Is It Fair?"

One man, one vote. If Earl Warren had to choose one memorial, it would undoubtedly be the decisions of his Supreme Court affirming that principle. There were others—school desegregation and the broadening of criminal suspects' rights, for instance—that also changed political and judicial history.

Yet Warren was not an ideologue or a radical. Rather he was a pragmatist who came to the bench with no preconceived vision or grand design, no strongly held or elaborately developed theory of society or even the law itself. He did right as he learned to see the right; the key word was learned.

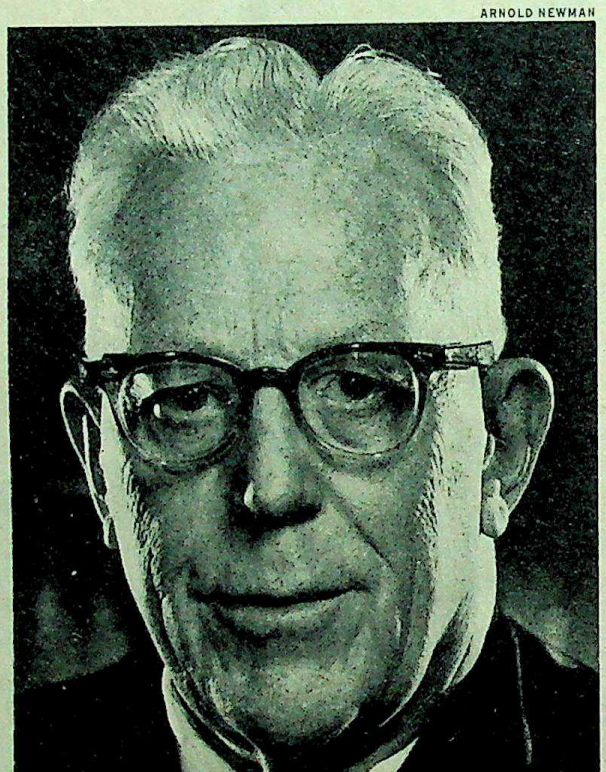
Warren's long public career spanned nearly half of the 20th century. He served as a county district attorney, state attorney general and three times as Governor of California, but he will be remembered for his turbulent tenure as Chief Justice of the United States. As power came to him, he used it to advance the high dream of American democracy, which he took literally: that all men must be equal before the law. When Warren died last week of heart disease at 83, the evidence was already in: during his 16 historic years as head of the Supreme Court (1953-69), he had joined the small company of men who wrought fundamental changes in U.S. society. He had more impact on his time—and on the future—than many Presidents.

So deep were these changes that both Warren and the "activist" court that bore his name inevitably became national issues. The far-reaching decisions on racial discrimination and individual rights, beginning with the *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka* school desegregation ruling of 1954, were applauded by civil libertarians—and just as vigorously denounced by a variety of critics. Segregationists and John Birchers put up billboards demanding IMPEACH WARREN; religious traditionalists protested the court's 1962-63 bans on classroom prayers and urged the court to "put God back in the schools." Law-and-Order Candidate Richard Nixon invariably drew cheers in 1968 when he accused the court of rulings that freed "patently guilty criminals on the basis of legal technicalities."

Union Member. Warren's trademark on the bench was to interrupt a counsel's learned argument citing precedent and book with the simple, almost naive question: "Yes, but is it fair?" He believed that social justice was more important than legalisms: "You sit up there, and you see the whole gamut of human nature. Even if the case being argued involves only a little fellow and $50, it involves justice. That's what is important."

Warren always remembered what it was like to be in the little fellow's place. His father, an immigrant from Norway (the original family name was Varran), was a railroad worker in Los Angeles when Earl was born. The elder Warren joined the American Railway Union and was blacklisted in 1894 when he went on strike. He moved the family to Bakersfield, where he got a job and began working his way up the economic ladder to the comfortable perch of prosperous landlord. But young Earl had a keen understanding of the workingman's problems. As a teenage clarinet player, he joined the musicians' union and also worked as a freight-yard helper and truck driver.

ARNOLD NEWMAN



He attended the University of California at Berkeley, and later its law school. After World War I, from which Warren emerged as an infantry first lieutenant, two old chums recommended him as a law clerk to the California assembly's judiciary committee. He was in public life for good.

As Alameda County district attorney, and later as state attorney general, Warren was a zealous law-and-order prosecutor, but he had a scrupulous regard for the rights of the prosecuted. "I never heard a jury bring in a

verdict of guilty but that I felt sick in the pit of my stomach," he admitted.

Warren's success as a prosecutor inexorably pushed him toward a political career. Bluff, blond, big as a bear (6 ft. 1 in., over 200 lbs.), with a reassuring Scandinavian air of wholesomeness, he came across as the ideal public man. He had a family to match. In 1925 he married a widow of Swedish descent, Nina Palmquist Meyers, adopted her son and then sired five children of his own. An inveterate joiner (Masons, Elks *et al.*) with a loose, easy "How are you, good to see yuh" handshaking style, he was a Republican whose personal constituency crossed party lines. In 1942 he won both the G.O.P. and Democratic gubernatorial primaries.

As Attorney General and then as Governor of California, War-ren wrote a record with only one indelible blot on it: his stand on the treatment accorded Japanese Americans in the hysteria months after Pearl Harbor. He became one of the most urgent advocates of evacuating all of them to inland "relocation" (*i.e.*, concentration) camps. But, always a learner, Warren outgrew this extremist taint, and after the war's end proposed one of the nation's first fair-employment acts. "To break down artificial barriers that give rise to demonstrations of racial prejudice."

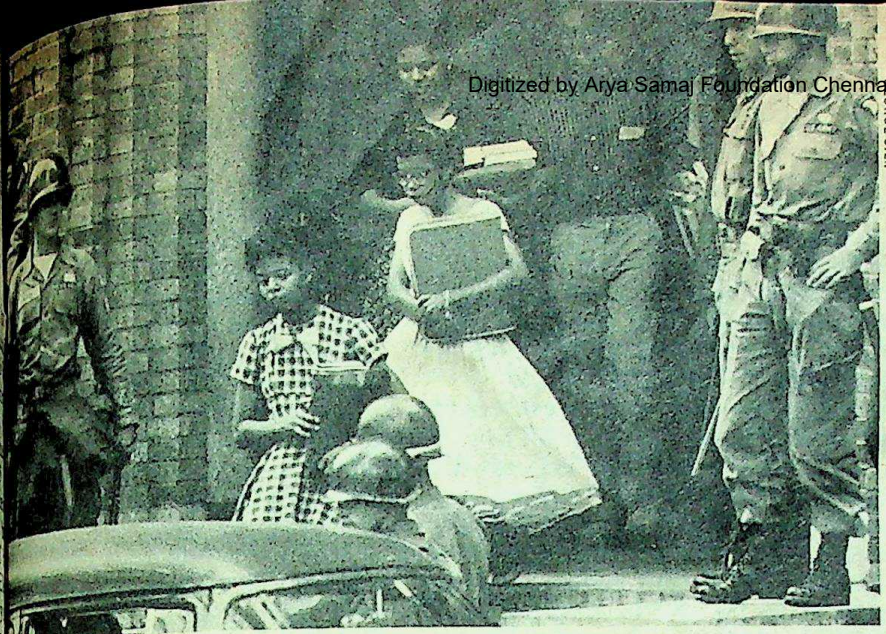
The proposal was in line with Warren's stance as a pragmatic progressive. After an exploratory hospitalization for a kidney infection, he wondered, "If it hits me this hard, and I make a Governor's salary, how can the man who earns so much less pay his bills?" He proposed compulsory medical and hospital insurance, 20 years before Medicare became law.

From the time he was first elected Governor in 1942, there was talk that he might some day be President. He led a favorite-son delegation to the 1944, '48 and '52 G.O.P. conventions and let himself be talked into being Thomas Dewey's running mate in 1948, though he had no real interest in the vice presidency: "I can't spend my years sitting up there calling balls and strikes in the Senate." Warren was always the political independent. But in 1952, when Eisenhower needed only nine more votes to beat Robert A. Taft for the G.O.P. nomination, Warren's California's 70 votes to the last ballot.

Within a year, Warren's career took a sudden, decisive turn. In September 1953 Chief Justice Fred Vinson died. President Eisenhower was under pressure to name a successor before the court convened in October. As Associate

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GEORGE SILK

AMA AT LITTLE ROCK: SOLDIERS SUPERVISING SCHOOL INTEGRATION, 1957

own v. Board of Education was no panacea for racial inequality.

esident Nixon and Senator William rowland went to Ike and urged him choose Warren as a means of breaking his grip on California politics. In y case, Warren met basic requirements. He was a Republican and his phisophy and common sense "pleased" senhower. Later, dismayed that Warn turned out to be a controversial parpant rather than a bland umpire, Ike scribed the selection as "the biggest mnfool mistake I ever made."

Eight months after the 63-year-old ief Justice arrived on the bench, the urt disturbed the peace of Ike's first m by handing down its historic deion in *Brown* v. *Board of Education,* ich overturned rulings going back to 6 and required an end to *de jure* segation in the nation's schools.

The opinion that Warren wrote for unanimous court characteristically ed less on legal precedent than on sological analysis, for which the court s much criticized. He argued that "to parate [black children] from others of ilar age and qualifications solely beuse of their race generates a feeling inferiority as to their status in the mmunity that may affect their hearts d minds in a way unlikely ever to be done." His conclusion not only made egration an enduring national issue t also helped launch a tumultuous era minority-rights efforts in many fields.

Curbing Rancor. Although some of fellow justices carped about War's lack of legal scholarship, he transmed the sometimes fractious atmoere of the Vinson Court by a mixture charm, tact and candor. One law rk, quoted in Leo Katcher's Warren graphy, said: "What was lacking was pirit of 'collegiality.' . . . Warren's job to try to bring personalities togeth not beliefs. He couldn't ask anyone abandon a deeply held belief, but to cept opposition without rancor."

Warren's driving concern was inividual rights for individual Ameri After *Brown* came a number of ings against racial discrimination in areas. The court virtually wrote a new constitutional code of criminal procedure, with the high point coming in *Miranda* v. *Arizona* (1966), which accorded a suspect in custody the rights to keep silent and to have an attorney before being interrogated.

The decision of which Warren was most proud was *Reynolds* v. *Sims* (1964), which extended the one-man, one-vote principle. His majority opinion on *Reynolds,* which forced nearly every state to redraw its electoral boundaries, showed Warren at his most eloquent: "Legislators represent people, not trees or acres. Legislators are elected by voters, not farms or cities or economic interests . . . A nation once primarily rural in character becomes predominantly urban. But the basic principle of representative government remains, and must remain, unchanged—the weight of a citizen's vote cannot be made to depend on where he lives."

Reynolds v. *Sims* prompted a dissent that crystallized the criticism of Warren's approach to the court's role. Did the court have the right to impose electoral rules on state legislatures? Said Justice John Harlan: "This [majority] view, in a nutshell, is that every major social ill in this country can find its cure in some constitutional 'principle,' and that this court should 'take the lead' in promoting reform when other branches of government fail to act." Yale's Professor Alexander Bickel complained that the court "seems to lack a sense of the limitations of the institution."

Eroded Majority. Characteristically, Warren defended his way in human rather than legal terms. Writing in FORTUNE, he protested that "our judges are not monks or scientists, but participants in the living stream of our national life, steering the law between the dangers of rigidity on the one hand and of formlessness on the other . . . Our system faces no theoretical dilemma but a single continuous problem: How to apply to ever changing conditions the never changing principles of freedom."

In 1969 Warren retired, at a relatively robust 78. Living in Washington recently, he had been working on an autobiography. Deaths, resignations, other retirements and Nixon's appointment of conservatives have eroded the involved, liberal majority that was the core of the Warren Court. The hopes raised by some of the decisions now may seem simplistic. *Brown,* for instance, was not the panacea for racial inequality that many may have envisioned. In their concern for citizens' rights however, the decisions were peculiarly American and epic. They survive, and so will Earl Warren's place in U.S. history. Early in the Republic, the court's great challenge was to ensure the strength and capacity of the Federal Government. Warren's opportunity, and mission, was to protect individual citizens from the enormously expanded power of Government. That was, as Warren might say, only fair.

CALIFORNIA'S GOVERNOR-ELECT WARREN, WIFE NINA, & THEIR SIX CHILDREN, 1942



E GATCHELLS

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Revolt Against Rape

"I'm not sure I understand rape at all. I don't see how a woman can be penetrated if she doesn't cooperate. You just can't thread a moving needle."

For decades, the majority of lawmakers and jurors have seemed to agree with that viewpoint, expressed by a Manhattan defense attorney. "The victim is really the one on trial," protested one woman after a long court battle against three men who gang-raped her. Indeed, only 133 out of every 1,000 men tried for rape were convicted in 1972 —the lowest rate for any violent crime.

Meanwhile, the incidence of reported rape is increasing at a startling rate. In 1973 there were 51,000 rapes reported in the U.S., a 10% increase over 1972 and a staggering 60% over 1968. Some of the rise can be attributed to women's greater willingness to report the crime. Yet many victims are still too embarrassed to do so, or hesitate to expose themselves to the ordeal of a trial. The FBI estimates that the actual number of attacks is at least double that reported. In California, according to the state police, there is a sexual assault on a woman on the average of once every 20 minutes. Says Massachusetts Representative Jon Rotenberg, who was active in pushing through two rape-reform bills in the state legislature: "The threat of rape affects women of all ages who are afraid to go out at night, to live alone, to ride the subway or wait for a bus."

Rewriting Laws. The fact that more women are living alone, going to work at odd hours and are generally more vulnerable accounts for many attacks. Most rapes occur in the black ghettos. In the most recent national survey, the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence found in 1967 that in 17 cities, 60% of rapes were committed by black men against black women, 30% by white men against white women, 10% by black men against white women and .3% by white men against black women. These figures may be shifting, however; in Philadelphia, the Center for Rape Concern found that in 1972 the incidence of black men raping white women had risen to 16% of the total.

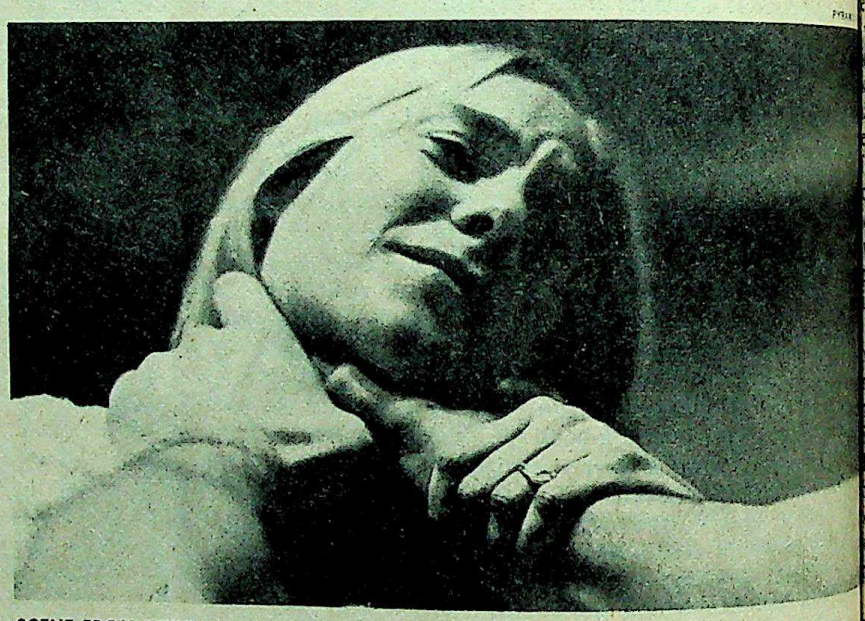
What to do about these attacks of violence? Spurred by police statistics and women's rights groups, some state legislatures are now rewriting their rape laws. To convict a rapist, most states require evidence to support the victim's claim: cuts, bruises or torn clothing, a medical report stating physical penetration and sometimes even an eyewitness who can identify the assailant. Believing that such rules were making it too tough to get convictions, Connecticut and New York recently repealed them. Women's groups generally applaud the change, but in a new book, *The Charge Is Rape,* Journalist Gerald Astor warns that repeal of corroboration laws may not help. "The law can say what it pleases the legislators to have it say, but the jury will decide whom to believe."

Some legal experts believe that lightening the sentence for rape will help increase the conviction rate. They say that a jury is much less likely to avoid convictions if the penalty is only a few years than if there is a possible sentence of death or life imprisonment.* Yet in some states the laws have been too soft; women in Indiana have pushed through a bill prohibiting suspended sentences for convicted rapists.

A rape victim with a reputation for promiscuity has often had a difficult time in court. Iowa and California have recently passed laws barring defense lawyers from making courtroom inquiries into a woman's past sexual conduct, and in Florida such questions must first be screened in the judge's chambers. The principle, insisted upon by the rape task force of the National Organization for Women: a victim's activities with men other than the accused are irrelevant. "Previously," explains Ralph Brown, a lawyer and member of the Iowa Commission on the Status of Women, "a lawyer could ask a victim how many men she had slept with in the past month, year or five years." By this questioning, he managed to discredit all of her testimony.

Many juries require that a woman prove that she put up a fight against her assailant even though police often advise women to offer no resistance, especially if the attacker is armed. Massachu... recently passed a pioneering law st... that even if there is only a threat of ... ily injury, a woman is justified in sub... ting to her attacker.

Many big cities are now making ... cial efforts to deter rapists and to ... their victims. The Los Angeles police ... partment helped produce a widely ... tributed film, *Lady Beware,* that s... where rapists may lurk and teaches ... women in danger should scream. ... Washington, D.C., the police dep... ment has put out pamphlets for rape ... tims urging them to bring sex offe... to court. In New York City, St. L... Albuquerque and Chicago, special ... lice rape squads brief victims ... what to expect during medical exam... tions and how to file charges.



SCENE FROM WIDELY DISTRIBUTED SELF-DEFENSE FILM *LADY BEWARE*
A crime in which the victim is really the one on trial.

Feminists have had rape counse... groups for more than a year (TIME, A... 23, 1973). One of the newest and big... is Women United Against Rape (WU... in Indianapolis. The group, which ... numbers 50,000, has urged the police ... partment to place special female offi... on rape cases. In addition, WUAR ... helped persuade 25 local industries ... hold 200 safety classes for women, s... ing them, for example, to check the ... seat of their cars before getting in.

Hospitals, too, are becoming ... creasingly concerned. Some offer ... hour counseling to rape victims bro... to emergency rooms. Generally a w... an is encouraged to talk openly ab... her experience. Counselors also pro... follow-up psychological treatment ... women who have persistent fears ... nightmares. Says one girl who re... went through the experience: "Rape ... terribly, terribly brutal and deg... thing. You have to talk about it to s... one afterward, and you have to b... working on yourself in order ...

*At least ten states, including Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, North Carolina and Virginia have death as the maximum rape penalty.

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The Parkinson's Puzzle

Is Parkinson's disease dying out? The "shaking palsy" that Dr. James Parkinson, a London physician, distinguished in 1817 was relatively uncommon until the 1930s, when this ancient nervous disorder inexplicably erupted to nearly epidemic proportions. Now new cases of Parkinsonism are appearing less frequently, prompting a debate as to whether this scourge of the mid-20th century may in fact be disappearing.

Parkinson's disease has always been shrouded in mystery. For centuries nothing was known of its causes, though it was noted that in many cases it followed an attack of encephalitis, inflammation of the brain. Then, from 1916 to 1926, there came a worldwide epidemic of brain inflammation, caused by a virus and named encephalitis lethargica because the most severely stricken victims spent days or weeks almost comatose and immobile. Some of these patients soon developed full-blown cases of Parkinsonism, marked by alternations of involuntary movements and rigidity, a fixed gaze and a shuffling gait. Even after this encephalitis virus disappeared in 1931, the incidence of Parkinsonism continued to rise. Why?

Searching over the records, two Boston researchers, Dr. David C. Poskanzer and the late Dr. Robert S. Schwab, found that the number of Parkinson's patients diagnosed at Massachusetts General Hospital increased exponentially from the 1920s into the 1960s. Then they noted something else: with each passing year, the average age of the new patients increased by a year.

14 Bottles. The two physicians evolved a hypothesis: except for a few rare cases caused by chemical poisoning, the great epidemic of Parkinsonism resulted from something that happened long ago and then ceased. What was that something? Poskanzer has an idea: a mild, probably unrecognized infection with the virus of encephalitis lethargica struck in the 1920s could have damaged certain brain cells; later, as the brain's chemistry was impaired with advancing age, the signs of Parkinson's began to appear.

The Poskanzer view still has not won general acceptance. Dr. Caleb Finch, a biologist at the Ethel Percy Andrus Gerontology Center in Los Angeles, is one of many researchers today who point out that it is still only an intriguing hypothesis. Finch notes that little is known about the effects of aging on the brain. There may be other causes that produce symptoms of Parkinsonism without being clear-cut cases of the disease.

Poskanzer concedes that his hypothesis has not been technically "proved" but that he is literally betting that it will [illegible] a reporting system," he points out, "and I offer a bottle of Scotch to any doctor in the U.S. who can send me a report of a clearly diagnosed case of Parkinson's in a patient born since 1931. So far it's cost me 14 bottles—just 14 of these younger patients identified since 1961." If Poskanzer is right, Parkinsonism will subside with the passing of the generation born in the early 1900s and now in their 60s and 70s.

The victims' futures brightened immeasurably with the development of an effective drug treatment in 1967 by Dr. George C. Cotzias of the Brookhaven (L.I.) National Laboratory. The drug, L-Dopa, counters the major chemical defect in Parkinsonian brains, which is a deficiency of dopamine, a natural body chemical essential to normal nerve activity. Thousands of Americans today are leading much better lives than would be possible without the treatment. But there should be many fewer such patients in the future—provided, of course, that Poskanzer wins his bet.

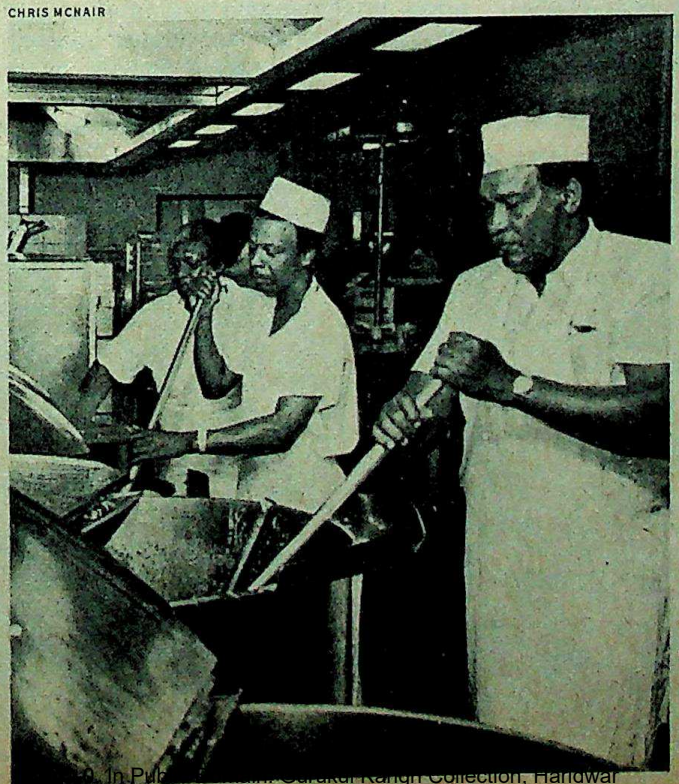
Deadly Hospital Food?

Patients have been saying it for years: Hospital food is wretchedly prepared and totally lacking in flavor. Now a noted nutritionist adds a more serious complaint. Dr. Charles E. Butterworth Jr., director of the nutrition program at the University of Alabama in Birmingham and chairman of the A.M.A.'s Council on Foods and Nutrition, charges that hospital diets are often inadequate to maintain a patient's health —and sometimes so bad as to actually worsen it. "I suspect," writes Butterworth in *Nutrition Today*, "that one of the largest pockets of unrecognized malnutrition in America exists not in rural slums or urban ghettos, but in the private rooms and wards of our big city hospitals."

The evidence for Butterworth's accusation was gathered on visits to a number of hospitals and from a more intensive study in one of the institutions associated with the University of Alabama's medical center. He found that hospitals and doctors frequently slight nutritional needs. Some institutions allow surgery to be performed without first building patients up for the ordeal, then compound the error after the operation by ignoring good nutrition and relying solely on antibiotics to guard against infection. All too often, the postoperative neglect continues until the patient reaches an advanced state of malnutrition. Of 80 patients studied at the University of Alabama, 14 were hospitalized for more than three weeks without receiving vitamin supplements, although their symptoms suggested that they might have been undernourished.

One surgery patient in Butterworth's study grew steadily weaker, languishing in a hospital for 50 days until the doctors realized that he was suffering from a severe protein deficiency and scurvy; only then did they begin giving him the extra nutrients he needed to recover. He was more fortunate than another patient who received no vitamin supplements during 35 days in the intensive-care unit after open-heart surgery. He lost more than 30 lbs., developed irreversible malnutrition and died.

CHRIS MCNAIR





COOKS PREPARING FOOD IN A HOSPITAL KITCHEN

PATIENT TASTING A MEAL

One of the largest pockets of unrecognized malnutrition in America.

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POLICY

A Growing Air of Concern

Halfway through what has so far been a dismal year for the economy, the Nixon Administration is still groping for a way to break the grim combination of stagnant production, roaring inflation, strangling interest rates and slumping financial markets. Last week the President met at the White House with 25 top businessmen and non-Government economists to solicit their views.

Throughout the meeting, Nixon appeared confident, jotted notes on a pad and listened intently to opinions. No fresh suggestions for improving the economy were offered, but most businessmen pressed for a cut in corporate taxes and expressed growing concern about the disruptive impact of towering interest rates on money markets. For the first time, the President expressed some uneasiness that the Federal Reserve Board's tight-money policy might tip the economy into recession. That, he feared, might prompt Congress to push for more expansionary policies and to pass "silly" legislation that would further fuel inflation. At week's end the President took several of his economic advisers to San Clemente for a round of conferences in preparation for a major economic policy speech. A prime problem is how to rein in prices while enabling the economy to recover.

Early estimates from several members of TIME's Board of Economists, for example, indicate that output of goods and services, adjusted for price changes, is essentially flat. David Grove calculates that real gross national product, which dropped at an annual rate of 6.3% in the first quarter, dipped another .3% in the quarter ended last month. Otto Eckstein more optimistically figures that production rose—but by a lackluster rate of 1.6%. Whatever the exact figure, the pattern of a sharp first-quarter drop followed by little if any real growth in the second quarter will keep economists arguing for months about whether the situation can properly be called a "recession." More important, both Grove and Eckstein forecast only a modest resumption of economic expansion late this year and through most of 1975. A third board member, Robert Nathan, says in agreement: "There is little prospect of vigorous recovery. None of the signs of strong expansion are visible."

Bleak Outlook. It might be argued that that is not necessarily bad news: a strong expansion could worsen the nation's already horrendous inflation. Yet the outlook on prices is also bleak. True, a drop in farm goods held the rise in wholesale prices in June to an annual rate of 6%, the first less-than-double-digit figure in seven months. But even the usually optimistic Herbert Stein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, points out that farm prices are rising again in July and concedes that a continuing spiral in industrial commodity prices—up 2.2% in June alone—"reveals the seriousness" of continuing inflation. Grove predicts that consumer prices in the second half of this year will shoot up at an annual rate of almost 10%, propelled mostly by a sharp acceleration in wage settlements.

Inflation is continuing to push interest rates to unheard-of peaks. Business and other borrowers need funds to pay inflated operating costs, but are increasingly unable to raise money in the bond or stock markets. Last week New York City officials withdrew for sale $438 million of bonds rather than pay tax-exempt interest of 7.9%. Banks swamped by loan demand, established a 12% prime rate on business loans. Central National Bank of Cleveland went up to an incredible 12¼%. The news sent the stock market through a roller-coaster week. The Dow Jones industrial average fell 32 points in the four days to a bit less than 760, the lowest close since November 1970. Then it shot up almost 28 points on Friday, in part out of relief that no other bank had raised the prime rate above 12%. The reaction was an ironic comment on investors' state of mind; not before last week would anyone have considered a prime rate of 12% good news.

For all its public relations flurry last week, the Administration is still uncertain about how to attack inflation. The root cause of the economic trouble, Presidential Counselor Kenneth Rush first advocated Government pressure to restrain wage-price increases, then said that he did not favor guidelines or jawboning by particular unions and companies—a stand that seems to leave room only for pleas for labor and industry to behave themselves. Stein in a television interview implied that the public was to blame for inflation, because "Government policy operates within the limits of what the American people want and will tolerate."

More seriously, policymakers have not resolved a debate over how to

PRESIDENT NIXON CONFERRING WITH LEADING BUSINESSMEN & ECONOMISTS AT MEETING IN THE WHITE HOUSE LAST WEEK



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DAVID GAHR

NOMIST ALAN GREENSPAN
onger leadership.

rain Government spending and take
ne of the burden of battling inflation
f the Federal Reserve. The President
s set a target of holding federal spend-
to $300 billion in the current fiscal
ar, or $5 billion below projections, but
s so far avoided the hard decisions
where to cut. Treasury Secretary Wil-
m Simon arrived at a policy meeting
t week with a list of suggested cuts
ut, says a White House staffer, "no-
dy took it seriously."

New Advice. Fortunately, some
onger economic leadership may be
ming. Nixon has chosen Alan Green-
an, a Manhattan consultant to corpo-
ions and informal adviser to the Pres-
nt, to succeed Stein as head of the
ouncil of Economic Advisers. The
omination can be stopped if the Sen-
Banking Committee does not ap-
ve an arrangement whereby Green-
an would keep his stock in his
nsulting firm, Townsend-Greenspan
Co., in a trust from which he would re-
ve no income while in Washington.
d if the Senators go along, the appoint-
nt will probably be made this week.
Greenspan, a highly respected eco-
mic forecaster, has been a member
TIME's Board of Economists for three
ars, during which he has assessed busi-
ss trends with a candor frequently not
ard in Washington. A pragmatic con-
rvative, he views inflation as a prob-
m of the highest urgency and is a
rong advocate of stern budget-cutting
bring it under control. He is a ded-
ted foe of any kind of economic con-
ls and also opposes tax cuts, at least
the present; he has been impatient
h arguments that economic necessity
ust yield to political considerations.
s appointment would not mean any
ange in direction for Administration
licy. But he would probably be more
dependent and influential than his
decessors and could well give present
ns more vigorous direction.

An Epidemic of Eurojitters

All the strains on the U.S. banking system are being duplicated, and then some, in Europe. There too inflation roars ahead at a double-digit pace, and interest rates are hitting unprecedented peaks. In addition, the large multinational banks operating in Europe are being asked to "recycle" part of the estimated $60 billion in oil producers' surpluses. This involves accepting the money in the form of deposits and lending it to countries that, like Britain and Italy, cannot meet their oil bills. Finally, though banks on both sides of the Atlantic have gotten burned speculating in foreign currencies, the losses have been much worse in Europe. In the U.S., Franklin National Bank lost $63.6 million in the first five months of this year, largely because of currency trading; in Germany, Westdeutsche Landesbank Girozentrale dropped more than $100 million, and Bankhaus I.D. Herstatt lost so much that it folded in late June (TIME, July 8). U.S. banking authorities expect no more Franklin National cases, but European financiers are nervously awaiting more collapses of the Herstatt type.

The jitters were high on the agenda of government bankers from the U.S., Western Europe and Japan when they gathered in Basel, Switzerland, last week for a meeting at the Bank for International Settlements, a sort of central bankers' central bank. The central bankers reportedly agreed "in principle" to lend money to bail out private banks caught in a liquidity squeeze just as the U.S. Federal Reserve has kept Franklin National in business by lending it more than $1 billion. However, they specifically ruled out aid for banks caught in "irresponsible" foreign exchange dealings. The decision was no comfort to Herstatt depositors and creditors, who still stand to lose up to a staggering $1.4 billion, but it might help to calm the Continent's financial markets.

Those markets could stand some calming. In recent weeks foreign-currency trading in the huge Frankfurt center has slowed to a crawl, a situation that could eventually impede world trade. Currency dealers are afraid to accept orders forwarded by banks for fear that they might be dealing with another Herstatt. When Herstatt was ordered to close by the West German government, it left currency transactions with a number of other banks uncompleted. For example, Seattle–First National Bank sold $22.5 million worth of marks to Herstatt for dollars; it delivered the marks just before the collapse and is still waiting for the dollars.

Reluctanf Leaders. Even if foreign-exchange dealings were to return to normal, international bankers face another major problem: stagnation in the "Eurocurrency" market. This is a giant, unregulated pool of dollars, pounds, marks and other currencies that has been deposited in banks outside the country of issuance. Companies and even governments have been able to tap the market freely for loans that played a major role in financing trade. The currency pool is continuing to grow in size *(see chart following page)* but nervous investors these days are making only short-term deposits; the banks are reluctant to make any long-term Eurocurrency loans. Thus a major source of European financing is drying up.

Now some investors are shunning the Eurocurrency market altogether. Among them are the Arabs, who are putting their oil dollars and pounds in safer havens like New York. Some Con-

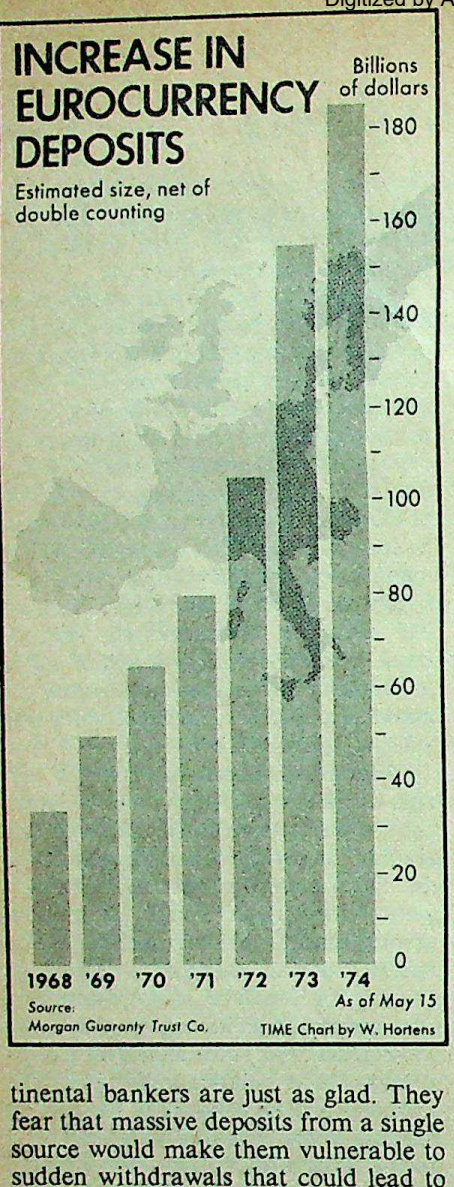
BANK DIRECTOR TALKS TO WORRIED HERSTATT CUSTOMERS AFTER COLLAPSE



DPA

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tinental bankers are just as glad. They fear that massive deposits from a single source would make them vulnerable to sudden withdrawals that could lead to more bank failures.

Little Man's Float

In 1961 First National City Bank of New York pioneered an innovation which has since become as popular as it once was unorthodox: in denominations as low as $500, the bank offered its customers fixed-term certificates of deposit that paid a higher interest rate than is permitted on savings accounts. Now its managers have introduced an even more radical idea for the inflation-harried small investor: notes that would pay a variable interest rate, generally tending to rise with the cost of living. Their plans have kicked up a controversy that prevented the scheduled sale of the notes last week.

The notes would be sold not by the bank itself but by its parent holding company, Citicorp, thus neatly getting around federal regulations limiting the interest that banks—but not bank holding companies—can pay to small savers. For a minimum $5,000 initially, a saver could buy notes on which the interest rate would be changed twice a year. Each time it would be set one percentage point above the going rate on Treasury bills, a favorite investment of the rich. Although the interest rate on Treasury bills can go down as well as up, even in an inflationary environment, it tends to rise as inflation pushes up interest rates. Last week the Treasury rate was 7.5%; thus had Citicorp's notes been sold last week, they would have paid 8.5% initially, *v.* a maximum of 5% to 5¼% on passbook savings accounts. Citicorp intended to sell $250 million of the notes, but potential demand appears so great that last week it planned to offer $850 million of them. Chase Manhattan Corp., holding company for archrival Chase Manhattan Bank, plans a $200 million offering of similar notes, and other competitors are said to be readying as much as $4 billion in notes.

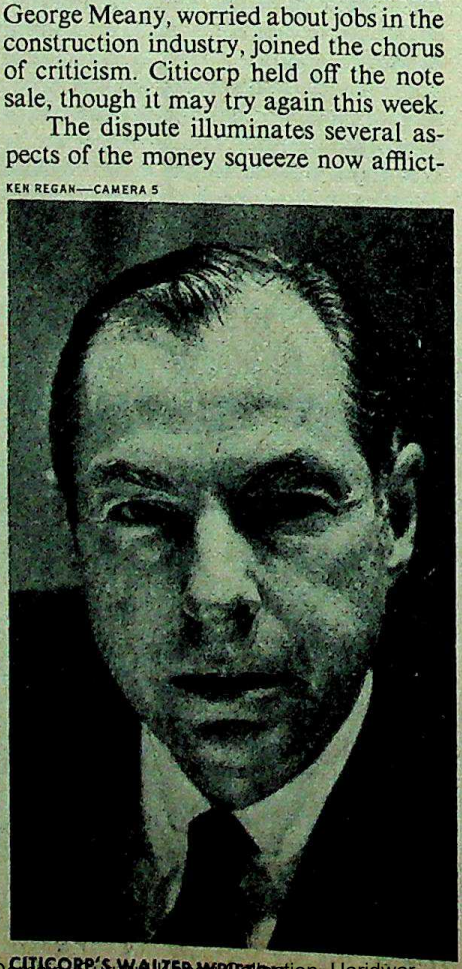
Another Try. The plans, however, ran into stiff opposition. The Securities and Exchange Commission pointedly failed to issue its customary "letter of comment," which evaluates new offerings. Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, wired Citicorp Chairman Walter Wriston an appeal to hold off the note sale for two weeks so that Government officials and Congressmen could study "the economic and financial implications of this novel type of issue."

The critics' fear is that issuance of the notes would tempt depositors to pull more money out of savings and loan associations and mutual savings banks (generally called "thrift institutions"). This would further cripple the housing industry, which depends heavily on mortgage money advanced by those institutions. Even AFL-CIO President George Meany, worried about jobs in the construction industry, joined the chorus of criticism. Citicorp held off the note sale, though it may try again this week.

The dispute illuminates several aspects of the money squeeze now afflicting the U.S. It illustrates the lengths to which banks and their holding companies are willing to go to raise the funds to meet clamorous loan demand from business, and spotlights the plight of thrift institutions in competing with commercial banks for savings in a tight market. Last week the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks reported that its members suffered a net savings outflow of $350 million in June.

Fortunately, some compromise was possible. At week's end, after consultation with Burns, Wriston said Citicorp would make its notes redeemable only after two years; formerly, he had intended that buyers cash them in twice a year. The longer maturity would make the notes somewhat less competitive with savings accounts, from which money can be withdrawn at any time. Earlier, the Federal Reserve sent a letter to Democratic Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin, a member of the Senate Banking Committee, telling him that strengthening the thrift institutions "might be preferable" to prohibiting innovative notes such as Citicorp's. One way to do so is allowing the savings banks and S&Ls to issue variable-interest notes too.

KEN REGAN—CAMERA 5



CITICORP'S WALTER WRISTON
A tradition of innovation.

OIL

Cooperate or Else

Acting in concert, oil-exporting countries have raised petroleum prices 480% since 1970. Reacting individually, oil importers have had no alternative but to pay—and eventually they may be able to do even that. In a lucid and frightening analysis in the July issue of *Foreign Affairs,* Oil Economist Walter Levy contends that the importers must choose, in the words of his title, "World Oil Cooperation or International Chaos."

This year, Levy calculates, consuming nations will pay $100 billion to import oil, *v.* $20 billion in 1972. For poor countries, the oil bill will more than offset all the foreign aid they get. Even industrialized nations, says Levy, must either cut oil imports enough to cause a recession or run gargantuan trade deficits financed by borrowings that eventually will pile up an insupportable debt. Though Levy does not use the word, a global depression, he contends that the world economy "cannot survive in any healthy or remotely healthy condition" if cartel pricing and actual or threatened supply restraints of oil continue.

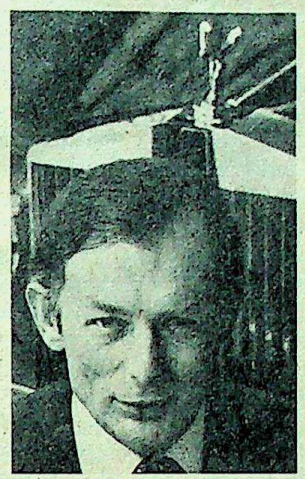
To meet the threat, Levy contends, the major oil-importing nations must 1) coordinate research and development of alternate sources of energy and agree to guarantee profitable prices to producers who produce, say, oil from shale or tar sands; 2) work out a common program to build six-month stockpiles of oil and share imports among themselves if exporters again curtail or shut off supplies; 3) agree that they will not try

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Independent Profits

Only 16 months after it was put on the auction block in the wake of a spectacular bankruptcy, Rolls-Royce Motors Holdings Ltd. is doing well indeed. After riding in the red for years, it has announced a pretax profit of $11 million on sales of $117 million in 1973. Much of the credit goes to Managing Director David Plastow, 42, who was named head of the new management group that launched the motor division as an independent firm after its aero-engineering parent went under. Plastow says that the breakup of the old company was the best thing that ever happened to its motorcar division because "too many workaday decisions—including every aspect of pricing—had to be referred to the old company."



DAVID PLASTOW

Plastow now has far more independence. A former auto-engineering apprentice who joined the company in 1958, he has improved communications between management and labor. "We would not dream of moving a single machine tool in our factories without first consulting the shop floor. That way you avoid the unnecessary strike."

Plastow is also concentrating on exploiting Rolls-Royce's fame as a symbol of luxury, instead of joining the trend toward bringing out smaller, gas-saving cars. He recently kicked up retail prices of the popular Silver Shadow from about $25,500 to $31,000. Now he is preparing a new model, code-named Delta, which at $50,000 may be the world's most expensive production car.

Away from Subsidy

As recently as 1967, Allegheny Airlines and two smaller lines that it has since taken over were collecting $12.5 million a year in Government aid. But this month Allegheny became the first of the nine U.S. "feeder" airlines to go off federal subsidy entirely—at its own request. The line, President Leslie Barnes proclaims, no longer needs a dole. He told stockholders that profits in the first six months of 1974 would equal or exceed the record $6.2 million earned on $325 million revenues in all of 1973.



LES BARNES

One reason for Allegheny's success is that its routes are heavily concentrated in the densely populated Eastern Seaboard area. Another reason is the management strategy of Barnes, 57, an earthy, fiercely cost-efficient administrator. In 21 years in the corporate cockpit, Barnes has steadily strengthened Allegheny through precise scheduling and by ridding it of its small-town runs. Barnes also runs a marketing and planning division that probably is the best in the industry. Two years ago, he inspired a joint ticketing and routing operation with Pan American that enables an Allegheny passenger in, say, Canton, Ohio, or Lexington, Ky., to buy a single ticket straight through to Paris or any other Pan Am stop. In 1973 the program took in $5.3 million, 90% more than the previous year.

Dollars for Dreams

Warner LeRoy was four years old when his father Mervyn produced the movie *The Wizard of Oz*. Ever since, Warner's life has been filled with dreams and a need for the spectacular, and indulging them has proved profitable. LeRoy's latest dream fulfillment is Great Adventure, a 1,500-acre amusement park that opened this month in New Jersey featuring 2,000 animals (including a herd of elephants), chariot races, and one of the world's highest Ferris wheels (150 ft.). LeRoy has already shouldered Hardwicke Companies, Inc., a firm in which he is a major stockholder, into spending $50 million on Great Adventure; eventually the company expects to invest $200 million. Says Charles Stein, head of Hardwicke, which has investments in safari-type parks round the world: "We put our whole company at stake because we believe in his creations."



WARNER LeROY

Well they might. Earlier, LeRoy persuaded Hardwicke to put up $1.5 million for half ownership of a Manhattan café converted from a theater that LeRoy had acquired so he could be a writer, director and producer. He wanted to transform the café into a restaurant where he would "create the sense of spectacle." He did, and Maxwell's Plum is now the paragon of Manhattan's singles spots, earning a tidy 13% profit on a yearly gross of about $4.5 million, and delivering LeRoy a salary of more than $200,000. That leaves the 39-year-old LeRoy with one dream to fulfill: losing the 60 lbs. he has gained "tasting and testing" since Maxwell's opened.

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...cash to pay for oil by unduly pushing ...orts to and curtailing imports from ...ch other; 4) especially important, de... ...loop coordinated programs to conserve ...ergy. If the world continues to in... ...ease energy consumption by 5.6% a ...ar, as it did between 1968 and 1972, ...y argues, it will remain unhealthily ...endent on Middle Eastern oil. But if ...ergy consumption can be held to an ...rease of 3.3% a year—which will ...an real "austerity" for the U.S., Japan ...d some other nations—oil imports can ...held to a level that by 1980 could be ...id for out of increased sales of goods ...d services to the Arabs.

Even that program, Levy maintains, ...insufficient; the importing nations ...st also band together to persuade the ...exporters to cut prices and grant the ...r countries deferred-payment terms ...r their oil. Acting together, he con... ...ds, the oil importers could convince ...e producers that it was not in their ...interest to bankrupt their customers ...d that their own independence could ...safely be assured if the United States ...d its allies were to be fatally weak... ...d vis-à-vis the Soviet Union." (In ...r words, governments of oil-produc... ...g nations might be overthrown by ...mmunist revolutions from which the ...st could not protect them.) But if even ...e or two major importers break ranks, ...e oil producers will be encouraged in ...e illusion that they can get indefinite... ...ay price that they ask.

The difficulties in the way of Levy's ...gram are obvious. It would require ...egree of unity and surrender of na... ...al sovereignty that the oil-burning ...ons were unable to muster even dur... ...the energy-crisis atmosphere of last ...ter. Levy concedes the problem but ...a starkly simple answer: the oil con... ...ers literally cannot afford the price ...ontinued disunity.

...ALL STREET

...e New Moonlighters

In its palmier days, the New York ...k Exchange sought to preserve its ...ent image and guard against con... ...s of interest by sternly forbidding li... ...ed security salesmen of member ...kerage firms to take a second job. ...ay, however, the exchange has had ...greatly relax its longstanding rule ...nst moonlighting. Reason: thou... ...ds of expensively trained sales spe... ...ts were leaving the brokerage busi... ...s for other fields, as the stock ...ket's deepening slump dried up com... ...ions. Today, more and more securi... ...salesmen who want to stay in the ...siness and yet continue to eat are do... ...after-hours stints as bartenders, ...dels, interpreters and retail clerks. ...e are limits. Exchange officials re... ...ly rejected a request from a sales... ...who wanted to work as a gambling-

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Born. To Luci Baines Nugent, 27, home-loving younger daughter of the late President Lyndon Johnson, and Patrick Nugent, 31, general sales manager for radio station KLBJ in Austin, Texas: their third child, second daughter; in Austin. Name: Rebekah Johnson Nugent, after L.B.J.'s mother.

■

Married. Noha Sadat, 16, sandy-haired second daughter of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat; and Hassan Marei, 24, son of Sadat Counselor Sayed Marei; both for the first time; in Maamoura, Egypt.

■

Married. Antoinette Sibley, 35, diminutive, radiant superstar of Britain's Royal Ballet; and Panton Corbett, 36, London banker; both for the second time; in London.

■

Died. Stephen John Roth, 66, federal district court judge who in a 1971 decision (now being reviewed by the Supreme Court) ruled that Detroit public schools were racially segregated as a result of state and local policies and ordered them to integrate, through the use of busing, with schools in 52 suburban districts; of a heart attack; in Flint, Mich.

■

Died. Cornelius Vanderbilt Jr., 76, restless offshoot of one of New York's richest families; of a heart attack; in Miami Beach, Fla. Opting for journalism over college, Vanderbilt embarrassed his clan in *Farewell to Fifth Avenue* (1935), a candid volume of childhood memories that caused his name to be struck from the *Social Register*. Living and working in an elaborately furnished trailer—"I would rather be a vagabond than a Vanderbilt," he once wrote—he periodically skittered round the world to interview celebrities for various newspapers and magazines. He was married seven times, divorced six.

■

Died. Pär Lagerkvist, 83, titan of Swedish literature and 1951 Nobel laureate; following a stroke; in Stockholm. The rebellious son of devout Lutheran peasants, Lagerkvist was enchanted with the Fauvist and Cubist artists of pre-World War I Paris. After experimenting with expressionism in a host of early, pessimistic poems and plays, Lagerkvist, who described himself as "a religious atheist," later developed the starker, more realistic prose style necessary to his vision of humanitarian idealism. In the U.S., he was best known for *The Dwarf* (1945), a bitter, allegorical novel about human greed, and *Barabbas* (1951), an enigmatic tale of man's struggle to achieve religious faith.

■

Died. Earl Warren, 83, Chief Justice of the United States from 1953 to 1969 (*see* THE LAW).

Détente in Space

After failing at least three times in attempts to complete a Skylab-type orbital mission, the Russians were not about to take any unnecessary risks in their latest effort. As Cosmonauts Pavel Popovich and Yuri Artyukhin, both 44, whirled around the earth aboard their Salyut 3 space station, ground control sternly refused to let them listen to the semifinal match between Poland and Brazil in the World Cup championship. The excitement, the controllers feared, might stir up the cosmonauts' pulse beats and blood pressure. But after a while, Soccer Nut Popovich could bear the suspense no longer. "How did they play? What's the score?" he demanded. Told that the Soviet Union's East bloc allies had eked out a 1-0 victory, Popovich exulted: "Bravo! Good guys, those Poles."

U.S. space officials had equal reason to cheer—not for the Poles but for what (so far) seemed like a successful Soviet space mission. Launched just before the Nixon-Brezhnev summit, Salyut 3 was subsequently boarded July 4 by the two cosmonauts for what appeared to be a two-week stay. The Americans were most interested in the Soyuz spacecraft that the cosmonauts used to reach the orbiting space station. Soyuz is the same type of ferry craft that the Russians will launch next July in a space-age milestone: the linkup of a U.S. and a Soviet spaceship in the first international manned space mission.

Both sides are eagerly preparing for that pioneering venture. Taking a break from the joint training exercises at Star City, the Soviet cosmonaut center outside Moscow, Apollo Commander Thomas Stafford last week said: "I am fully confident of success." His Soviet counterpart, Alexei Leonov, more than echoed his optimism: "Everything is going efficiently and on schedule."

For a time, U.S. officials had their doubts (and some still do), mainly because of the problem-plagued Soyuz, which one expert bluntly described as "primitive as hell." Cramped and crudely engineered, in the opinion of the Americans, it carries too little fuel for its thruster rockets; by contrast, the Apollo's computer-controlled thrusters have an excess of power. A more serious U.S. objection is that the Soyuz is controlled almost entirely from the ground; the cosmonauts have limited means of coping with emergencies on their own.

As a result, the major burden of flight will fall on the U.S. ship. A will lift off from Cape Kennedy 7½ after Soyuz takes off from the launch center in Kazakhstan. O orbit, Stafford and Copilots Deke ton and Vance Brand will begin a the-world pursuit of the Soviet Eventually they will dock with it, a U.S.-built docking system to li ships together. After the hookup Apollo will have to stabilize both in orbit since Soyuz is not up to the

Joint Saunas. The Russians the Americans have been willing ners on the ground. In the course o exchanges of visits during the past the spacemen—all former militar lots and engineers—have develope easy camaraderie. At Star City work in mock-ups of the Soyuz, a lectures and even exercise and take nas together. The Soviets are ackn edged to be ahead in the language —Stafford's incorrigible Oklah twang is something of a joke on sides—but the cosmonauts and nauts have mastered enough E and Russian to talk space and about families, sports and cars Americans grouse good-naturedly such Russian space-food staples as led lamb; the Soviets, on their vis Houston, have found American to be "the lousiest in the cosmos those are the only complaints from now, the joint mission could be the success its boosters are predicting.

NASA



LEONOV & STAFFORD TRAINING AT HOUSTON
Developing an easy camaraderie

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GIANNINI & MELATO IN *MIMI*



SUTHERLAND & GOULD IN *S*P*Y*S*



FORREST & KEACH IN *GRAVY*

Sexual Politics

THE SEDUCTION OF MIMI
Directed and Written by LINA WERTMULLER

Here is the perfect summer tonic: a zany, rowdy comedy of bad manners and low politics. It moves fast—in places a little too fast—and on a couple of occasions breaks into episodes of deep, wild humor. The movie is Italian, and no better fun, domestic or imported, can currently be found.

The Seduction of Mimi is the work of Lina Wertmuller, whose previous *Love and Anarchy* (TIME, May 20) also investigated, albeit a little more sorrowfully, the exotic compulsions of physical and political passion. *Mimi* is set in Sicily, the location of much good Italian comedy. Sicily is one of those places that seem to be unconditionally guaranteed laugh getters, like Brooklyn or Southern California. What Wertmuller theorizes here is the peculiar Sicilian consequence of honor and hypocrisy, illegality and sanctimony.

Standing right at the storm center, and pulled in all directions, is a worker named Carmelo, called "Mimi," who incurs the wrath of the local Mafia honcho by declining to vote in the prescribed manner. Mimi (Giancarlo Giannini) leaves his indifferent wife at home and moves north to Turin. There he lands a job in a metallurgy plant, a position in the trade union and the love of a ravishing bohemian called Fiore (Mariangela Melato).

Untroubled by Mimi's marital obligations, Fiore asks for absolute love and scrupulous constancy. Mimi complies passionately, elevating adultery to the exalted heights of fatherhood. Life is the sweetest but full until Mimi is transferred back home to Sicily. He smuggles Fiore and their child into town, only to find that his wife has duplicated his situation by becoming pregnant by a lover of her own.

Wertmuller contrives to work Mimi from a position of moral criminality not much different from that of the gangsters he had earlier opposed. In one cruelly hilarious sequence, Mimi seduces the wife of the petty official who has cuckolded him with his wife. The woman's gross flesh is the field of battle on which Mimi struggles to gain vengeance and restore what he insists upon thinking is his honor. In the end he just barely remains standing in the rubble of his double standard.

Giannini and Melato, who also starred in *Love and Anarchy,* are once again fine here, but their characterizations suffer from the deletion of nearly 20 minutes of running time, eliminated by the American distributors in an attempt to make proceedings a little breezier. The movie is somewhat puzzling in some of its transitions, more than a little abrupt in Mimi's abandoning his principles—and the reflection they find in his love for Fiore. However, no serious damage results from the condensation. ■ Jay Cocks

Tired Intrigue

S*P*Y*S
Directed by IRVIN KERSHNER
Screenplay by MALCOLM MARMORSTEIN, LAWRENCE J. COHEN and FRED FREEMAN

The punctuation is misleading. The only similarities between this bedraggled comedy of foreign intrigue and *M*A*S*H* are two leading men and three asterisks.

The credits are especially beefy in the writing department, but one can only guess at the contribution the scenarists made. Perhaps each supplied one bit of title punctuation. *S*P*Y*S* seems to have been tailored to and by the talents of Donald Sutherland and Elliott Gould. The movie has a tone of smug bemusement, as if the actors had gone pretty much their own way with it. That can work out fine, given the proper combination of talent and their director, Irvin Kershner *(Up the Sandbox, The Flim Flam Man).* Sutherland and Gould rather drastically overestimate their own charms. In *M*A*S*H* they played well together because they both worked with precision, timing themselves off each other like a couple of telepathic tumblers. Here, their slackness, their contempt for the movie (richly merited though it may be) come across too clearly, and are catching besides.

There is little sense in spending much time on the plot, since nobody involved in the film did. Sutherland plays a straight-arrow American agent, Gould a rather more cynical and rumpled crony. Running about Paris, dabbling in all sorts of mediocre intrigues, they discover that their own intelligence agency is trying to eliminate them. They attempt to turn this situation to their advantage by stealing secrets from one source and selling them to the highest international bidder. But they are not very adept at political manipulation, so they find themselves being threatened, beaten and shot at with a frequency that is mostly what passes for comedy.

The movie's credits introduce the two leading men simply as "Sutherland and Gould," as if they were some sort of two-a-day act like Weber and Fields. Get the hook. ■ J.C.

Midnight Special

THE GRAVY TRAIN
Directed by JACK STARRETT
Screenplay by BILL KERBY and DAVID WHITNEY

Dire speculations about the health and current whereabouts of the B movie (dead of economic inflation? fled to television?) are laid to rest—loudly—by the appearance of this raucous crime comedy. It is brash, nutty and broad as an interstate highway. It lacks almost all the higher virtues like skilled plotting or deep characterization, but makes decent enough amends by virtue of its own high spirits.

The story is nothing much. Calvin Dehon (Stacy Keach) is a West Virginia

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boy who collars his brother Russell (Frederic Forrest) and drags him into his dream of making a killing in the big city. The brothers embark on a life of crime, more or less falling into a lucrative armored-car holdup masterminded by a nerve-ridden hood from Boston (Barry Primus). But the hood does not bother to split the profits. He does not bother to show up at the rendezvous point, either. Instead, he sends a few squad cars in his place. The Dehons manage to dodge the cops, then set out to find the fellow who stiffed them.

The brothers wind up victims of their own dim dreams but en route have a considerable good time. They run around Washington, D.C., shooting off their guns as if they were in Tombstone, and enjoy the luxurious respite of dining in a snooty restaurant, getting smashed, and grossing out the cringing, pretentious staff. "Here's $50," says Calvin to an effete wine steward. "Go change your name."

Frederic Forrest makes a winning and affectionately rendered Russell. Barry Primus' hood is a bright comic study of a high-voltage, low-I.Q. gangster. Even Stacy Keach, normally a rather stoical presence, lets loose a bit.

Gravy Train has a breezy, careening, daffy quality, thanks in no small part to the skills of Director Jack Starrett *(Cleopatra Jones)*. The jokes here reach the approximate sophistication of *Ma and Pa Kettle Go to Town,* but that does not necessarily prevent them from being funny. ■ J.C.

Semiskilled

TRUCK TURNER
Directed by JONATHAN KAPLAN
Screenplay by OSCAR WILLIAMS and MICHAEL ALLIN

Perhaps best known until now for the score of *Shaft,* Isaac Hayes here follows *Three Tough Guys* with another lame shot at establishing some kind of on-camera identity for himself. The vehicle he has chosen is a numskull cops-and-robbers piece about a skip tracer (someone who hunts down bail jumpers). Hayes forsakes his rock-performing wardrobe of bare chest wrapped in chains to slop around Los Angeles in a variety of Levi outfits, glowering, guzzling cans of Coors and ferreting out various criminal types. He is called Truck because his methods usually carry a certain violent impact, and "a gross son of a bitch" for different, although equally obvious reasons.

Hayes is large, but no one could truthfully call him imposing, and the movie was made without benefit of craft, care or wit. This does not seem to have bothered Hayes or anyone else. Only the director appears to have sensed the savage stupidity of this material, but his idea of a corrective is to make fun of it. That is a little like making gags at the expense of your own deformity. ■ J.C.

The Freedom Strike

It was 94° at Northwestern's Dyche Stadium in Evanston, Ill., and Minnesota Viking Defensive Tackle Alan Page was working up a heavy sweat. Page, however, was not practicing his pass rush. Dressed in a T shirt stamped with the message NO FREEDOM, NO FOOTBALL, he was marching in a picket line. With ten other National Football League veterans Page had exchanged shoulder pads for placards in a successful effort to persuade the College All-Stars not to prepare for their scheduled game with the Super Bowl champion Miami Dolphins later this month.

Page's picket line was only one of a dozen that cropped up at training camps across the nation last week as the N.F.L. Players Association—backed by most of the league's veterans—put pressure on owners to meet contract demands. At a minimum, the dispute threatens to delay the start of the exhibition season. At a maximum, the confrontation could wipe out an entire season and change the basic structure of the league.

At the center of the dispute are 13 "freedom" demands that—if adopted —would radically alter the system of team ownership of players by abolishing the option clause, the "Rozelle rule" and other procedures that have severely limited a player's opportunity to move from team to team. The option clause requires a veteran to play out his contract, then put in another year at 90% of his previous season's salary before he can join a new team. According to the Rozelle rule, named after N.F.L. Commissioner Alvin ("Pete") Rozelle, a team that loses a player must be compensated with someone of comparable worth. If the two teams cannot agree on a deal, Rozelle plucks someone out for compensation or awards a draft choice. The players say he often makes a team give up more than it has acquired simply to discourage player-initiated moves.

Potential Chaos. If the players win, pro football would become an open market with supply and demand as the only restriction on a player's movements. "Why shouldn't we be like the guy at the Ford plant who wants to go work at General Motors?" asks Page. "They do it every day and the System hasn't collapsed."

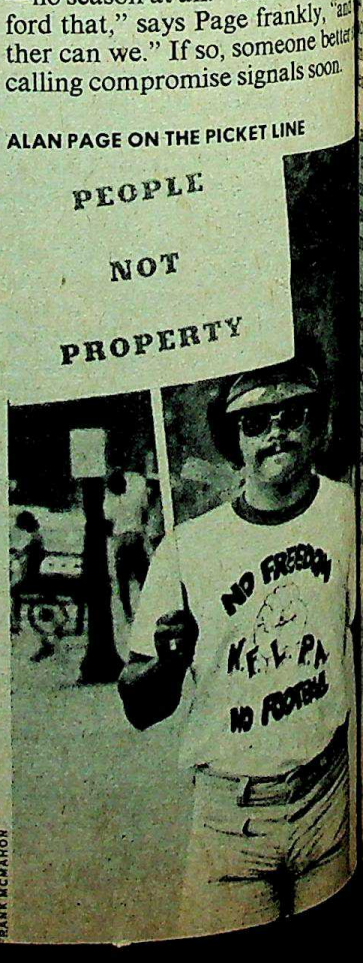
The N.F.L. owners, of course, fail to see the analogy. Instead, they envision chaos in an open market. "If we do what the players want," says Pittsburgh Steeler Owner Dan Rooney, "500 to 800 guys would change teams every year. What happens to fan loyalty?" Others worry about competitive balance. "The rich teams would dominate," says Washington Redskins President Edward Bennett Williams. "You can't run a competitive league that way."

The players and owners are a... on other issues as well. The players ... veto power over trades (in major ... baseball, ten-year veterans who ... played for their team for five ... utive years can reject trades), ... minimum salaries and an end to ... fews and fines. At week's end the ... seemed far from settlement. A ... strike over the pension fund four ... ago collapsed when the then champ... Kansas City Chiefs decided to play ... the All-Star game. This year most ... Dolphins decided to boycott. When ... All-Stars refused to play without a ... tlement, the game was canceled. ... other picket lines thrown up last ... were honored by most veterans, ... rookies and free agents.

If bargaining eventually work... new contract is likely to feature ... ation of curfews and fines, a higher ... pay and partial player veto over ... Modifications, if any, in the ... clause and the Rozelle rule would ... doubtedly be very gradually introd...

If there is no settlement, the first ... sualty will be the exhibition season. ... owners' threat to play preseason ... with rookies and free agents can ... delight fans who pay as much as ... ticket to see the Redskins stop ... Simpson. Moreover, other unions ... well agree to honor the Players ... ciation picket line, leaving the ... to collect tickets and sell beer. Even ... would be better than the worst pre... —no season at all. "The owners can... ford that," says Page frankly, "and ... ther can we." If so, someone better ... calling compromise signals soon.

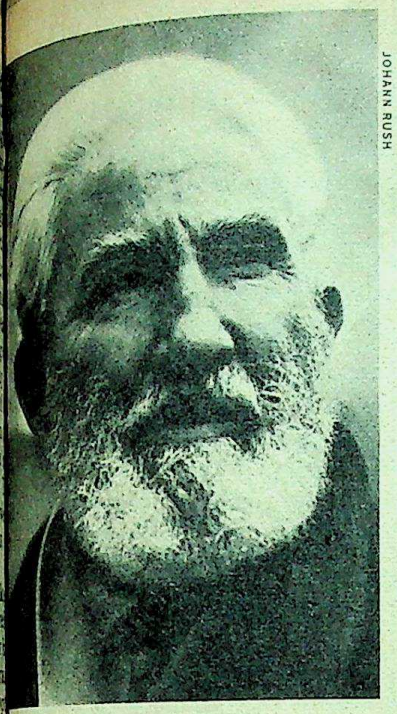
ALAN PAGE ON THE PICKET LINE



FRANK MCMAHON

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JOHANN RUSH

N BEECHER

ox Pop

LECTED POEMS, 1924-1974
JOHN BEECHER
0 pages. Macmillan. $8.95.

If John Beecher were a character or instead of a poet, he could play the best parts in a pageant of Amer- past. He has the face for roles as a nfederate general, a turn-of-the-cen- y president of Harvard, or even the st distinguished presence in the hobo gle, the man everyone calls "Gen- man Jack."

A native of Alabama, a student at arvard and Cornell, a steelworker and merchant seaman as well as a pro- sor of sociology, Beecher, 70, seems s a poet than a one-man recorder of merican experience.

Beecher writes work songs about ll hands who get a "shoeful of steel" en a ladle burns through, and bal- ds about a "Frankie and Johnny" deo team who almost (but not quite) each other. He composes a jazzy e for "Kid Punch" Miller, who yed trumpet with Jelly Roll Mor- , and a kind of epitaph for a Pueb- Indian grave robber beset by legal oblems and liquor:

.. The pots he and his wife had dug
were sold off
one by one for bust-head
He brought a pair of bleary-eyed old
biddies home
he'd picked up in an Albuquerque bar
and turned the place his wife fixed
so nice
with Navaho rugs and Spanish
furniture
into a old folks' whorehouse . . .

His civil rights poems of the '60s, bloody as a bashed head, have the angry surge of an Abolitionist sermon by his great-great-uncle Henry Ward Beecher:

I disremember all the meanness that
they did
treating them Yankees like they was
us
dragging that 70-year-old white lady
down the courthouse steps
with her head going bam on every step

Beecher is nearly prose-flat, simplistic, partial to Walt Whitman's "barbaric yawp" and defiant about it: "Must I be schooled,/ veil plain speech in symbolic fog, costume/ polemics for a merry morris dance,/ practice new types of ambiguity ...?" He can be perversely unsophisticated, monotonously on the side of the "little guy."

Native Son. A twelfth-generation American, the Ivy League scion of a U.S. Steel executive, Beecher has worked furiously to turn himself into a self-made common man. "Bard of the people" might be the title he has aspired to for 50 years, like Vachel Lindsay and Carl Sandburg before him. But Beecher is no folk charlatan. He has paid his dues. When he refused to sign a loyalty oath during the McCarthy era, he was fired from the faculty of San Francisco State College. The city of Birmingham, which declared May 1 John Beecher Day, was not so pleased with its native son ten years ago when, as a thoroughly participatory journalist, he was celebrating Martin Luther King Jr. in the pages of *Ramparts*.

Nor has Beecher had it easy as a poet. He became a printer in order to publish his own rejected verses. These poems may lack finish; they do not lack authority. "Strength," as Beecher himself points out, "is a matter of the made-up mind." Now Visiting Scholar at Duke, he is at work on his autobiography. It should be worth anticipating. A lover of American character —the last man who would still dare speak for the People—Beecher is a character himself, perhaps his own best poem.

■ Melvin Maddocks

Seduction by Syrinx

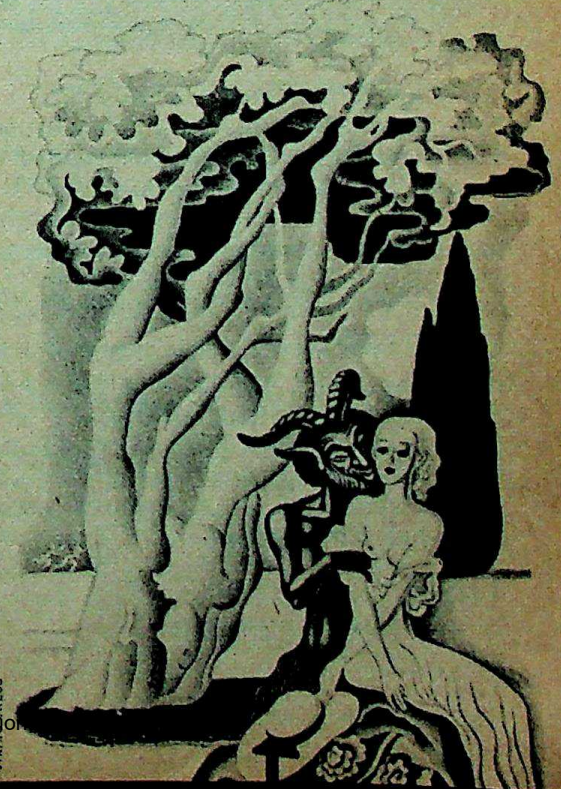
THE CIRCUS OF DR. LAO
by CHARLES G. FINNEY
119 pages. Avon. $1.25.

"Step right up . . . if you dare!" reads the blurb on the garishly illustrated cover. "See the werewolf turn into a real flesh-and-blood woman—right before your very eyes." This pitchman's approach, aimed at newsstand buyers of books on the occult, is misleading for the product, a slim volume entitled *The Circus of Dr. Lao*, is no tawdry sci-fi thriller. It is instead a blending of the sardonic style of Ambrose Bierce and the homespun hyperbole of Mark Twain.

Circus tells a tale that could happen only in America. A circus, under the direction of an apparently ageless Chinese named Dr. Lao, arrives one day in the town of Abalone, Ariz., and delivers delights that even Barnum would have hedged at promising. "The world is my idea," says Dr. Lao. "As such I present it to you." The circus, a metaphor for his world, is half dream, half nightmare. In its sideshow tents a puritanical schoolteacher is seduced by a syrinx-playing satyr, a gorgon turns an unbelieving harridan into "carnelian chalcedony," one of the harder varieties of building stone, and an absent-minded magician performs a couple of genuine miracles, transforming wine into water and raising a man from the dead. The show under the big top is even more spectacular. It offers a unicorn that pops balloons with its horn, a sphinx that asks riddles, a *Walpurgisnacht* revel attended by witches and presided over by Satan himself and, for the jaded, the sacrifice of a beautiful virgin.

Do these offerings impress the Abaloneans? Not on your tintype. Their expectations run more to trained-seal acts and Bobo the Dog-faced Boy, and their minds are thus unconditioned to accept such wonders. True members of the American booboisie, they heckle Dr. Lao and his magician during the performance and walk silently out into the hard Arizona sunlight when it is over. One suspects that Sinclair Lewis'

ARTZYBASHEFF ILLUSTRATION (1935)



VIKING PRESS

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Time is part of Rolex's business. TIME is part of it, too.



The qualities that make a Rolex watch distinctive are the ones that make it expensive. Rolex recognizes that a product's price, to a large degree, determines who will buy it. That's why the company aims its advertising at a selective market. And because Rolex knows something about media, as well as watches, it chooses TIME to communicate with that market.

In the magazine's Atlantic, Asia, Latin America and U.S. editions, Rolex reaches a concentration of people for whom a watch is more than just a means of telling time. Just as TIME is more than simply a way of keeping up to date with the news.

TIME
for multinational marketing.

Main Streeters might have done the same thing.

For them—and for equally con readers—Author Finney, whose ne style testifies to the years he spent reporter for the Tucson *Star*, often explanation of sorts. His shaggy story is followed by a 20-page log logue that lists all the male, fe and child characters, animals, art and edibles and even the contradic that appear in the course of the an "explanation of the obvious" as Finney himself insists, must be to be appreciated.

Sea Serpent. The result is a s up that anyone who has ever gro through an overfootnoted attem scholarship will relish. Of a Me bartender Finney writes: "His fr thers came to this country a little Hernando Cortez. His foremothers yans, Toltecs, and Aztecs, were al here." A child devoured by a sea pent is disposed of in an equally d pan manner: "For seven years he a diner; then for a few minutes he a dinner. Ultimately he was inco rated into the cell structure of the serpent, a distinction he did not joy." Horses are "anachronisms speedy, less beautiful, less efficient the machines which have repl them." The Gadarene swine are for sermons."

Originally published in 1935 illustrations by the late Boris A basheff, *Circus* made the same im on the American public then as it on the people of Finney's fictional izona town. Most readers found the tasy too full of mythological refere for their tastes. Finney, now 69, and ing in retirement in Arizona, t his attention back to city politics, ders and obituaries. But the book s ly won a sizable underground follo and in the years since then, two perback editions have sold a million ies. The new edition can be forg its lurid jacket, for it will introduc authentic American classic to a generation of readers. In these ulous days, when a man turns into wine, hardly anybody is lik complain that he didn't make instead.

■ Peter S

Sand in the Machinery

HELP I AM BEING HELD PRISONER
by DONALD D. WESTLAKE
275 pages. Evans. $6.95.

On the TV screen, the cops are ing in for the final shootout. With onds to spare, they bear down on bad guys' hideaway, pull up to the and . . .

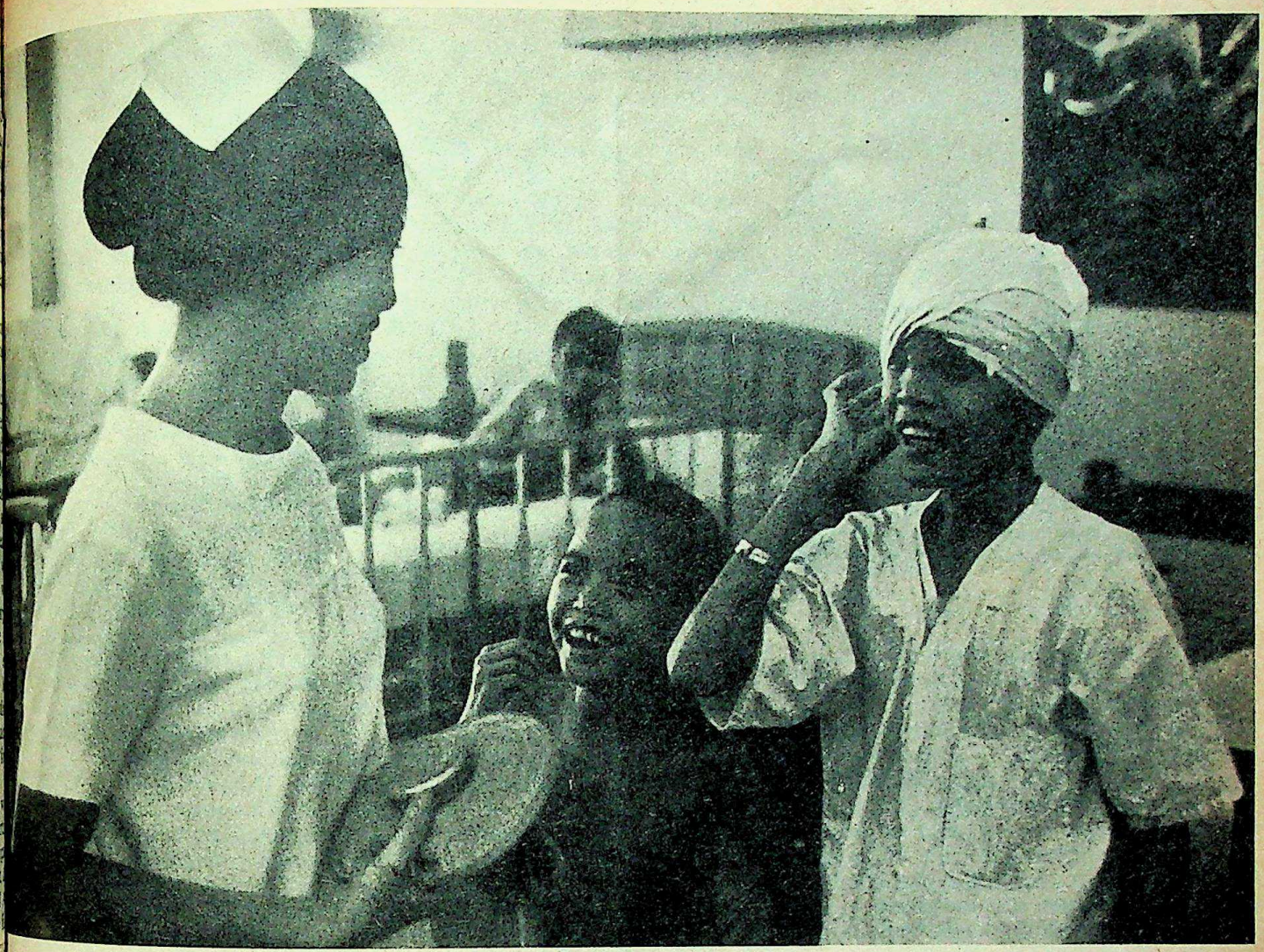
But wait. What if there has no parking space? What then?

For Crime Novelist Donald E. W lake, musing in front of the tube a

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Remember Kim Phuc ?

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You'd probably recognize her immediately in another photograph, the one where she is running down South Vietnam's Highway One. In that famous picture she is terrified and she is naked. She has torn off her clothes and is fleeing from the napalm which, seconds before, had burned her.

This is Kim Phuc at the Children's Medical Relief Hospital in Saigon. Her pain is gone and this happy smile has replaced the terror of that day on Highway One. Her burned back has healed thanks to the skill of the surgeons at the hospital, the only one of its kind in the country. After several operations, Kim Phuc is back home, completely recovered from her wounds.

It costs $U S 15 a day to maintain a child in the hospital. The average stay is twenty days. It costs $U S 300 to treat the average patient. In the United States comparable care would cost ten times as much.

The hospital has already treated 5,000 children like Kim Phuc but thousands more need care. Won't you help us today. We need to build a modern burns treatment unit; we need to establish clinics in outlying areas; we must guarantee that we will never have to turn away a single child who needs us.

Please send your gift today to:

Children's Medical Relief Emergency Fund
Box 555 FDR Station New York, N.Y. 10022

☐ **$U S 150,000 will construct a modern burns treatment unit**

☐ **$U S 1,000 will save the life of a critically burned child**

☐ **$U S 300 is the average cost for a child's stay in the hospital**

Anything you can send will help

Here is my contribution of $U S _____

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

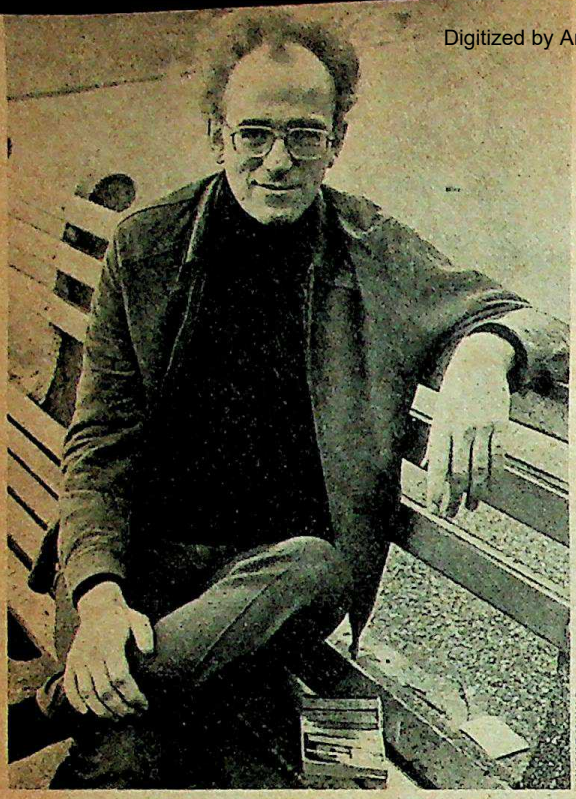
CITY .....

Thank you for remembering Kim Phuc

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DIANA BRYANT

DONALD E. WESTLAKE
No parking for police cars.

the time, Westlake was known mainly as a promising heir to the tough, taut Hammett-Chandler tradition. But suddenly he glimpsed the comic potential of tossing the sand of petty frustrations and human fallibility into the well-oiled machinery of the thriller. Nonviolent, Runyonesque crooks could become the victims, and everyday life the culprit. Getaway cars could stall, crucial phone numbers could slip the mind, a paralyzing snowstorm could fall on the day of a planned bank heist.

Jail Tunnel. The results, starting with Westlake's *The Fugitive Pigeon* in 1965, have brought new life to a neglected sub-genre: the caper novel. In *The Spy in the Ointment* (1966), a typographical error on an FBI list caused a pacifist to become mixed up with bomb-throwing subversives. In *The Hot Rock* (1970), a raffish foursome engineered several fiendishly clever jewel thefts in search of a rare emerald that turned out never to be where it was supposed to be. In *Bank Shot* (1972), a suburban bank temporarily operating out of a mobile home was robbed by a gang that simply hauled it away.

On the strength of such engaging fancies, Brooklyn-born Westlake, 41, a soft-spoken, owlish ectomorph who resembles most of his protagonists, has slipped into the front rank of popular crime writers. Especially in Hollywood, where his plots seem like readymade movie scenarios—so readymade, in fact, that with *Cops and Robbers* (1972) Westlake reversed the usual sequence and wrote the movie script first, then turned it into a novel.

With *Help I Am Being Held Prisoner*, Westlake returns to the usual sequence, though readers may still think they discern film sprockets running down the sides of the pages. The hero, Harry Künt, is a practical joker, one of whose pranks has spectacularly misfired and landed him in prison. There he falls in with a group of cons who have access to a secret tunnel—not to escape by, but to use for a sort of shore leave to the neighboring town, where under assumed names they set up households, open charge accounts and join local bowling teams. Only after Harry Künt is initiated into the tunnel club does he learn that the cons plan to rob the town banks, using their ostensible confinement in prison as an alibi.

The misadventures by which Harry keeps himself more or less honest are not quite up to Westlake's zaniest inventions, but just the thing to turn to while those TV cops are finding parking spaces. ■ Christopher Porterfield

The Bug Next Door

THE LIVES OF A CELL
by LEWIS THOMAS
153 pages. Viking. $6.95.

"Statistically, the probability of any one of us being here is so small that you'd think the mere fact of existing would keep us all in a contented dazzlement of surprise," Biologist Lewis Thomas writes in *The Lives of a Cell*. Thomas' sense of contented dazzlement and his delight in scientific discovery are familiar to readers of his column, "Notes of a Biology Watcher," which appears regularly in the austere *New England Journal of Medicine*. His book, a collection of some of the best of those pieces, shows those who do not read the *Journal* how much they have missed.

A physician and teacher who is now president of Manhattan's Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, Thomas is also a gifted writer with wit, imagination and a bold, encouraging vision of both man and nature. His main theme is symbiosis, the intimate association between even the most dissimilar organisms. For example, he points out that bacteria called rhizobia live in the roots of bean plants and enable them to utilize the nitrogen in the soil; without these parasites the plants would die. There are also viruses—small, independent packets of nucleic acids —which Thomas believes may have helped man evolve by transmitting bits of the master molecule DNA from one organism to another. Even the single cells that have combined to form a human being house microscopic nonhuman tenants whose value to the health of the cell appears unquestioned. "My cells are no longer the pure line entities I was raised with," Thomas explains. "They are ecosystems more complex than Jamaica Bay."

Thomas argues elegantly that it is when our bodies forget the importance of living symbiotically with other organisms that we contract diseases. Most bacteria are not dangerous to man. The man who catches a meningococcus, as the biologist emphasizes, is in c... erably less risk of losing his life... the meningococcus unlucky enou... catch a man. It is man's overre... to many germs, a sort of immunol... overkill, that puts him at risk. ... his weapons for fighting off ba... are so powerful that they endanger... as much as they do invaders. Mo... ple, for example, can carry strepto... without any problems. It is only ... the body reacts to their presence... produces large numbers of anti... to fight them that rheumatic ... which can have numerous adver... fects, results.

The author does not confine h... entist's eye to a microscope. He ... a much wider view of the world, ... ing at insect behavior and the ... bility of intelligent life in outer ... or bird songs and the evolution of ... guage. He also offers a modest ... posal for saving ourselves from ... self-destruction. He suggests that ... program into the computers that ... our intercontinental missiles the in... tion not to fire until we have acq... complete information about one ... thing. He even offers as a candi... for this honor a protozoan called ... *otricha paradoxa*, which lives in th... nermost reaches of Australian ter... digestive tracts.

Thomas' proposal is more di... than it sounds, for Myxotricha is so ... plex that he believes that no matter ... much information was amassed ... fair-minded computer would ... more data before it obeyed the ... mand to shoot.

Best Sellers

FICTION

1—Watership Down, *Adams (1 last week)*
2—Jaws, *Benchley (2)*
3—The Fan Club, *Wallace (3)*
4—Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy, *le Carré (6)*
5—Cashelmara, *Howatch (4)*
6—The Snare of the Hunter, *MacInnes (5)*
7—Burr, *Vidal (7)*
8—My Life as a Man, *Roth*
9—The Other Side of Midnight, *Sheldon (8)*
10—The Dogs of War, *Forsyth*

NONFICTION

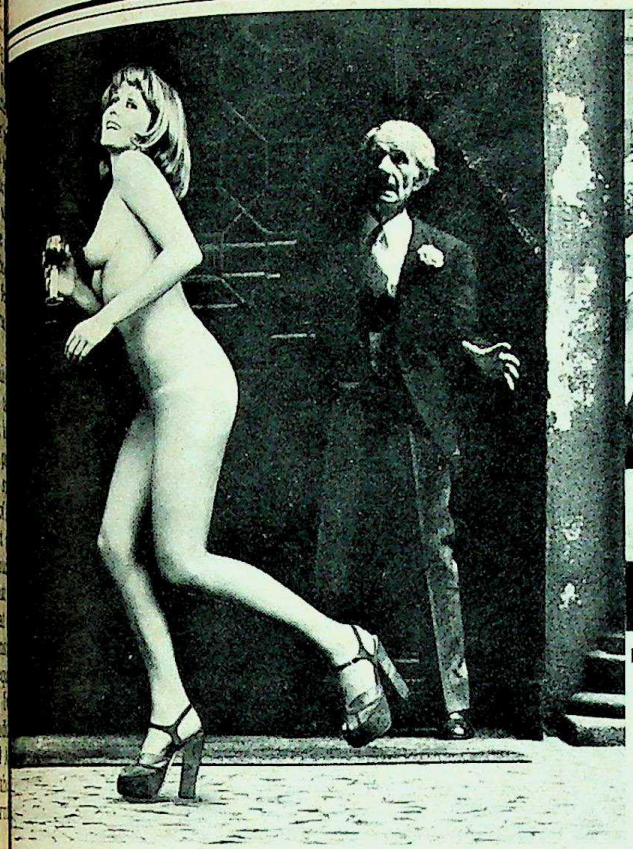
1—All the President's Men, *Bernstein & Woodward (1)*
2—The Gulag Archipelago, *Solzhenitsyn (5)*
3—You Can Profit from a Monetary Crisis, *Browne (4)*
4—Plain Speaking: An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman, *Miller (6)*
5—Times to Remember, *Kennedy*
6—Alive: The Story of the Andes Survivors, *Read (3)*
7—Working, *Terkel (8)*
8—Thomas Jefferson, An Intimate History, *Brodie (7)*
9—The Wall Street Gang, *Net...*
10—Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance, *Pirsig*

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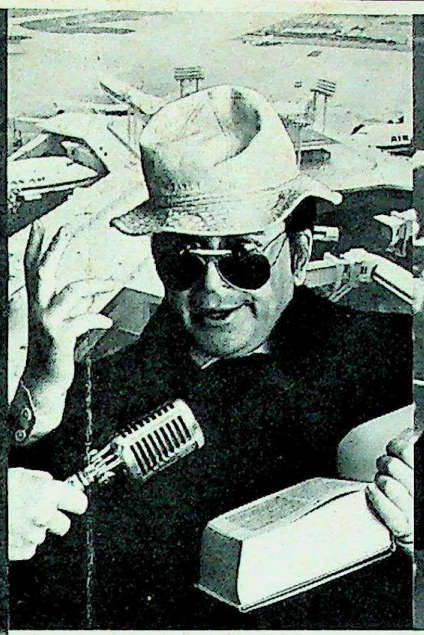
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The great Campari controversy.



FRANCESCA: BOTTOMS UP.



BEN: HAD THE GREEKS A WORD FOR IT?



SIR SEBASTIAN: 'EIGHT TO THE BAR.

A lighter note was touched recently in the Great Campari Controversy when Francesca Smythe, bearing a well chilled Negroni and wearing little more than a determined expression wrecked through the bar in London's top all-male Drones club.

Francesca later explained that the club's bar was a notorious stronghold of purists (those who firmly believe that Campari can only be really enjoyed pure, with but a shoosh of soda and a soupcon of ice). "I don t mind them drinking it any way they like" she said "but why should they object to us Mixers preferring Campari mixed into a Negroni, or a knock-out Americano? That's why I thought that I would make our point of view felt by turning up in the pink (which is the true colour of mixed Campari) and make those old fogies faces red!"

Explaining the function of the new radio telescope (said to be the world's largest) set up at the outskirts of Auckland, New Zealand, Professor Elio Scrope pointed out that it can pick up even the faintest murmurs of sound from the very farthest corners of the galaxy. "We had quite an extraterrestrial time when we tested it for the first time" he said "we turned the knob and suddenly the whole room was filled with the most ear-shattering shooshing sounds, and icy, spine-chilling clinking! We really thought we were on to something sensational, until we discovered that the telescope had inadvertently been pointed towards the observatory's bar, and that what we where hearing was the sound of Campari and soda

Etymologist Ben Delba, adlibbing on his study of the spoken language between planes at Rio, pontificated that one word foxes him still.

"Campari" he said, drinking one "I know it purportedly derives from a family name, but what lies behind that? Can it originate from "Campare" which in Italian means to live? Or should we try "Compère" from the French? I obviously refuse the gay liberation version of Camp Harry, of course.

Or perhaps one should delve into drinking habits of the now extint Transylanian Khamphàry? Or is that my plane they're calling?"

Triumphant after his shattering rendition of Tinkelbaums New Concerto for Electronic Cymbals, Campari and orchestra, soloist Sir Sebastian Melmoth explained all to Britains TV viewers. "The electronic cymbals are a breeze," he said "but it's tricky to get the Campari tuned right.

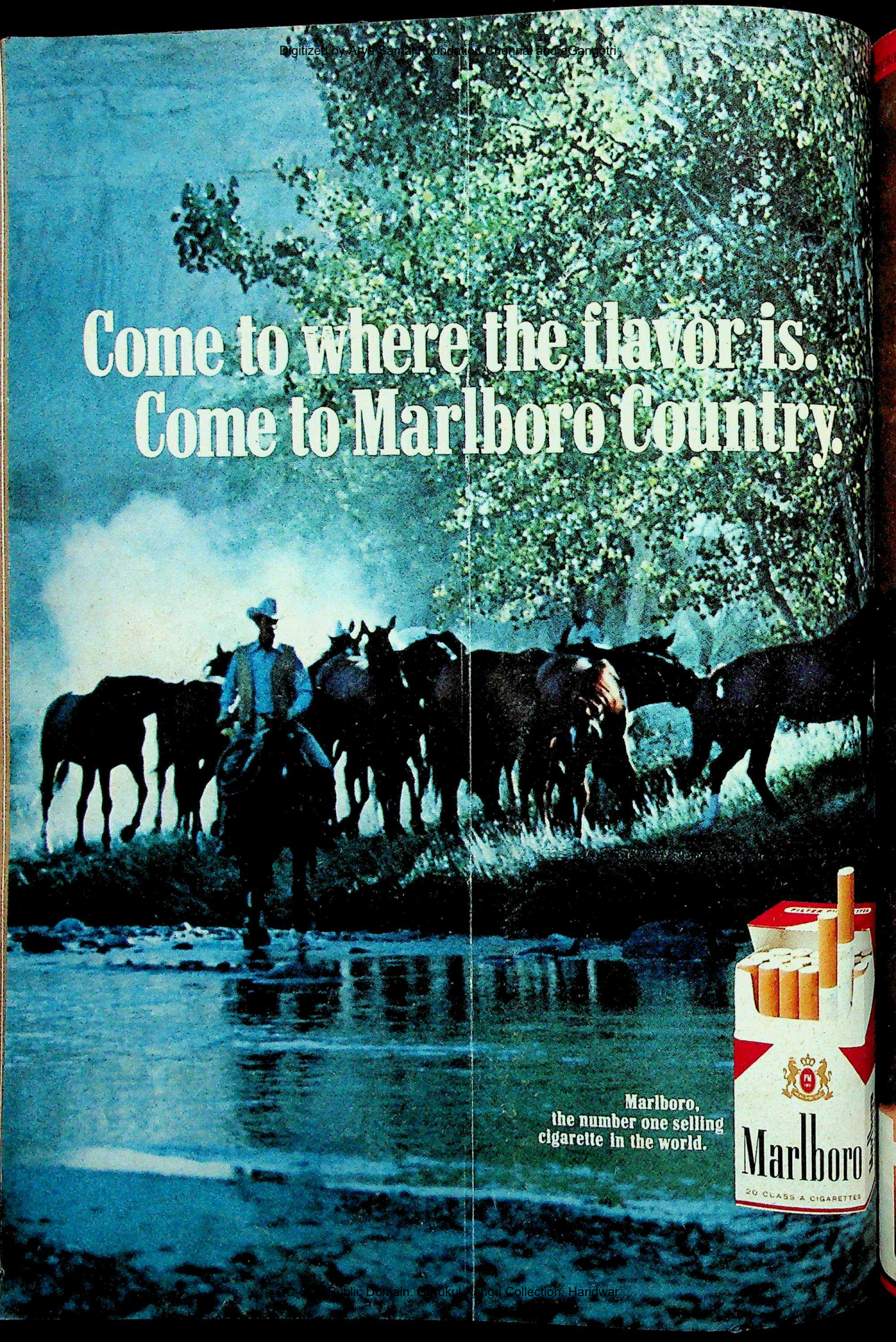
Too much ice and you lower the pitch, too much soda and you dilute the sound." Asked what happens to the Campari after each concert, Sir Sebastian burst out in surprise "I drink it of course, No point wasting a bloody good drink like Campari, is there"?



Campari and Soda: Campari, Ice, and a splash of soda to taste. **Negroni:** 1/3 Campari, 1/3 Gin, 1/3 Italian Vermouth, Ice. Shake then strain into cocktail glass. Add slice of orange. **Americano:** 1/2 Bitter Campari, 1/2 Italian Vermouth. A squeeze of

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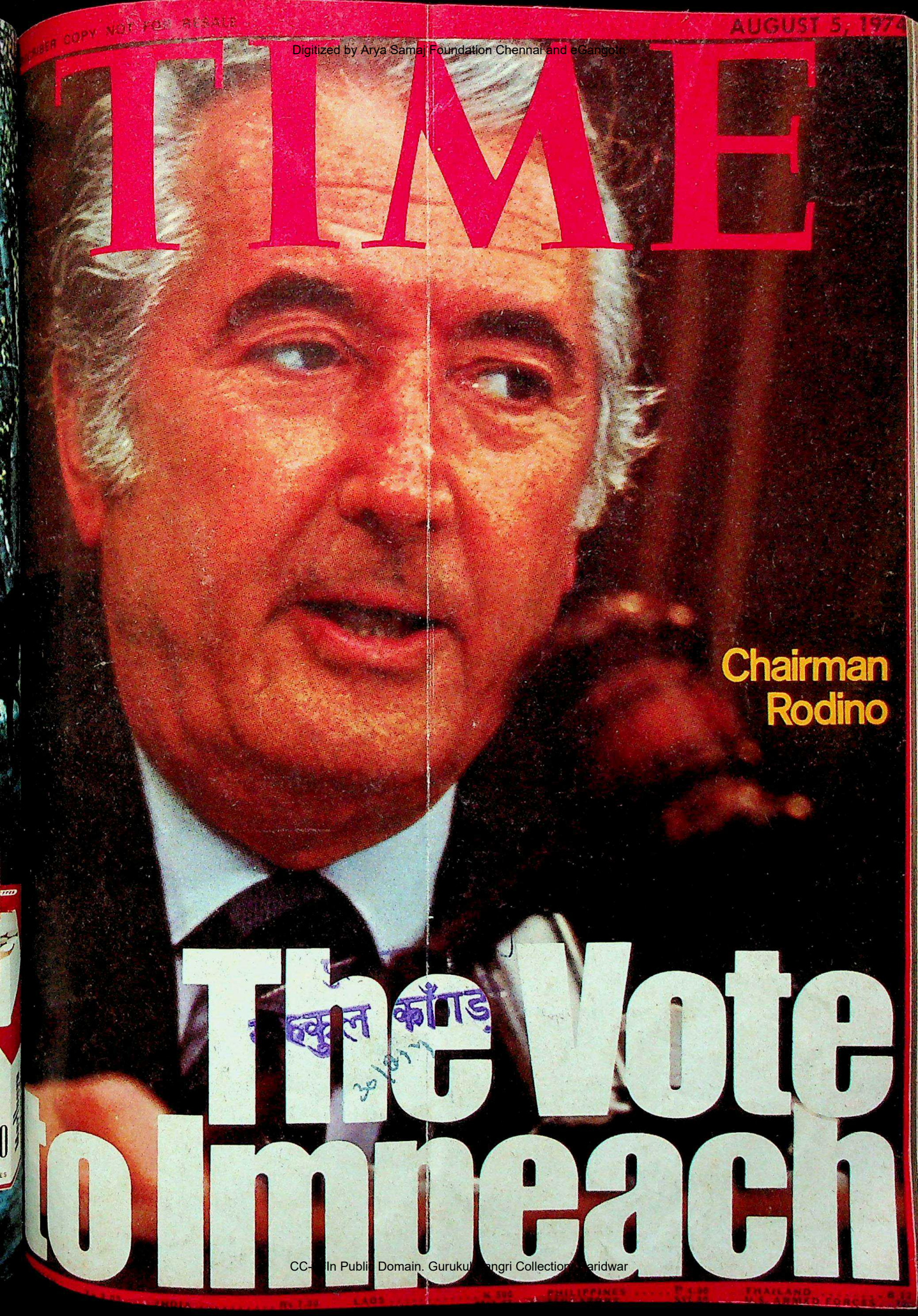
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AUGUST 5, 1974

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TIME



Chairman Rodino

The Vote to Impeach

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Leadership

Congratulations for the special section story, "In Quest of Leadership" [July It was rich in philosophy and faultless style, worthy of the finest essays in the history of journalism.

WILL DURANT
Los Angeles

There is no doubt that the U.S. could inspiring leadership, but the country's problems seem to stem from an even more pervasive and debilitating shortcoming. Our people lack a will to excellence. Could the right individual instill that in us?

JOSEPH PUDD
Indianola, Wash.

The demise of leadership in America goes back nearly 40 years to the time when Franklin Roosevelt stumbled upon the concept that he could be President forever (almost) by having Government confer economic benefits upon the people. Change will come when, and only when, men of character, intelligence, charisma and courage rise up to tell us the truth about ourselves. We may have to wait a long time.

GEORGE F. PLATTS
Ormond Beach, Fla.

It just might be that Richard Nixon, in a negative way, has been a great teacher. He has demonstrated how dangerous it is to hand over our freedom to a strong presidency. By searching for new leadership, are we admitting our fear of freedom? It would be the finest achievement of civilization if a Martian were to descend and say, "Take me to your leader," and each of us could answer, "You're looking at him!"

GARY TUESCHER
Platteville, Wis.

I was surprised that you overlooked these words of Lao-tzu:

A leader is best when he is neither seen nor heard
Not so good when he is adored and glorified
Worst when he is hated and despised.
"Fail to honor people, they will fail to honor you."
But of a good leader, when his work is done, his aim fulfilled,
The people will all say, "We did this ourselves."

We do not need great leaders. We need leaders who will bring out the greatness in all of us.

EDWARD ROEDER
Washington, D.C.

Free Beer

After reading the pages of news, one is filled with a somber outlook for the world. But when I finally reached "The String Look" [July 1], it reminded me that there is still fun and laughter on our otherwise troubled planet. The article and those beautiful photographs are a relief. It is like running a ten-mile dusty road to a refreshment stall that is handing out cold beer free of charge.

KOH THIAN SENG
Singapore

Hold Strain

Sir / There can be no "Battling Over Bauxite" [July 8]: the ore is ours.

A new era is coming in world history, and the Prime Minister of my country is one of its major architects. Our negotiations for fair returns on our bauxite is an expression of this "small and poor" nation's selfhood. This David of a nation has merely suggested to your Goliath that he might wish to "hold strain" (West Indian expression meaning "stop to consider, and behave yourself").

DAWN H. RITCH
Kingston, Jamaica

Poppies Are Internal

Sir / It is very natural for the American Government to be concerned about the problem of drug addiction in the U.S. Why we decided to resume planting is our internal affair. But advertising Turkey as the main source of the world drug network [July 15], consequently as a country *non grata*, is nothing but a poorly prepared election campaign launched by the New York politicians.

Were the processing labs of Marseille slowed down during those two years when Turkey banned planting poppies?

ERBIL TÖRE
Istanbul

Why She Is President

Sir / Why should retired generals be ashamed of having a woman as President? Military men had many chances to show their talents as rulers in Argentina. They did not fare too well; maybe that is why Isabelita Perón is President now [July 15].

As an Argentine citizen, I am proud of her achievements, and although I am convinced that we have many well-qualified men in Argentina, it is also a shame that they did not have the chance—or the courage—to show it.

CARMELLINA TELLO
Mesa, Ariz.

Sir / Isabelita Perón is not the first woman chief of state in the history of the Americas as stated in your story on her presidential succession in Argentina. During her father's absences from Brazil, Isabel the Princess Imperial ruled in his name and even put her signature to the 1888 law abolishing slavery.

RICHARD WILLIAMS
Manteno, Ill.

Football and the Higher Things

Sir / Anthony Burgess in his article on the World Cup [July 8] is much concerned about "the potentialities of the human soul" that football is apt to cripple, as against the beneficial influence of *Hamlet* and Bach's *B-Minor Mass*. It might be just conceivable

things in life, even if not simultaneously, which would explain why the fact escaped Mr. Burgess's observant eye. Has not Mr. Burgess ever heard of just playing for play's sake?

And may we perhaps ask if he himself ever played at anything?

LISELOTTE BECK
Erlangen, West Germany

Sir / Anthony Burgess is correct in saying that rugby is the main game in most public schools and that soccer is for the lower orders, but it is also a well-known fact that rugby is played by hooligans and watched by gentlemen and that soccer is played by gentlemen and watched by hooligans.

S. FALKSON
Johannesburg

Sir / As an Australian cricket fan I could not help taking offense at the claim that "most will admit the gentlemanly folly of cricket." Here in Australia cricket is played and followed zealously by the "average" citizen. And we do not do a bad job of it either, as can be seen by the frequency with which we belt the pants off the rest of the world.

Cricket is a tough and demanding sport that requires a high degree of physical and mental skill. Any sport that can produce such great sportsmen as Ian and Greg Chappell must have more to offer than "gentlemanly folly."

K.J. GIBSON
Oakey, Australia

Impeachment, Not Indictment

Sir / Your July 22 article, "The Tide Turns Back Toward Impeachment," seems to contain one wrong word, an apparent slip of the typewriter. Unfortunately this undermines your well-taken argument that a President can and should be impeached for certain wrongdoings for which he cannot be criminally indicted.

Citing William Buckley, you say that in his column he "imagined a number of fanciful actions for which a President should be indicted," such as commuting the sentences of all federal prisoners or taking a six-month vacation. Surely, Buckley's point, like yours, was that for those fanciful actions the President should be "impeached" not "indicted." Am I right?

WILLIAM L. SCHECTER
New York City

■ *Unfortunately, yes.*

A Civic Function

Sir / With its excellent coverage of Watergate and its uncoverage of the truth, the press [July 8] has served a vital civic function. Please keep it up and ignore the cries from the blind half of society.

TOM SCHIFF
Paris

Sir / For many months now I have given up buying your journal regularly because of its wide coverage of the Watergate affair.

This may be of the greatest importance to citizens of the U.S., but it is of only peripheral interest to your European readers and those in Asia and Africa as well.

What is of interest to us is President Nixon's attempt to reduce tension in the world.

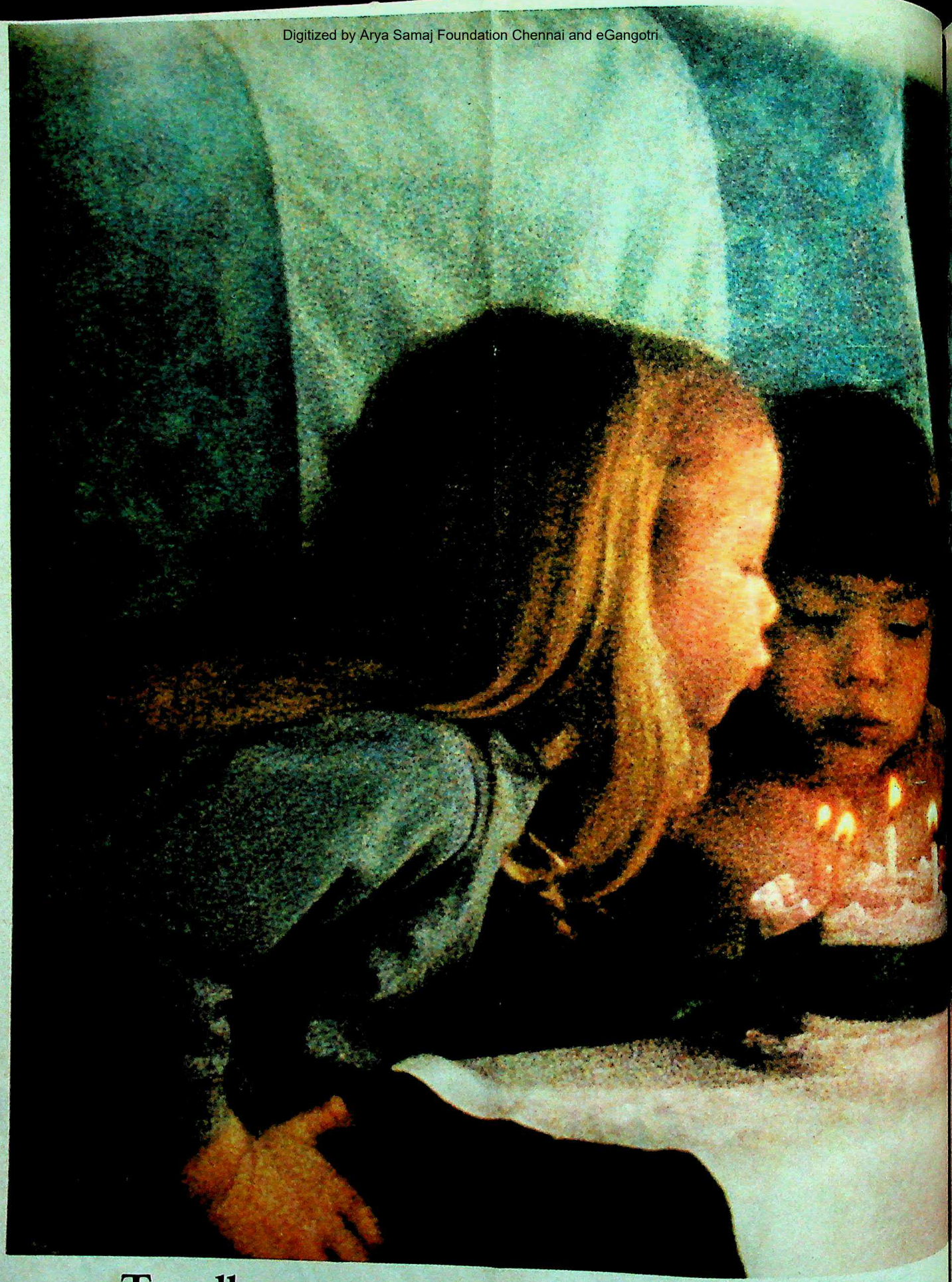
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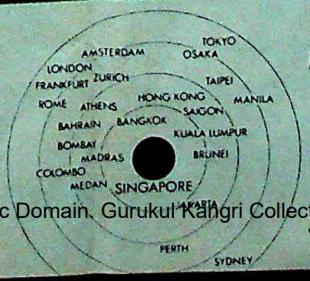


Travellers must be content

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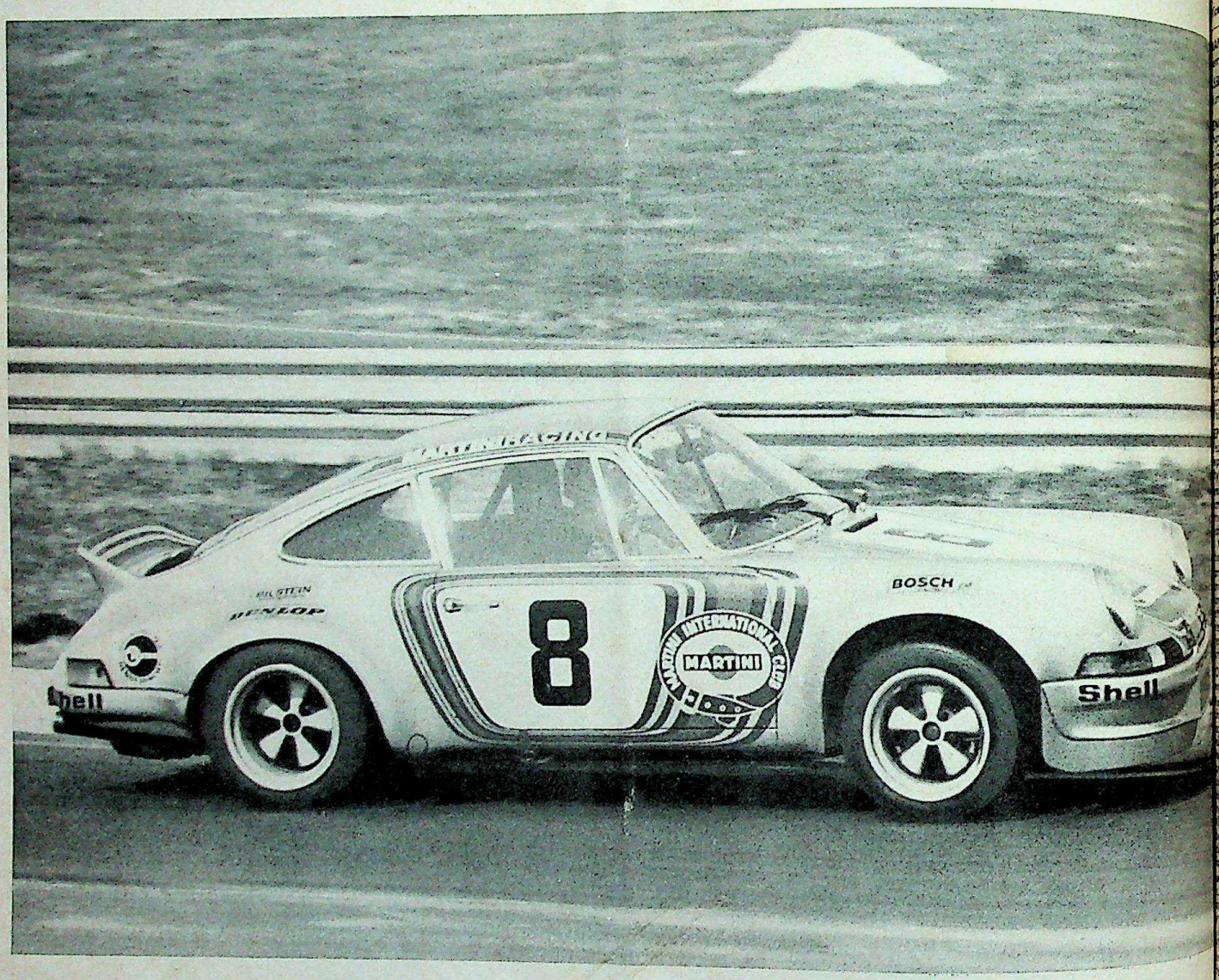


Gentle hostess. Giving a party in the sky, with birthday cake and fizzy drinks all round. And something a little stronger for those a little older. Across half the world and more, this girl of Singapore Airlines will care for you as only she knows how. A great way to fly

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Martini's other international medium.



It's not often that TIME finds itself competing for an advertiser's eye with a Martini Porsche prototype. But at the flag, Martini & Rossi have found Martini Racing and TIME hub to hub in power and performance, both media expressing the dynamic internationalism essential to Martini & Rossi's image-building campaign.

Racing cars and TIME's international editions share more than Grand Prix style. Both media synchronize national interests with multinational scope. Wherever Martini cars race, the best local drivers are at the wheel.

TIME too is geared to attract local and wor attention.

TIME Europe for example leads off eac week with extra pages of news of special i terest to Europeans. And of the 5.3 milli readers of TIME's international editions, 91 are nationals of countries other than the U

With eleven editions covering Europe a more than 200 editions round the world, TIM offers Martini & Rossi a variety of ways make their drinks at home any time—a place—anywhere.

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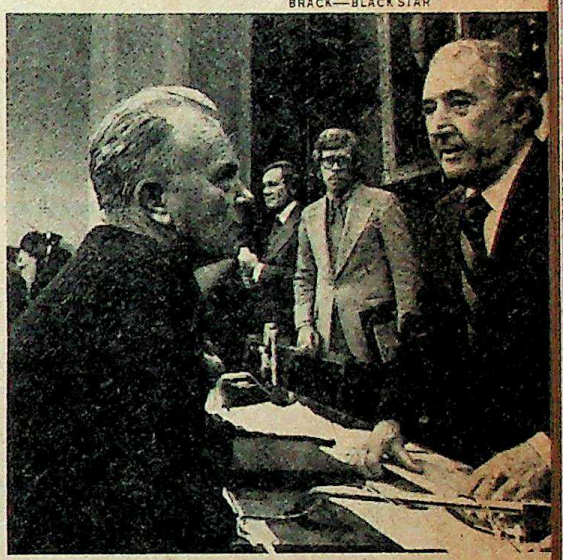
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A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

Back in the fall of 1972, impeachment was a word uttered reticently, if at all, in connection with Watergate, and Senior Congressional Correspondent Neil MacNeil heard it only "occasionally from a Democratic Congressman here and there." Yet MacNeil, a veteran of 24 years on the Hill, soon became convinced that there was a most serious scandal afoot in the White House and that the House would ultimately look to its impeachment processes. Early last summer House Majority Leader "Tip" O'Neill, impressed with John Dean's testimony, alerted Peter Rodino to get ready for impeachment. MacNeil was privy to this behind-the-scenes preparation and when, after the Saturday Night Massacre in October, Speaker Carl Albert directed Rodino to act, MacNeil immediately grasped the gravity of the situation and so advised the editors. Thus TIME ran a cover story on impeachment on Nov. 5, at a time when much of the country and press had yet to take the prospect seriously.

MacNeil, whose library includes more than 70 books on impeachment, had often wondered whether the procedure laid down by the founding fathers was still viable after a long period of disuse. In the last few months he has been reassured that if necessary, it can be made to work. "To date the House has been able to confirm that the founders were wiser on impeachment than I had earlier concluded. The members of the committee have performed —all of them—with remarkable diligence. Attendance at all sessions is stunning. The proceedings have been on the whole a credit to Congress on all sides."

BRACK—BLACK STAR



MACNEIL WITH RODINO

To MacNeil's credit, four weeks ago he predicted accurately that from 25 to 29 Congressmen on the committee would vote for impeachment. Similarly, Correspondent David Beckwith, our Washington bureau's lawyer-in-residence who covers the Supreme Court, reported for our July 22 cover story that the court would probably try to rule unanimously—despite its division on some of the issues —in the case of the President's tapes, an assessment that last week proved right on the mark. Beckwith customarily interviews scholars, fellow lawyers and "anyone else with good information about the court's activities," but the Justices themselves, while sometimes willing to talk generally on a background basis, keep their backstage deliberations private. "Far less is known about the Judiciary than either of the other two branches of Government," says Beckwith, "largely because the Judiciary wants it that way. This makes covering the courts an exceptional challenge."

Ralph P. Davidson

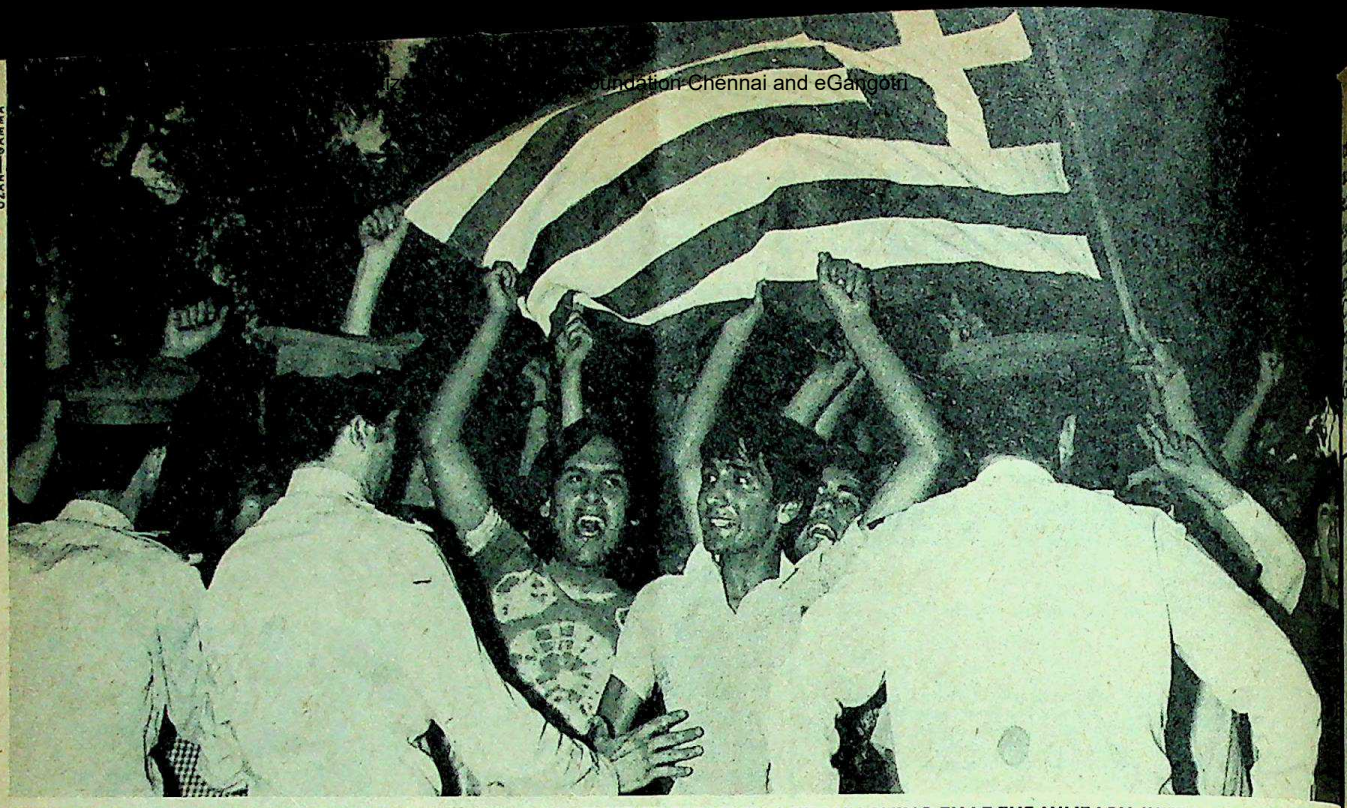
INDEX

Cover Story 19
Art 40
Books 52
Cinema 51
Economy & Business 46
Environment 38
Letters 1
Milestones 43
Modern Living 41
People 36
Press 44
Religion 42
U.S. 18
World 6

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UZAN—GAMMA

EXULTANT ATHENIANS WAVING GREEK FLAG DURING WILD STREET CELEBRATION AFTER LEARNING THAT THE MILITARY JUNTA HAD RESIGNED

GREECE

"I Am with You, Democracy Is with You"

A telephone call last Tuesday to the Paris apartment of former Greek Premier Constantine Caramanlis signaled a historic turning point for Greece. It was from Greek President Phaedon Gizikis in Athens, begging Caramanlis, 67, to end eleven years of exile and "return home as soon as possible." A second call came from French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, placing a French Mystère 20 jet at his disposal, since commercial service to the troubled country had been halted. Within hours the Greek elder statesman was airborne, on his way to Athens. By the time he landed, to a tumultuous welcome from his countrymen, he had been named Greece's new Premier, and a new hope for democracy had appeared in Greece.

It was a surprising denouement to a crisis that only hours earlier had threatened war between Greece and Turkey over the embattled island of Cyprus. There were other welcome surprises during the week. The fighting between invading Turks and Greek Cypriots that had engulfed the tiny Mediterranean island in a bloodletting was halted in a shaky cease-fire enforced by United Nations troops. The chance of war between Turkey and Greece—both NATO allies—diminished, though it remained a worrisome possibility. The Soviet Union resisted the temptation to make political capital from the Turkish-Greek confrontation, thus affirming the spirit of détente with the U.S. And the other NATO nations fully consulted among themselves and acted in concert to dampen the conflict—in sharp contrast to the discord and backbiting during the energy crisis last winter. In short, the week demonstrated that the Western allies are still capable of drawing together and speaking with a unified voice.

The most startling turnabout, however, was the unexpected decision by the junta that had repressively ruled Greece since April 1967 to return the country to a civilian government. Though there had been rumbles of discontent in the military ever since the reckless Cyprus coup and especially after Greece's humiliating inability to oppose Turkey's invasion of Cyprus, experts expected nothing more than the replacement of one general by another. Or, they feared, younger ultranationalist officers bent on war against Turkey and unification of Cyprus and Greece might attempt a coup and make Greece even more militant and authoritarian. Instead, there was a mass exodus of almost the entire military cadre from the government.

Shaken and Unsure. The change came without warning. After a weekend of fighting on Cyprus, President Gizikis, a lieutenant general, called an emergency meeting last Tuesday of eight of his country's most illustrious civilian leaders and four of the highest-ranking military men. His voice cracking with emotion, he told the men, who included four ex-Premiers and four ex-Cabinet members, that Greece was without government.

Indeed, Turkish military success on Cyprus and the indifference with which the mobilization in Greece was greeted by the populace had left the military rulers shaken and unsure of themselves. With the economy seriously disrupted by the call-up of nearly all able-bodied men and the Cyprus crisis demanding immediate action, the junta no longer felt capable of providing the necessary leadership. It concluded that Greece needed leaders who were trusted abroad and had a clear mandate, and then could Athens hope to negotiate successfully at the Geneva talks on Cyprus and extricate itself honorably from the tense confrontation of Greek and Turkish troops on their common border in Thrace.

Gizikis explained that only a civilian coalition of national unity could extricate Greece from its difficulties. The four officers nodded their assent and pledged that the armed forces would "return to the barracks" and stay out of politics.

The six-hour discussion in Gizikis' spacious office in the Parliament building was dominated from the start by the name of Caramanlis. It was the parent to everyone in the room that only he could provide Greece with the leadership it needed. In the post-junta mind, the years 1955-63, when Caramanlis was Premier, were

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...y's last prolonged period of prosperity ...ed stability. During his self-imposed ...ile after falling out with King Paul ...ee box), he had condemned the mis... ...ities and excesses of the successive re... ...ences. When Caramanlis learned of the ...Cyprus crisis, he openly attacked Ath... ...s' role. Caramanlis called the crisis ...a national tragedy" and appealed to ...Greece's armed forces to bring about a "political change" in a liberal and democratic direction. He declared that he personally would be available to lead "an effort to restore normality and achieve national reconciliation." With this in mind, the men in Gizikis' office reached consensus. Caramanlis was the man to be the next Premier in an all-civilian government.

After the meeting ended, Athens radio interrupted the martial music it had been playing constantly since mobilization was declared the week before to announce: "The armed forces have decided to turn the governing of the country over to a civilian government."

The unexpected announcement, reported TIME Correspondent Jordan Bonfante from Athens, transformed the capital's huge Constitution Square "into

The Exile Returns

When Constantine Caramanlis flew off to exile in Paris in 1963 after a stinging defeat at the polls, his departure from Greek politics reminded many of Charles de Gaulle's huffy retreat to Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises after the French liberation. As one of his parting shots, the former Greek Premier told an audience, with more than a touch of Gaullist *hubris:* "The true political leader does not need the people. The people need the true political leader."

In Paris, Caramanlis adroitly remained aloof from the day-to-day infighting of Greek politics, but he kept in close touch with developments in Athens and no one ever doubted that he was only biding his time until Greece would one day see fit to call him back. When the call finally came last week, he was both ready and willing. Even his old political opponents agreed that "Costa" Caramanlis was the only man who could rally the country behind him. Explained Constantine Mitsotakis, an exiled leader of the Center Union Party and one of his old opponents: "Caramanlis embodies the myth of the strong man who can be trusted."

■

As Premier from 1955 to 1963, Caramanlis presided over the longest period of economic and political stability in Greece's turbulent postwar history. Campaigning for re-election, he once boasted that he had "transformed Greece from an Oriental village to a European country." He laid the foundations for Greece's recovery from World War II —and the bloody civil war against Communist insurgents that followed—by stabilizing the drachma, bringing Greece into the Common Market as an associate member, and setting the country on a course toward industrialization. One of his proudest accomplishments was his participation in the 1960 treaty between Britain, Turkey and Greece that guaranteed the independence of Cyprus.

A man of rigorously logical mind, he speaks little, uses few adjectives, and is famous among associates for his often disconcerting habit of developing thoughts in half a dozen brief sentences and then refusing to say a word more. "He is a lone wolf who does not make too many friends," says his friend Helen Vlachos, an exiled Athens publisher now living in London. She adds: "Caramanlis is not, in the Greek way, familiar. But he knows exactly the character of the Greek people, and he knows how to make himself respected and obeyed."

Greek friends attribute Caramanlis' cool personality to the fact that he is not really a man of the Mediterranean but of sober northern Greece, where temperaments are less ebullient. The son of a Macedonian schoolteacher who died when Constantine was 18, he went to work to support the family, selling insurance to pay his way through law school in Athens. "Life was rough for us," he later recalled. "I was determined to succeed in my studies to show my gratitude to my family, and to be able to defend people, peasants and shepherds, who were even more unfortunate than we were." Years later as Premier, he pushed through legislation extending Social Security and old-age benefits to the country's rural poor.

He was first elected to Parliament as a Conservative in 1935, but his political career ended temporarily the next year when Dictator Ioannes Metaxas shut down the legislature. Caramanlis regained his parliamentary seat after the war and held a series of Cabinet posts. When Field Marshal Alexander Papagos died in 1955, King Paul passed over a number of senior ministers to elevate Caramanlis from Minister of Public Works to Premier.

■

He quickly earned the nickname "the do-something Premier." He could also be autocratic and hot tempered. In 1963, already under attack because of persistent allegations of rigged elections and financial mismanagement, he angrily resigned in a dispute with the royal family over the respective powers of government and the throne. After a vacation abroad, he returned to run in the elections that fall, only to be defeated by the late George Papandreou, a moderate. Without even informing his party leaders, Caramanlis booked space under a false name and flew off to Paris, as he put it, "a very bitter man."

MELLOUL—SYGMA



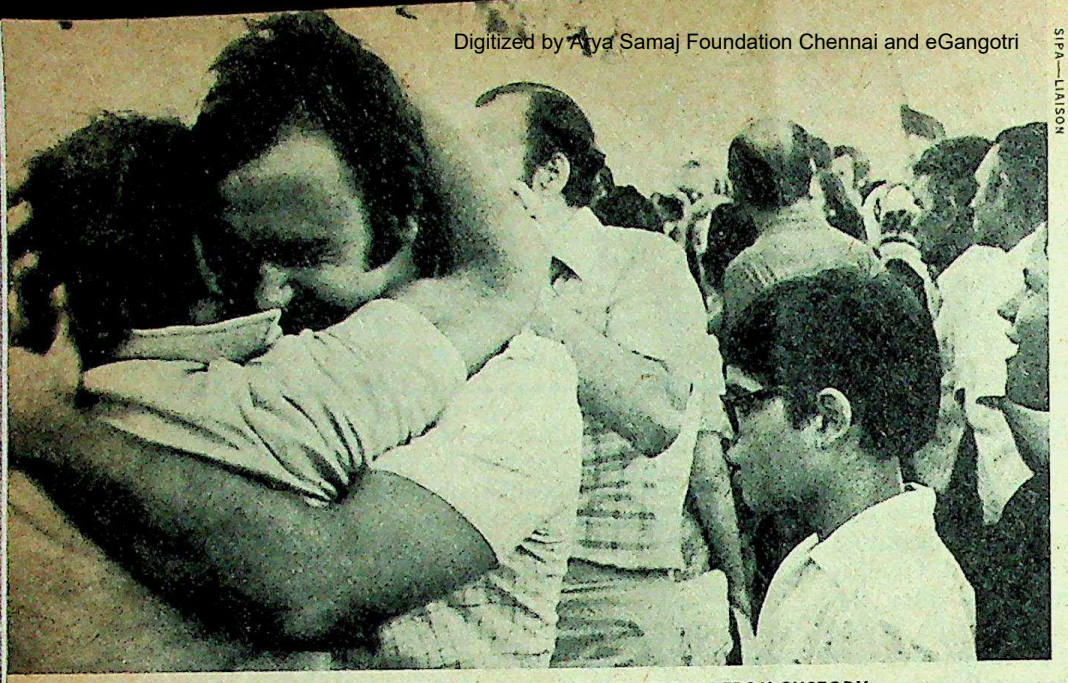
CONSTANTINE CARAMANLIS IN PARIS BEFORE BEING NAMED PREMIER

Always an avid reader, Caramanlis spent the years of his exile attending lectures at the Sorbonne or visiting shows of classical art. His spacious apartment overlooking the Bois de Boulogne was a gathering place for artists, writers and politicians as well as daily visitors from home. To Greeks asking for his support in denouncing the military junta in Athens, he always replied: "I am not a politician now, so don't come to me about political questions." Nonetheless, he did not hesitate to issue an occasional broadside against the junta. Said one old friend last week: "Caramanlis was like a rock that the dictatorship was never able to erode."

His style of leadership, Caramanlis likes to say, is to "pursue a left-wing policy with a right-wing government." That may be the best clue as to how he will proceed in the perilous weeks ahead.

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SIPA—LIAISON

POLITICAL PRISONER GETS WARM WELCOME AFTER HIS RELEASE FROM CUSTODY
Thousands of hugs, kisses and cheers for the junta's victims.

a historic fiesta of joy. First there were 50 people, facing the pink Parliament building and raising their fingers in the V sign, shouting—hesitantly at first—'Victory for the people!' Then there were 500, and then, as if from nowhere, there was a crowd of at least 100,000. They swarmed over the square and exploded into cheers and chants of hysterical celebration. Blue and white Greek flags and white banners suddenly sprouted from windows. *'Hel-las! Hel-las!'* shouted the crowd every time another flag appeared. Groups of students locked arms, chanting, 'The people have won!' 'The junta is dead!' 'Democracy! Democracy! Amnesty! Amnesty!' "

Unaccustomed Gentleness. "The blue-shirted police, so often a symbol of repression in the past seven years, tried to control the mob with unaccustomed gentleness. Occasionally they reminded the Athenians that because martial law was still in force, all public demonstrations were banned. No one, however, paid attention. An elderly man with a great moustache reverently unwrapped a short white votive candle. Lighting it and holding it in front of him, he explained, 'It's Easter; the resurrection of the Greek people.' As darkness fell, thousands of similar candles flickered in the crowd, infusing it with an almost religious spirit."

Although there had been no announcement that Caramanlis was on his way home, the news spread swiftly, and crowds soon began chanting: "He's coming! He's coming!" Tens of thousands of Greeks drifted toward Athens international airport to await his arrival. When he finally landed at 2:30 a.m., the exultant Athenians welcomed him with what seemed like a single voice exploding into a roar. With a wave of his Homburg, the tall, slender elder statesman declared, "I have come to contribute to the best of my ability to the restoration of normal conditions and democracy. In the lives of nations there are crises which can be turned into a starting point for national regeneration and a better future. I am optimistic about the future."

He then climbed into a white Mercedes for a hero's processional to Constitution Square. The entire route was lined by his cheering countrymen, who showered his car with blossoms. The crowd roared its approval when he appeared on the balcony of the Parliament building at 4 a.m. and proclaimed, "I am with you. Democracy is with you."

During the first day of the Caramanlis government, the worst abuses of the military regime disappeared. Caramanlis granted amnesty to hundreds of political prisoners, restored Greek citizenship to those who had been deprived of it, and lifted limitations on foreign travel. Newspapers ignored the censorship laws. Within 48 hours, he named a Cabinet that included prominent leftists who had been imprisoned by the junta as well as conservatives with backgrounds in economics and government administration. George Mavros, 63, a moderate, was named Foreign Minister. The choice of Mavros was the new Premier's concession to centrists. As head of the Center Union Party, Mavros had led the parliamentary opposition to earlier Caramanlis governments.

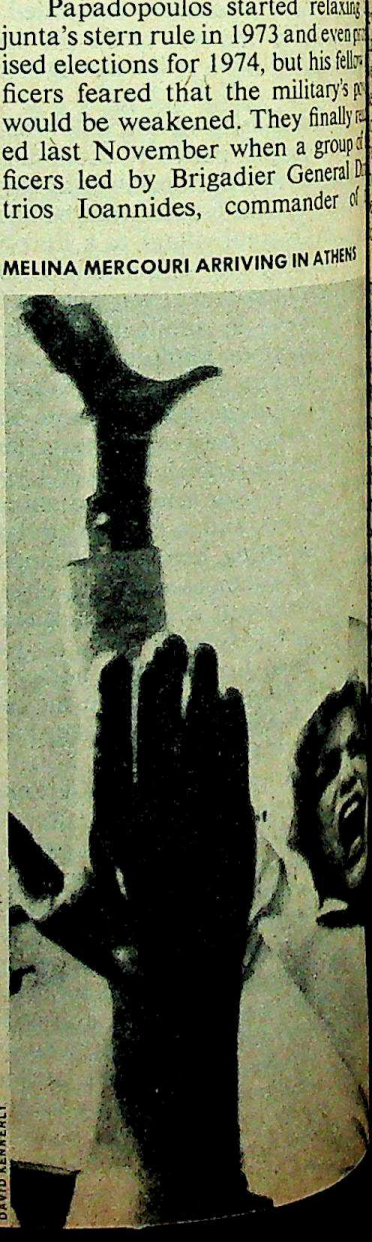
The emotional outpouring ignited by Caramanlis' return and his swift actions surpassed even the delirious 1944 celebration at the end of the German occupation. Yet the exuberance was perhaps less a measure of affection for the homecoming politician than of the populace's joy at seeing the junta go. During the past seven years, Greeks have bridled under a puritanical yoke at times rivaling that of Calvin's Geneva. Miniskirts, beards, long hair on men, the music of Composer Mikis Theodorakis (*Z* and *Zorba the Greek*) and the traditional smashing of dishes to *bousouki* music in restaurants were all banned at one time or another by the military rulers.

The prudish restrictions would have been comic had the regime not been brutal. George Papadopoulos, the ta's strongman for nearly seven justified repressive measures by exp ing that "if the patient is not str to the table, the surgeon cannot per a successful operation." He and his leagues so strapped Greek society the junta became one of the world's reviled regimes. Parliament was ished, the press censored, works of Greek authors and scores of foreig blacklisted, and citizenship str from more than 400 Greeks who emigrated, including Actress M Mercouri. Thousands of the junta's litical opponents were arrested by E.S.A. (the hated military police) sent to some of the Aegean's most olate islands, including Yiaros, no ous for its rats and vipers.

Denied Benefits. When the Co cil of Europe tried to investigate cl es that the regime was torturing oners, Athens quit the respected powerless body rather than risk the quiry. The Common Market was si pelled by the actions of the junta th expelled Greece from associate me bership in the EEC, thus denying Greek economy some $300 million nually in agricultural benefits.

Papadopoulos started relaxing junta's stern rule in 1973 and even pr ised elections for 1974, but his fellow ficers feared that the military's po would be weakened. They finally re ed last November when a group of ficers led by Brigadier General Di trios Ioannides, commander of

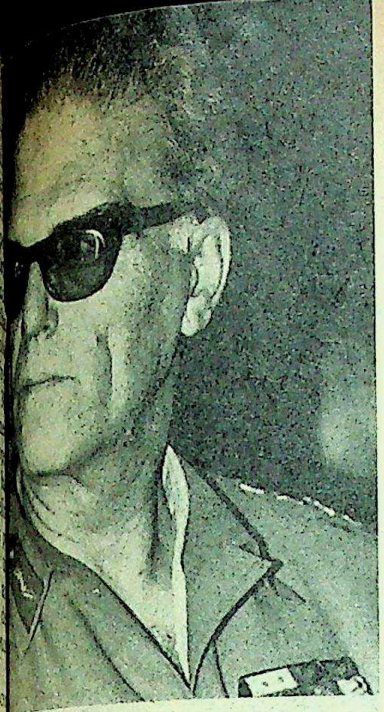
MELINA MERCOURI ARRIVING IN ATHENS



DAVID KENNERLY

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UZAN—GAMMA

PRESIDENT PHAEDON GIZIKIS
Returning to the barracks.

S.A., toppled Papadopoulos, installed Gizikis as President, and reintroduced some of the harshest repressive measures Greece had ever known.

Greeks took quick advantage of the liberalization ordered by Caramanlis. Even those newspapers forcibly closed seven years ago somehow managed to start printing again within hours and welcomed Caramanlis with banner headlines. Hundreds of exiles flocked homeward, including Theodorakis, Actress Mercouri and 28 of the crewmen from the Greek destroyer *Velos* who had been living in exile since their abortive coup against the regime last year.

Sweeping Euphoria. One of the most emotional welcomes awaited the 88 freed inmates of the Yiaros prison. TIME Correspondent Christopher Byron was at the tiny fishing village of Porto Rafti, 20 miles from Athens, when a small coastal steamer brought the prisoners to the mainland. "On hand to greet them was a crowd of over 2,000 screaming, weeping Athenians," Byron reported. "As the ship was sighted over the horizon, the crowd roared, 'Greece's heroes! Long live democracy! Poison to the U.S.A. dogs!' When the prisoners—journalists, educators, politicians, actors—came down the cargo ramp, thousands of arms hugged them. Many of them were pale and undernourished. They were showered with flowers and smothered with kisses. The incredible demonstration went on undiminished for an hour."

The euphoria sweeping Greece would give its new civilian leaders the needed time to reacquaint themselves with the levers of political power. When the cheering stops, however, the Cabinet and country must confront a number of serious problems.

They will have to move to end the Greek economy's 32% inflation and more than $1.2 billion balance of payments deficit. They could continue the deflationary program imposed by the junta, which included high interest rates, restrictions on bank credits and cuts in government spending. Such restrictions are far from popular, however, and the Cabinet may hesitate to continue them for fear of alienating the public support it will need to build a firm foundation for civilian rule.

Caramanlis will also have to decide what to do about King Constantine, in exile since the failure of his attempted countercoup against the junta in December 1967. Constantine said that he hopes soon to leave London and return to Greece. But since Caramanlis never got along well with the royal family, he may not be happy to see the King come back unless he can be sure of his complete support. One immediate obstacle to the monarch's return to his throne is the referendum of July 1973, sponsored by the junta, which abolished the monarchy and established a republic. Constantine, however, has told intimates that if his countrymen "chose a republic in an honest referendum, then the only thing I will ask of them is to return to Greece with my family as an ordinary citizen."

The most urgent of the government's tasks is to salvage Greece's pride from the wreckage of the junta's Cyprus adventures. For this it needs some cooperation from Turkey, especially at the Geneva talks. The Turks probably trust Caramanlis and Mavros much more than the junta because the two civilians have never strongly advocated *enosis*—unification of Greece and Cyprus. Ankara rightly suspected the junta of plotting the coup against Makarios as a first step toward *enosis*. To demonstrate the new regime's reversal of policy, in the Cabinet's first official statement Mavros recognized Makarios as President of Cyprus. Said Turkish Premier Bülent Ecevit in welcoming the new government in Athens: "I am convinced that this heralds the beginning of a new era for democracy and freedom in our region. We can easily bury the memories of the past."

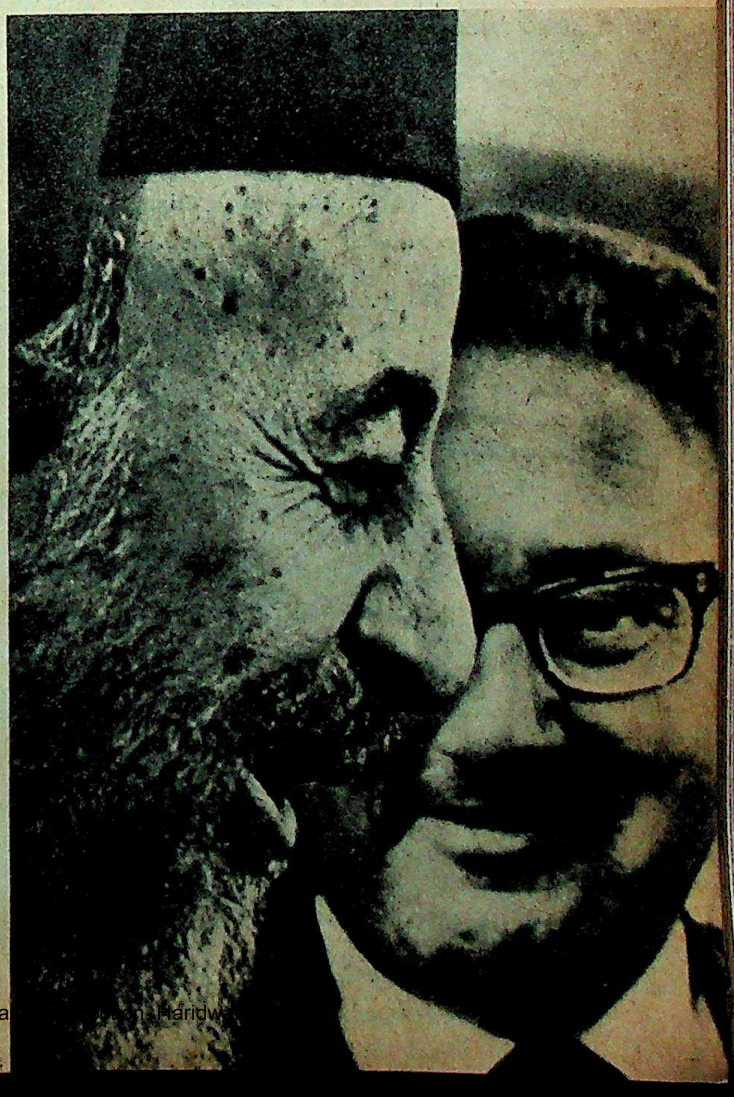
Caramanlis, however, does not have a completely free hand. The Greek military still looms as a potent arbiter of the government's actions, particularly in the sensitive negotiations over Cyprus. Many military men remain strongly committed to eventual *enosis*, and the officers may be tempted to oust the new Premier if he concedes too much to Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots.

While the junta has kept its plans for the future a closely held secret, it seems unlikely that the colonels and generals have decided to relinquish all the power they wielded for seven years. A diplomat in Athens skeptically notes, "The military made a mess of the Cyprus situation and the economy. Now they want the civilians to clean it up." Certainly, if the civilian government disintegrates into the bickering factions that paralyzed it in the three years before the 1967 coup or seems to be moving too far leftward, the officers would probably take over again.

Critical Stage. In his televised inaugural speech, Caramanlis seemed to go out of his way to allay the military's fear that reforms would get out of hand. Urging his countrymen to be patient, he stated, "The transitory stage between dictatorship and full restoration of democracy is always critical." He mentioned nothing about elections or when martial law would be lifted.

Although the Cyprus debacle has clearly shaken the confidence of the officer corps, the military remains the most powerful force in Greece. At week's end no officers had been dismissed, not even Ioannides. The onetime strongman merely dropped out of sight, and may, with other hard-lining military men, be regrouping his forces, waiting for their next chance. Unless Caramanlis moves carefully and adroitly in the weeks ahead, they may just get it.

ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS & HENRY KISSINGER IN WASHINGTON



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Tense Aftermath of a Three-Day War

After three days of brutal fighting, the war between Greek Cypriots and Turkish troops who invaded Cyprus by sea and air tapered off last week into a fitful cease-fire. Blue-helmeted United Nations soldiers, who frequently came under fire in the course of the fighting and suffered at least twelve Canadian wounded, finally managed to pry the two sides apart. In a decisive move, 500 United Nations soldiers, at the direction of Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, occupied the strategic Nicosia airport. The U.N. action denied the airport's runways to Greeks who had been using them to fly in reinforcements, and to Turks who sought control of the airport as a bargaining chip.

Still, there was concern that the fighting could erupt again. Greece charged that Turkey was continuing to land troops on the island in violation of the cease-fire. If the landings did not stop, warned the new civilian government in Athens, the country would go to war. Fears of renewed fighting were so grave that the U.N. Security Council called a special weekend session to seek a solution.

Though the war was brief, casualties on both sides were high. During the Athens-inspired coup that deposed Archbishop Makarios III as President of the island republic two weeks ago, perhaps three dozen people were killed. The dead were not even all buried, much less counted, when the Turkish invasion began. In the first day of fighting between Turks and Greeks, at least 150 were killed in the capital of Nicosia alone. In addition to the dead and wounded, whose numbers were still being counted, Greeks were holding thousands of Cypriot prisoners, including 1,750 in the Limassol football stadium. Reportedly, hundreds of Greek P.O.W.s were taken off the island to Turkey. Both sides obviously hoped to use the prisoners as bargaining chips in peace negotiations that got under way last week in Geneva.

Fully Accepted. Most hopeful for the maintenance of the cease-fire was the emergence of highly respected Glafcos Clerides, 55, to replace Terrorist Nikos Sampson as acting President of Cyprus. Clerides is a British-educated lawyer who flew with the R.A.F. in World War II, was shot down over Europe, and finished the war in a P.O.W. camp. At the time of the coup he was president of the House of Representatives and one of the few Greek leaders on the deeply divided island who was fully accepted by the minority Turks. For seven years, Clerides has held a running series of friendly talks with Turkish Leader Rauf Denktas, 50, on ways to end the imbroglio between their ethnic communities. Denktas, to whom Clerides paid one of his first visits after being selected as President, said: "He is a man we can trust. He is reasonable and we can talk to him."

Later, during a 70-minute pipe-puffing press conference, Clerides fielded questions in flawless English and turned vague on only one essential subject. Makarios, the constitutional President, was welcome back, but Clerides added that the archbishop's immediate return "would be very unwise under present conditions." When Makar does return, or perhaps even be Clerides said, the presidency would "a question for the people of Cypru decide." He promised a quick elec to facilitate their decision.

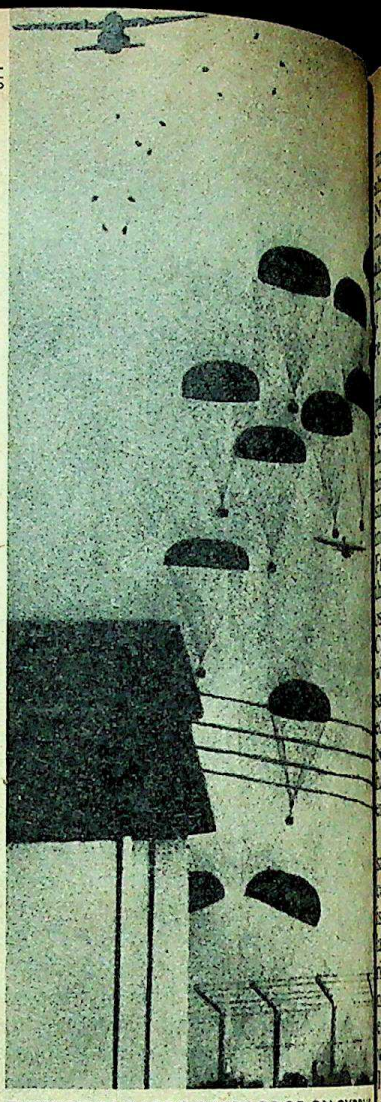
Makarios was in Washington week for talks with Secretary of S Henry Kissinger and the Senate F eign Relations Committee, giving indication that he planned to return Cyprus soon. Greek government sou said that Athens would once again ognize Makarios' right to the presiden The Greek sources insisted that archbishop's overthrow had been cifically ordered by General Dimi Ioannides, the strongman of the G military government that fell last w Ioannides, it was said, also picked time Cypriot Underground Fig Sampson, 39, to succeed Makarios when Athens withdrew its suppor him during the fighting, Sampson w ly surrendered power, presumably t turn to his post as editor of the isla popular newspaper *Makhi* (Struggl He had no support among Turkish C riots and only a limited following a fellow Greek Cypriots.

More pressing than politics, as C ides suggested last week, was "how move from an era of fighting to an of peace." The vacation island was ly battered by the week-long fighting *following story).* Electricity was



DAVID RUBINGER

ARMORED CAR MOVING PAST VICTIM OF TURKISH AIR ATTACK ON KYRENIA ROAD
There was hardly time to bury the dead before the invasion began.



UPI

TURKISH PARATROOPERS DROP ON CYPRUS
The opposition wore blue jeans.

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many parts of the island, water was short, and food supplies were depleted. Nicosia's airport, which was not only a mecca for airborne sun worshipers but also a transit point between Israel and the Arab countries, was so damaged that it will take at least two months to make repairs.

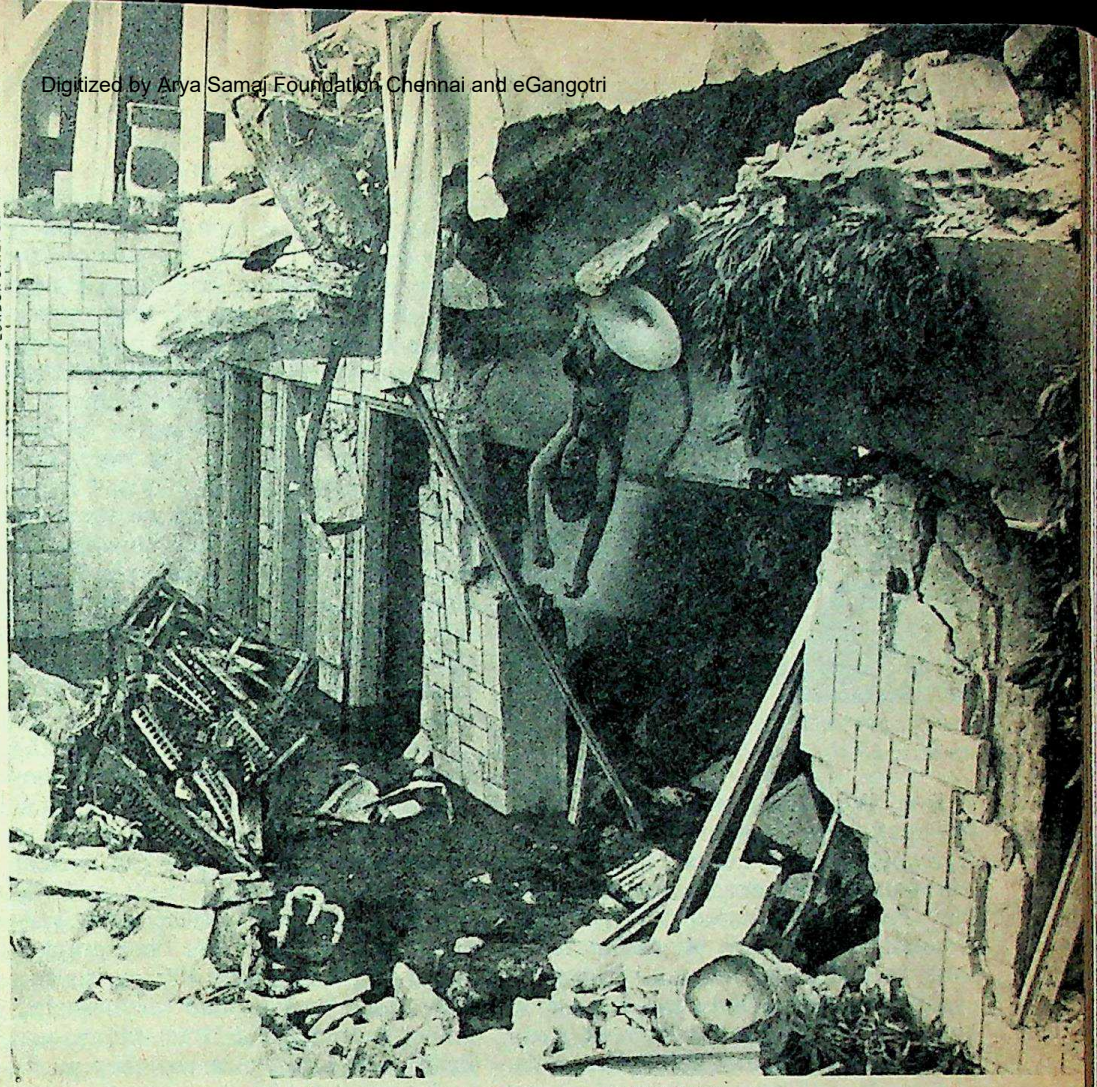
Despite the urgent need to begin repairs, Greek Cypriots were more concerned over Turkish territorial gains in the war. Turks now proudly hold Kyrenia, the first port they have occupied since the division of the island following independence from Britain in 1960. From Kyrenia, the Turkish gains stretch through a ten-mile-wide corridor to Nicosia and its large enclave of Turkish Cypriots. "Kyrenia is now the door and window of the Turkish community," said Turkish Leader Denktas. He added, not altogether lightly, "Now I will be able to go swimming in Kyrenia. I have not been allowed to do that for eleven years."

Joint Effort. Clerides was far less sanguine. He observed that Turkey was continuing to land reinforcements on the island in violation of the cease-fire. The landings must stop and the Greek territory be returned, he warned, before a new peace could really take effect. Otherwise, he said, "time is running out. It will be with the greatest reluctance that I will appear before the Greek people of Cyprus to invite them to fight to the last man and to the end."

The uneasy cease-fire had been worked out by a joint effort involving the U.N., NATO and the Common Market. Though the U.S. was roundly criticized for not applying enough pressure sooner on Greece, Kissinger denied the charge, telling TIME Correspondent Strobe Talbott: "From the first day, we told Greece that we did not want *enosis* [union], and we told the Turks that we did not want *enosis.*" Nonetheless, after remaining aloof from the crisis during its early days, Kissinger spent much of the weekend after the invasion talking on the overseas telephone to London and Paris as well as Athens and Ankara, helping to arrange the cease-fire. With his active intervention the Western alliance was able to exert considerable pressure on Turkey and Greece, both NATO allies, to stop fighting each other.

Now it is up to Greece, Turkey and Britain, the three co-guarantors of Cyprus' independence under a 1960 treaty, to work out a peaceful solution for Cyprus. Turkey sent Foreign Minister Turan Günes to the Geneva peace talks with orders not to agree to any withdrawal from captured territory unless there was some concession by Greece in return. Günes floated a trial balloon that Turkey might settle for partition, with both Greece and Turkey exercising rule over the island. But the proposal was badly received by the other countries, and Günes quickly abandoned the idea.

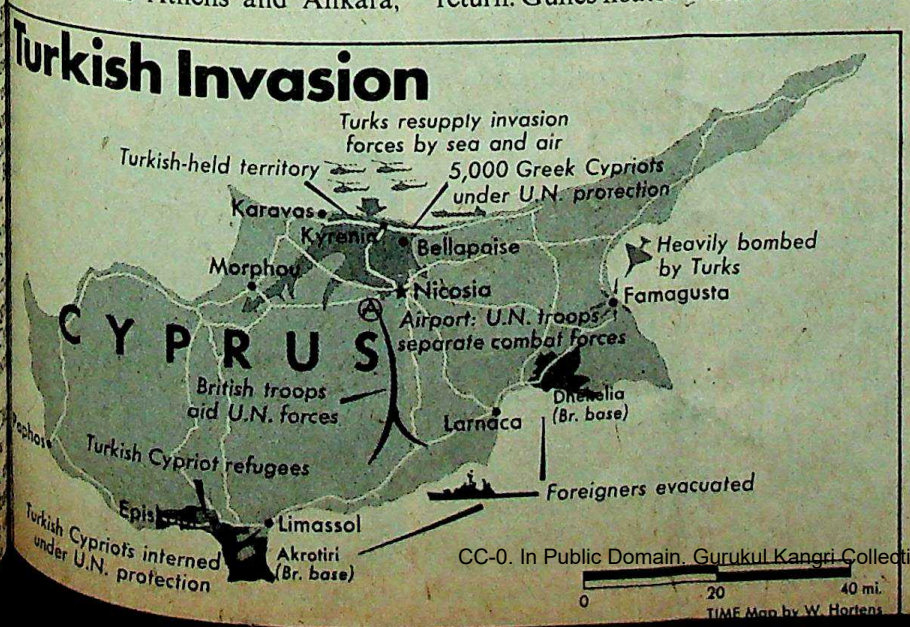
The Greek delegation was headed by the new Foreign Minister, George Mavros, who brought three demands: an effective cease-fire, law and order on the island and withdrawal of all "foreign troops," meaning the whole Turkish invasion force and a few hundred regular Greek officers. Turkey seemed in no mood for conciliation. Said Günes: "A cease-fire alone does not equal a solution for Cyprus. We do not want a return to the status quo existing before the coup." With neither side seemingly willing to make concessions, Britain's Foreign Secretary James Callaghan attempted to find a compromise. But at week's end, after talks threatened to break down completely, Mavros and Günes met privately and expressed optimism that a "final agreement" could be reached.



LONDON DAILY EXPRESS—PICTORIAL

WRECKAGE OF SALAMINIA TOWER HOTEL IN THE RESORT OF FAMAGUSTA

Greeks came home with their shields or on them.



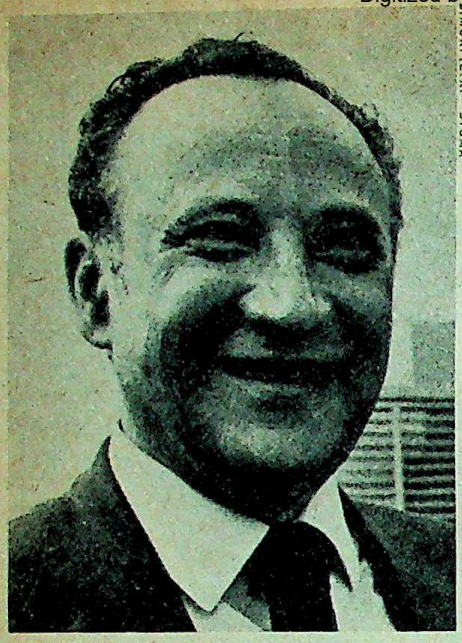
Battle on a Vacation Isle

Trapped in the fierce fighting last week on Cyprus were thousands of tourists. All together, in the course of a week, almost 10,000 people were evacuated by British and U.S. ships and planes. Tales told later were more than enough to fill a "How I Spent My Summer Vacation" scrapbook.

Jill Davis, a vivacious office work-

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CYPRIOT PRESIDENT CLERIDES
A reasonable man.

er from West London, flew home with the memory of 24 hours spent inside a Roman tomb with her boy friend while Turks shelled the area; the couple feared they would be buried alive. Twins Amanda and Penny Mieras of Kent spent their 16th birthday using lipstick, eye shadow and a bed sheet to make a Union Jack to identify them as neutrals. U.S. Businessman John Mazzarella of New York City was among a group of tourists forced to remain inside the Ledra Palace Hotel in Nicosia as hostages of the Greeks against Turkish snipers outside. He told of the "Hollywood scene with planes flying in formation and paratroopers dropping all over Nicosia. Our waiters disappeared and came back wearing khaki uniforms. But at least we never had to pay our bills." Said another evacuee sadly: "You know, the sky is always blue on Cyprus. Suddenly it was gray. Even the birds were scared away."

Frequent Gallantry. The first wave of the Turkish invasion force totaled 8,000 men in three brigades, equipped with TOW missiles, armored personnel carriers and tanks. They were backed by jets that dominated the sky and naval forces that protected them with offshore shelling. Ranged against them were nearly 15,000 Greek Cypriot troops, plus a Greek Cypriot reserve force that came into battle dressed in everything from blue jeans to World War II helmets and armed with anything from shotguns to ancient bolt-action Lee-Enfield rifles. The reserves, like the regulars, fought with verve and frequent gallantry. Near the coastal resort of Famagusta, TIME Correspondent Karsten Prager watched in awe as a Greek Cypriot mobile unit that consisted of a Fiat, a BMW and a bright red open-top MG tried to turn the flank of a Turkish column.

In Famagusta, Prager reported, Turkish jets pounded targets that had no military value just two hours before the cease-fire went into effect. One heavily struck area was the city's famed Golden Mile, a chain of beach hotels. The last of the foreign tourists were still being evacuated when the afternoon strikes took place. In a first aid center near the beach, Greek volunteers flattened themselves on the floor. Young women bravely, if thinly, sang a song of the Greek underground that has as its theme the old Spartan saying about coming home carrying one's shield or on it. When the planes pulled up and headed back to Turkey, the waterfront was a shambles. Five hotels and many shops along Kennedy Avenue, the main hotel street, were smashed. In what had been the bar of the Salaminia Tower Hotel, the body of a beach boy hung upside down, legs caught in the wreckage. The Turkish planes also hit residential areas, and numerous civilians were killed or wounded.

Embarrassing Loss. One of the most dangerous places for foreign noncombatants was the resort of Kyrenia, where Turkish forces waded ashore to attack Greeks holed up in the ancient Byzantine waterfront fortress and the police station. TIME Correspondent William Marmon and TIME Photographer David Rubinger joined 300 tourists and alien residents who had taken shelter in the Castellis Dome Hotel. Many were British, and with typical cool they quickly formed a twelve-man committee to organize food supplies, provide protection and give medical care. One of the committee's first moves was to close the Dome's well-stocked bar. "Things were falling apart a bit from the strain," one committee member explained to Marmon. "Too much drink and not enough food."

Near by, at the Dudley Court Hotel, matters were more terrifying for 21 tourists huddled in the cellar. The building was raked with machine-gun fire. Propane tanks in the kitchen were shattered, and the gas seeped into the cellar where it was mistaken for chemical-warfare gas, creating momentary panic. The tourists had draped a large Union Jack over the hotel entrance, and it too was stitched with shots. After the shooting, one of the group complained to a Turkish major in charge about the desecration of the British flag. In response the major summoned the lieutenant in charge of the offending patrol, ripped off his officer's insignia and chivalrously presented them to the Briton.

Marmon and Rubinger were among the hundreds of foreigners rescued from the resort by British ships. By then, Turkish soldiers were in control of Kyrenia, formerly a Greek Cypriot enclave. Turkish officers lounged in the town's open-air cafés and sipped Cypriot Keo beer. Their troops began looting Greek stores for food, medicines and clothing.

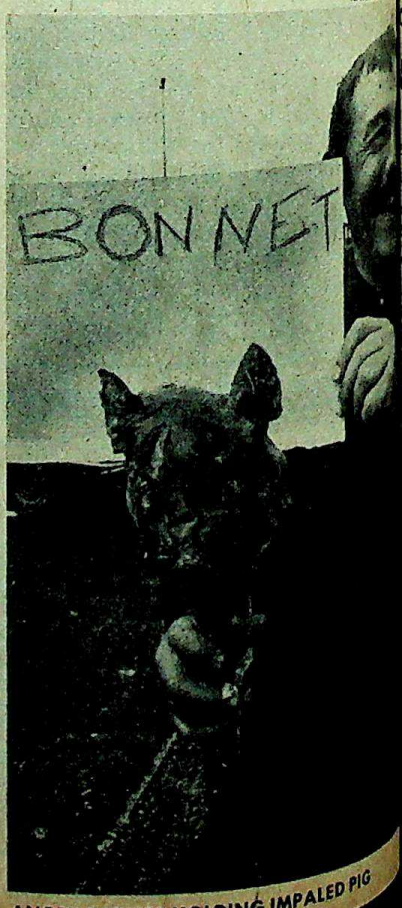
The Turks did not have it all their own way. They suffered the most embarrassing loss of the conflict: the sinking of the 3,500-ton Turkish destroyer *Kocatepe* by a Turkish jet. At least sailors were killed. The accident happened when the Turkish navy provided the air force with incorrect map coordinates of the area in which it would be steaming. Since Turks and Greeks both sail warships provided by the U.S., the Turkish pilot mistook the *Kocatepe* (ex-U.S.S. *Harwood*) for a Greek destroyer and sank it with one well-placed bomb.

FRANCE

The Manure Revolt

It was the official opening of the Orleans-to-Tours superhighway, and French Minister of Development Robert Galley and a bevy of lesser government officials were to be on hand for the ceremony. But the celebration was unceremoniously ruined last week by angry local farmers. They first blocked the highway by putting up a wall of flaming tires, then spread manure and urine around the outdoor buffet tables where champagne and petits fours were to be served. After looting the area of decorative plants and flowers, they finally settled down to drink the champagne themselves.

The farmers were protesting their discontent with rising inflation, falling income and the government's refusal to make fundamental reforms. Fruit growers complain that they get only 9¢ for a pound of peaches that sells for 40¢ to 60¢ at the retail level. Farmers charge that the cost of a tractor less than 10 years ago was equivalent to the sell-



ANGRY FARMER HOLDING IMPALED PIG
Havoc may be the only way

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...e of six hogs; now it equals 100. The ...chasing power of the French peas... it is estimated, will shrink 17% this ...r alone—while government policy ...mits massive imports of competing ...eign meats, fruits and vegetables.

In protest, farmers throughout the ...ntry have been creating havoc. On ...major highway to Spain, a thousand ...growers dumped tons of pears onto ...roadway, creating a twelve-mile traf... ...am. In Le Havre, Norman peasants ...pped dockers from unloading beef ...m an Argentine ship and, in a vari... ...n of the old Boston Tea Party, threw ...s of the meat into the Channel. In ...er areas farmers hung dead chick... ...s in front of local officials' homes, let ...s and cattle loose in village streets, ...even halted the sacrosanct Tour de ...nce bicycle race by covering the road ...h nails.

In their frustration, the farmers vow ...ntinue to make life increasingly un... ...fortable for officials on all levels of ...ernment, indeed for all Frenchmen, ...little is being done to stop them. In ...Limoges area last week, for exam... ...peasants parked their tractors across ...well-traveled tourist road; when mo... ...sts tried to turn back from the bar... ...they found themselves trapped by ...e tractors in the opposite direction. ...en an indignant Parisian driver ...uted "Some people haven't got a ...g to do," he was promptly pummeled ...h a volley of stones and insults. A ...darme who witnessed it all called out ...joy yourselves," before turning his ...k and walking away.

...UTH KOREA

...o Harmony or Peace

"Whenever our harmony and peace ...e confronted with dire threat, we Ko... ...st have manifested the wisdom of risk... ...our own lives for the defense. Here ...the secret of our cultural glories down ...ages."

—Park Chung Hee, 1973

After eleven years as President of ...th Korea, Park Chung Hee seems de... ...ined to retain his power at any cost ...harmony and peace. Having secured ...t amounts to absolute political dom... ...ce, the onetime professed enemy of ...atorship is now ruthlessly persecut... ...his enemies, both real and imagined. ...ce January, 280 critics of the regime, ...of them students, have been ar... ...ed under decrees making political ...ent a crime—in some cases punish... ...by death. Park has tried to justify ...harsh measure as a defense against ...Communist takeover, but his critics ...m that his real motive is to elim... ...his domestic opponents.

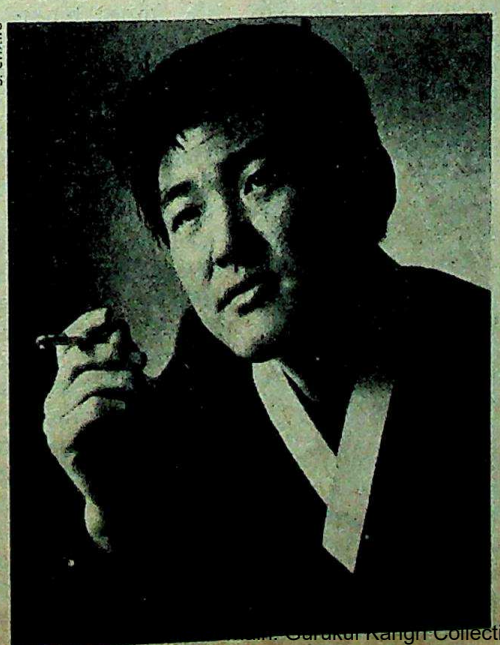
...In his ruthless campaign, Park re... ...ly seized Yun Po Sun, 76, South Ko... ...President for nearly two years after

The charge against Yun was that he had contributed $1,000 to antigovernment student demonstrators. "The money was intended to revive democracy in Korea," admitted Yun, who refused to recant. If convicted, he could receive the death penalty.

Barbed Poetry. Whatever Yun's fate, at least 91 people have already been found guilty of subversion, and more than 100 others are awaiting trial. Among those most recently convicted on charges of plotting to overthrow the government, 14 were condemned to death, 15 to life imprisonment and 26 to at least 15 years.

Most notable among those sentenced to death is Kim Chi Ha, 33, South Korea's best-known poet. Since the 1970 publication of his poem *Five Bandits,* a satirical portrait of official corruption, Kim has been one of Park's prime targets. He was arrested and brought to trial last April on charges that he had provided $5,400 to student antigovernment agitators. Actually, his prosecution probably stemmed as much from his barbed poetry as from his relatively innocuous actions against Park. A typical portion of his *Five Bandits* describes ministers and vice ministers: "They waddle from obesity, and sediment seeps from every pore/ . . . They command the national defense/ with their golf club in their left hand/ While fondling the breasts of their mistresses with their right."

Last week Kim's death sentence and those of four others were commuted to life imprisonment. But this glimmer of clemency was instantly marred by the indictment of Roman Catholic Bishop Daniel Tji Hak Soun, 53, a longtime critic of Park's regime, on charges of plotting against the government. Bishop Tji was arrested in St. Mary's Hospital in Seoul, where he was being treated for diabetes, and charged with giving $2,500 to Kim Chi Ha to aid in the overthrow of the government.



S. CHANG

POET KIM CHI HA
Barbed portrait

...Gurukul Kangri Collecti...

Park's harsh repression is causing international reverberations. Among those already convicted are two Japanese citizens, Yoshiharu Hayakawa and Masaki Tachikawa, who have been living in South Korea. Hayakawa, 37, a language instructor, and Tachikawa, 28, a freelance journalist, were sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment for allegedly acting as go-betweens linking North Korean and Japanese Communists with the antigovernment student movement in Seoul.

South Korean–Japanese relations have been exacerbated by the stiff sentences of the two Japanese. They had already been strained as a result of the kidnaping of Kim Dae Jung, leader of South Korea's opposition party, from Tokyo last August by Park's secret police. Relations between the two countries have grown so uncertain that Japan, which provided 93% of South Korea's foreign investment last year, has hinted that its entire Korean policy is currently under review.

No Let-Up. In the U.S., congressional moves are under way that could result in the cutting off of more than $300 million in aid to South Korea. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger told a Senate subcommittee last week that the Administration opposed discontinuing these payments, although it did not approve of Park's repressive policies. Despite such action by friendly countries, Park gives no indication of letting up on his campaign to stamp out what little local public opposition remains.

FORMER PRESIDENT YUN PO SUN



S.K. KIM

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THE CONGRESS/COVER STORY

The Fateful Vote to Impeach

Wherefore Richard M. Nixon, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial, and removal from office.

After four garrulous days, the talking stopped. The room was silent, and so, in a sense, was a watching nation. One by one, the strained and solemn faces of the 38 members of the House Judiciary Committee were focused on by the television cameras. One by one, their names were called. One by one, they cast the most momentous vote of their political lives, or of any representative of the American people in a century.

Mr. Railsback. Aye. Mr. Fish. Aye. Mr. Hogan. Aye. Mr. Butler. Aye. Mr. Cohen. Aye. Mr. Froehlich. Aye.

Thus six Republican Congressmen joined all 21 Democrats to recommend that the House of Representatives impeach Richard M. Nixon and seek his removal from the presidency through a Senate trial. And thus the Judiciary Committee climaxed seven months of agonizing inquiry into the conduct of Richard Nixon as President by approving an article of impeachment that charges he violated both his oath to protect the Constitution and his duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed. The first of at least two articles to be considered, the article alleges that he committed multiple acts designed to obstruct justice in his attempt to conceal the origins of the June 1972 wiretap-burglary of Democratic National Headquarters and "other unlawful covert activities" carried out by those responsible for that crime *(see text on page 20).*

By that historic roll-call vote, the article of impeachment was adopted, 27 to 11, by the committee at 7:07 p.m. on a warm Saturday night in Room 2141 of Washington's Rayburn Office Building. Richard Nixon became only the second President to stand so accused by a committee of Congress. The impressive bipartisan nature of the vote increased the probability that the full House of Representatives will also vote to impeach.

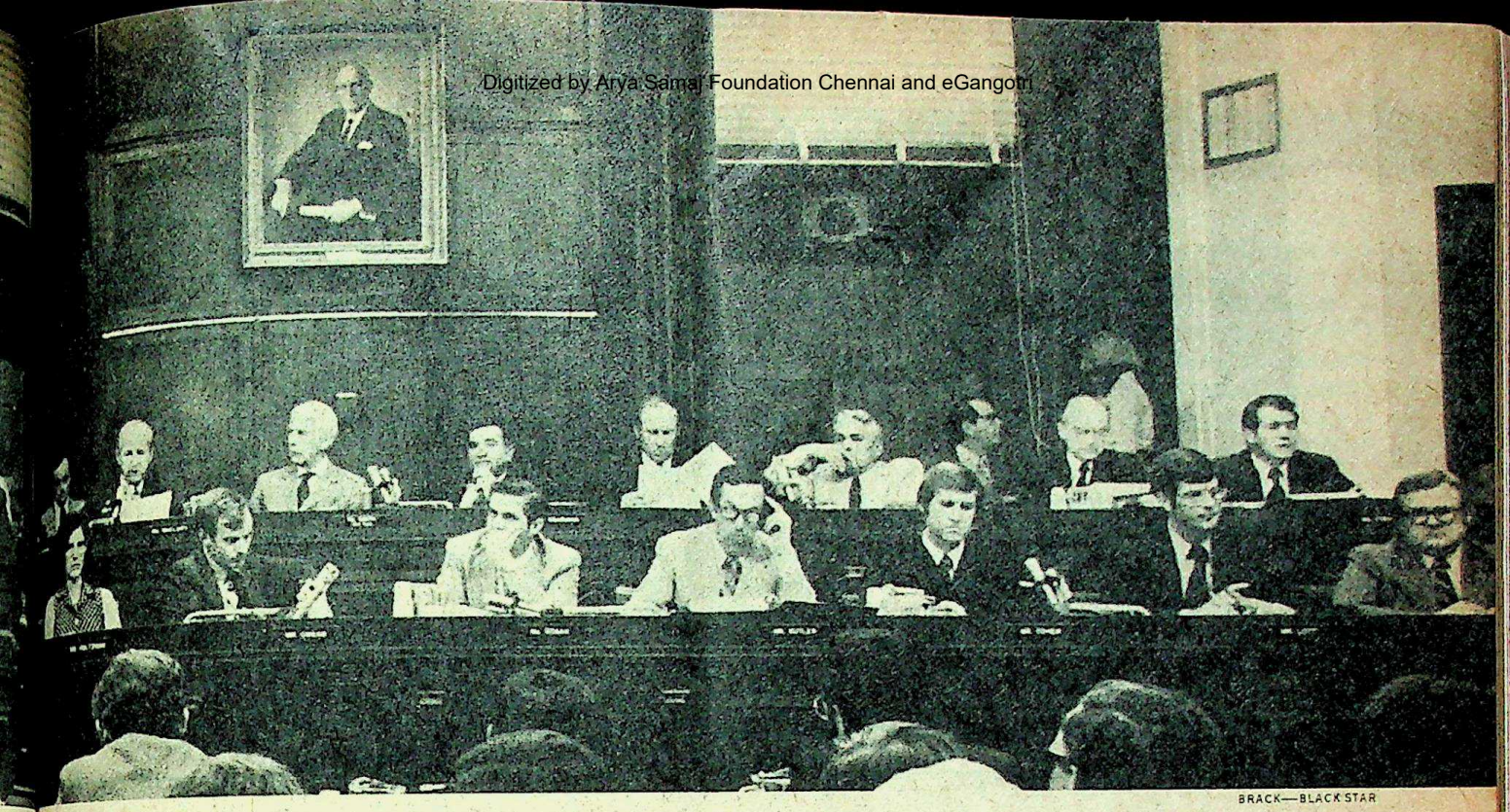
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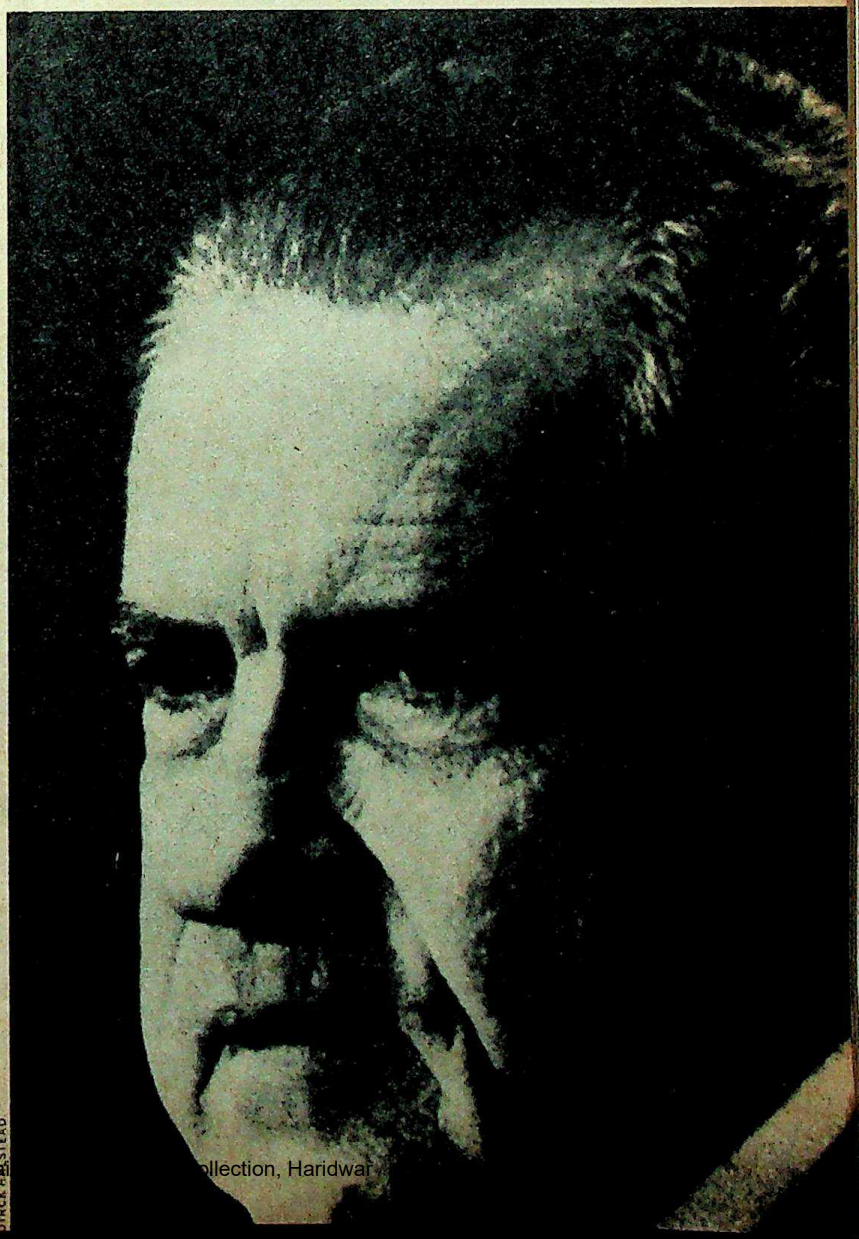
THE UNITED STATES

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DIRCK HALSTEAD

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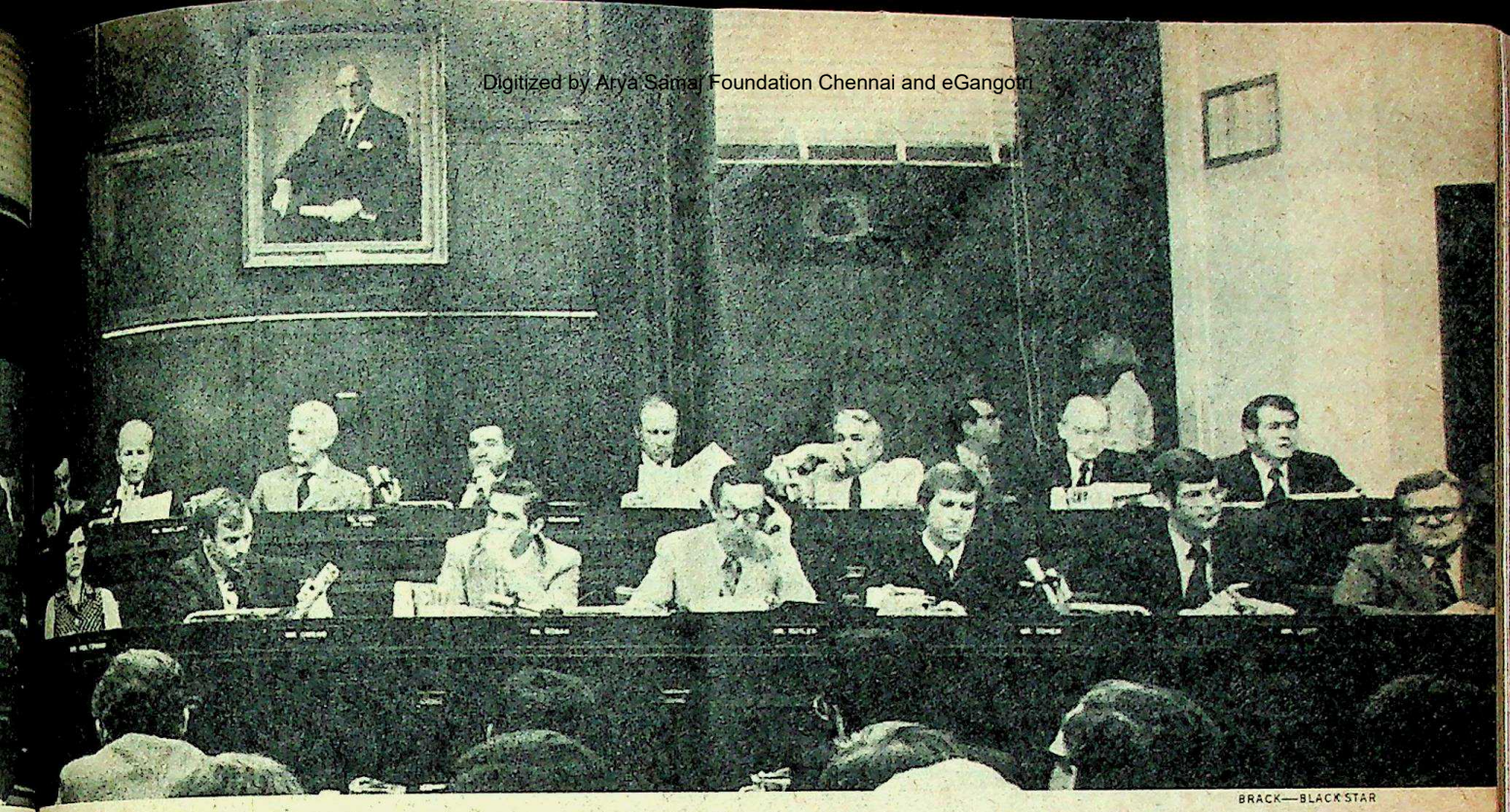
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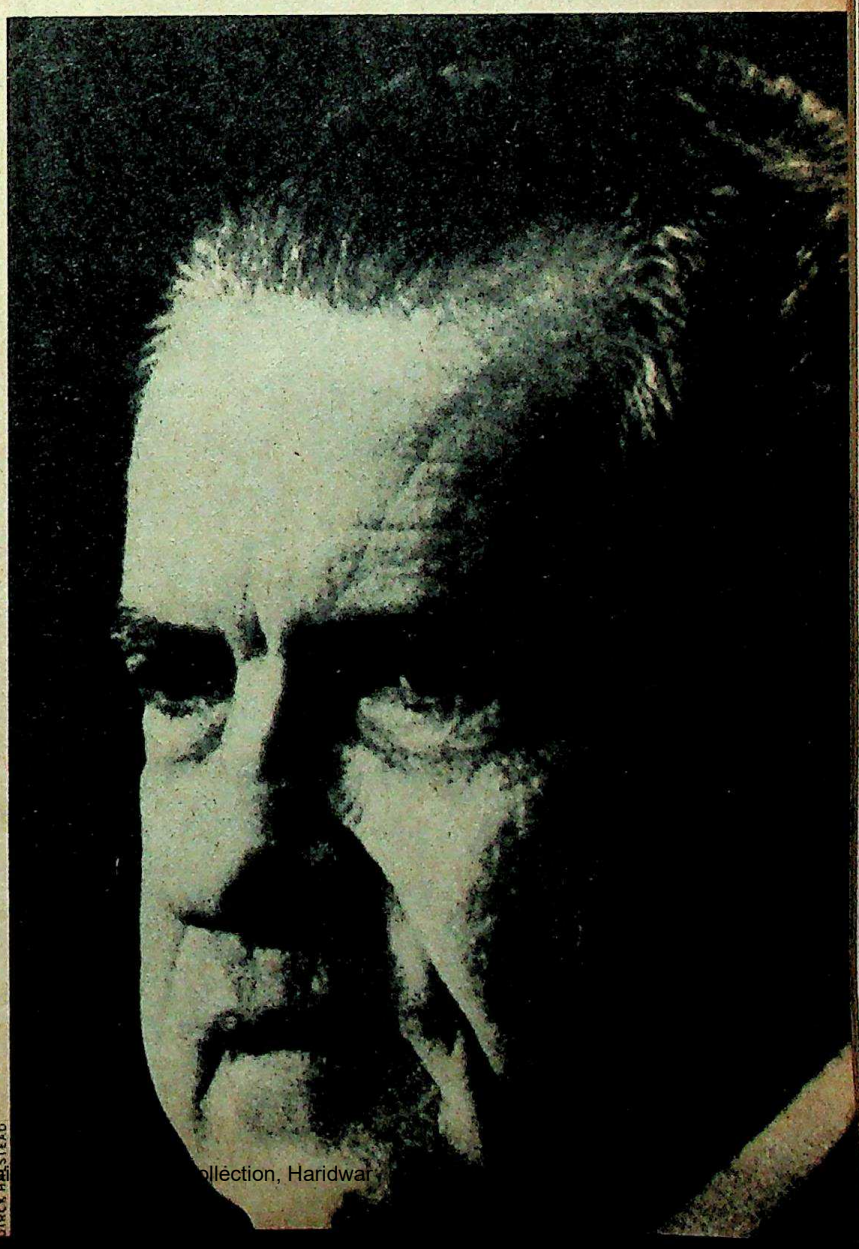
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"In a Manner Contrary to His Trust"

The text of the preamble and first article of impeachment voted by the House Judiciary Committee:

RESOLVED, That Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, is impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and that the following articles of impeachment to be exhibited to the Senate:

ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT EXHIBITED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN THE NAME OF ITSELF AND OF ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AGAINST RICHARD M. NIXON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN MAINTENANCE AND SUPPORT OF ITS IMPEACHMENT AGAINST HIM FOR HIGH CRIMES AND MISDEMEANORS.

ARTICLE I

In his conduct of the office of President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has prevented, obstructed, and impeded the administration of justice, in that:

On June 17, 1972, and prior thereto, agents of the Committee for the Re-election of the President committed unlawful entry of the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee Washington, District of Columbia the purpose of securing political ligence. Subsequent thereto, Richa Nixon, using the powers of his hig fice, engaged personally and thr his close subordinates and agents course of conduct or plan designe delay, impede, and obstruct the i tigation of such illegal entry; to c up, conceal and protect those res sible; and to conceal the exist and scope of other unlawful c activities.

The means used to implement course of conduct or plan included or more of the following:

1) making false or misleading s ments to lawfully authorized inves tive officers and employees of the U ed States;

2) withholding relevant and m

tended effect: many members reacted against the Brooks proposals and began working on alternative drafts of their own. As one staff leader later explained, "That got the members thinking. They also began to wake up to the fact that they shouldn't leave it to Doar and the staff."

The general domination of the staff work by Doar was resented by some veteran committee members. They felt that their regular counsel, Jerome Zeifman, a 49-year-old Democratic liberal, had been shunted aside by Doar, who had been recruited from the outside. Seeking advice and help from Zeifman, many of the majority Democrats began framing articles of their own as alternatives to those presented by Doar and those of Brooks. Rodino purposely refrained from taking part in the drafting sessions but kept in touch with all of them. He saw his role as a coordinator who would be more effective if he did not b identified with specific draft proposals.

Soon two overlapping groups were working on articl partial Democratic caucus, heavily influenced by Brooks dominated by him, and 2) the coalition of Southern De and impeachment-leaning Republicans. The Southerner able to shuttle between the two groups and thus were esp influential. Surprisingly, the coalition group moved mor ly toward agreement than the all-Democratic drafters. end of Tuesday, said one of the coalition Congressmen, unanimity, a consensus, in two major areas: the abuse o and the obstruction of justice." It was then clear that a four Republicans—Railsback, Cohen, Butler and Fish—go for impeachment.

LAFFONT—SYGMA



AP





How Private Decisions Were Made

In this seven-member coalition, the thinking of S Democrat and Northern Republican had much in com had a yearning, an innate desire to find the President inn recalled Walter Flowers. "I put the blinders on like the o used to wear going down the road with the wagon behin couldn't see anything ahead except the road." He was ularly troubled by the March 21, 1973 tape, not merely ebrated "For Christ's sake, get it" quote, but rather, as put it, "the matter-of-fact way in which the payment o money was discussed. It shocked my conscience, I'll te He was also disturbed by the discrepancy between what th ident was doing and what he was saying. "You take the wh did mess and compare it to the public pronouncements President, and it just doesn't fit." He talked often with Ray ton and James Mann, sometimes as they walked together House floor, and finally decided. "I felt that if we dis peach, we'd just ingrain and stamp in our highest office dard of conduct that's just unacceptable."

Flowers in turn was an important influence on the licans in the group. At a Sunday meeting, he told the un seven, "This is something we just cannot walk away from pened, and now we've got to deal with it." Recalled Caldw ler later: "I knew at that second he was right." Butler Virginia district is heavily pro-Nixon, made his decisi after a visit to his district by Vice President Gerald Ford sured the voters that he would support Butler for re-elec fall no matter how he voted on impeachment.

Suddenly, a fifth Republican, who had remained a the others and kept his intention quiet, broke away from Lawrence Hogan did so publicly in a harsh statement the President that dismayed party loyalists on the

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of evidence or information from lawfully authorized investigative officers and employees of the United States;

3) approving, condoning, acquiescing in, and counseling witnesses with respect to the giving of false or misleading statements to lawfully authorized investigative officers and employees of the United States and false or misleading testimony in duly instituted judicial and congressional proceedings;

4) interfering or endeavoring to interfere with the conduct of investigations of the Department of Justice of the United States, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force, and Congressional Committees;

5) approving, condoning, and acquiescing in, the surreptitious payment of substantial sums of money for the purpose of obtaining the silence or influencing the testimony of witnesses, potential witnesses or individuals who participated in such unlawful entry and other illegal activities;

6) endeavoring to misuse the Central Intelligence Agency, an agency of the United States;

7) disseminating information received from officers of the Department of Justice of the United States to subjects of investigations conducted by lawfully authorized investigative officers and employees of the United States, for the purpose of aiding and assisting such subjects in their attempts to avoid criminal liability;

8) making or causing to be made false or misleading public statements for the purpose of deceiving the people of the United States into believing that a thorough and complete investigation had been conducted with respect to allegations of misconduct on the part of personnel of the executive branch of the United States and personnel of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, and that there was no involvement of such personnel in such misconduct: or

9) endeavoring to cause prospective defendants, and individuals duly tried and convicted, to expect favored treatment and consideration in return for their silence or false testimony, or rewarding individuals for their silence or false testimony.

In all of this, Richard M. Nixon has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and subversive of constitutional government, to the great prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

Wherefore Richard M. Nixon, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial, and removal from office.

undoubtedly had a psychological impact on the undecideds. e evidence convinces me that my President has lied repeat- Hogan said at a press conference, "deceiving public of- s and the American people. Instead of cooperating with cutors and investigators, as he said publicly, he concealed overed up evidence, and coached witnesses so that their tes- y would show things that really were not true . . . he praised warded those who he knew had committed perjury. He ac- participated in an extended and extensive conspiracy to ob- justice." A conservative seeking the governorship of Mary- Hogan frankly conceded that he spoke out early so that iews would not be lost in the committee's 38-member de- His later, strong arguments in that debate left little doubt is sincerity in urging impeachment, even though his act prob- was a political plus in Maryland.

Describing how he reached his decision, Hogan recalled that egan listening to the evidence with a "firm presumption" the President was innocent. "But after reading the tran- ts," he said, "it was sobering: the number of untruths, the de- ion and the immoral attitudes. At that point, I began tilting ast the President, and my conviction grew steadily."

While driving home one evening a week ago, he suddenly re- ed that he had made up his mind to vote for impeachment. ere was just too much evidence," he remarked later. "By standard of proof demanded, we had to bind him over for and removal by the Senate." When he got home, he told his of his decision. "She said, 'Good,' " Hogan reported, "the rect political advice she's ever offered."

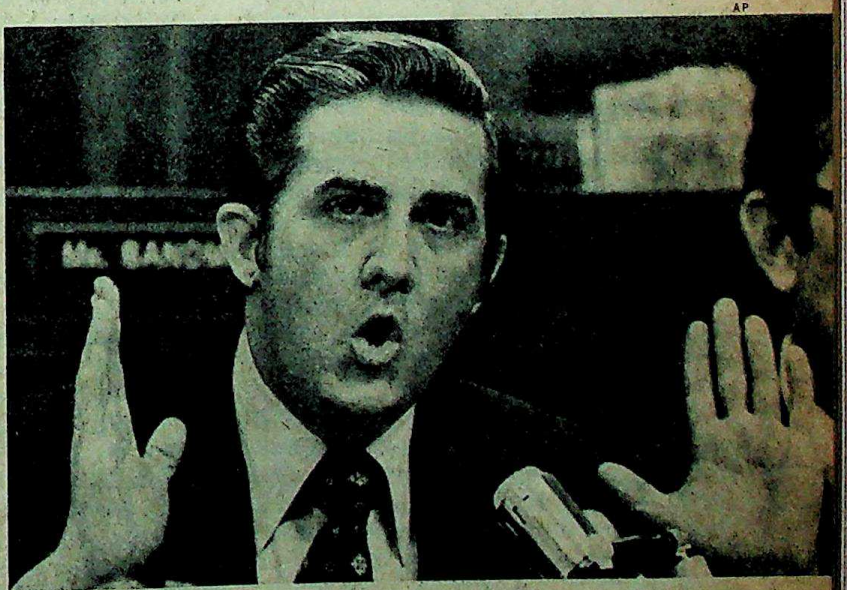
Anguish of Responsibility

On Wednesday, in their private drafting sessions, the two ps of pro-impeachment forces began coalescing. The Dem- ic group was reaching agreement on the same two general les as the coalition negotiators had decided on: obstruction stice and abuse of power. As the formal opening of the tele- Judiciary Committee meetings approached, however, the ocratic group had not completed its drafting work. Its mem- still wondered whether there should be a third article charg- Nixon with contempt of Congress for ignoring the com- e's subpoenas. Two articles were hastily sketched out, by South Carolina's Mann. "A lot of the real nuts and were put together by Mann," said one participant. The co- n group, also heavily influenced by Mann, had its similar ials ready. Actually, the unperfected Democratic propos- were the ones later introduced by Harold Donohue of Mas- etts as the takeoff points for the extended debate.

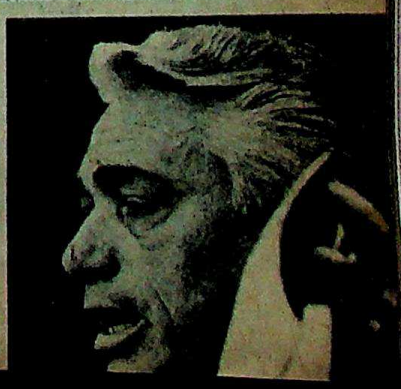
banged his gavel in the Judiciary Committee's draped and paneled room at 7:44 p.m. on Wednesday. Quickly the Congressmen and Congresswomen dispelled any fears of their Capitol Hill colleagues that they might disgrace the national legislature in this first televised debate and decision of a congressional committee. The tone of solemnity and historic significance was established by the chairman.

"Throughout all of the painstaking proceedings of this committee," said Rodino in his thin voice, "I as the chairman have been guided by a simple principle, the principle that the law must deal fairly with every man. For me, this is the oldest principle of democracy. It is this simple but great principle which enables man to live justly and in decency in a free society . . . Make no mistake about it. This is a turning point whatever we de-

AP







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REPUBLICANS SANDMAN (LEFT) & RAILSBACK CLASH OVER IMPEACHING THE PRESIDENT OF THEIR PARTY

Shipmates on an awesome voyage that none had chosen but all must take.

cide. Our judgment is not concerned with an individual but with a system of constitutional government . . . Whatever we now decide, we must have the integrity and the decency, the will and the courage to decide rightly. Let us leave the Constitution as unimpaired for our children as our predecessors left it to us."

In opening statements ranging up to 15 minutes, the members one after another expressed their individual anguish over the decision they faced. Burdened by the problem of party loyalty, the Republicans suffered most. Declared Cohen: "I have been faced with the terrible responsibility of assessing the conduct of a President that I voted for, believed to be the best man to lead this country, who has made significant and lasti tributions toward securing peace in this country, throug world, but a President who in the process by act or acquiesc lowed the rule of law and the Constitution to slip un boots of indifference and arrogance and abuse."

"How distasteful this proceeding is for me," protes ginia's assertively fast-talking Butler, explaining that worked with Nixon in every one of the President's natio tions, "and I would not be here today if it were not for our fort in 1972." Wistfully, Illinois' troubled and emotiona back sought escape. "I wish the President could do some

The Man with the Judicious Gavel

"You not only have to be fair—you have to give the appearance of fairness," Chairman Peter Rodino said of his job, and it often seemed to be an impossible task during the long and wearisome months as he led his unwieldy 38-member Judiciary Committee down the path toward impeachment articles. But last week, as the committee inched toward its bipartisan vote of 27-11 against the President, the silver-haired chairman with the husky voice was praised for his fairness by House G.O.P. Leader John Rhodes as well as by House Democratic Leader Thomas P. ("Tip") O'Neill Jr. Said O'Neill of Rodino: "It's magnificent how he has risen to the challenge."

When the impeachment proceedings began, Rodino was a little-known Congressman from Newark, a typical big-city liberal, who had learned during his 25 years on the Hill how the House operates —how to get along by going along—but whose leadership had never been tested. Says Tip O'Neill: "He was a flame under a bushel basket."

The son of an Italian immigrant worker, Rodino was raised in the fiercely ethnic Little Italy section of Newark, in a neighborhood so rough that he recalls shootings in the streets. Rodino wrote an unpublished novel about his upbringing entitled *Drift Street*. At one time, Rodino had hopes of becoming a poet—he still loves to recite Shakespeare, Byron, Shelley and Keats—but he diligently worked his way through the University of Newark Law School.

After serving as an Army captain during World War II, Rodino was first elected to Congress in 1948. As a Congressman, he concentrated on ethnic issues. When the inexorable elevator of seniority made him chairman of the Judiciary Committee in 1973, Rodino was perhaps best known as the man who had made Columbus Day a national holiday.

■

With this kind of background, Rodino failed to inspire the confidence of the House's Democratic leaders when impeachment became a possibility a year ago, a scant seven months after he had become Judiciary chairman. Speaker Carl Albert pointedly suggested to Rodino that, instead of giving the matter to the Judiciary Committee, the House should perhaps set up a special select body to conduct the inquiry. Rodino flatly refused to go along, and Albert gave way. (Later, the Speaker was to bless that decision: if a special committee had been set up, the Republicans could have stacked their membership with die-hard Nixon supporters, thus eliminating any chance of a bipartisan vote.)

Rodino did not relish the job of conducting the impeachment inquiry. He has had a friendly relationship with Nixon over the years and, he says, "I'd rather find the good in people than the bad." But to get ready, Rodino quietly assigned Jerome Zeifman, chief of the Ju staff, and two of his assistants to the process and precedents. Rodin in 1973 had dropped his Newar practice, which had always cut i time in Washington, began boning how the delegates to the Constitu Convention had viewed impeachme

Rodino also studied the semina ings of Edmund Burke, the 18th ce conservative sage, who argued tha peachment should rest "not upon th ties of a narrow jurisprudence, bu the enlarged and solid principles o morality." Three times the chairma Historian Michael Les Benedict's book entitled *The Impeachment a al of Andrew Johnson*. Rodino was enough to admit his awe at his onro responsibilities. "I lie awake at ni he once admitted. "I just hope I'll t to live up to them."

Promised an unlimited budg Speaker Albert, Rodino began asse a separate impeachment staff— was to grow to 105, nearly half o lawyers—and started looking for counsel. To avoid any charge of pa ship, Rodino wanted an outsider Republican. For two months, wh Democratic leadership squirmed delay, Rodino consulted deans o schools, judges, bar-association and leading attorneys before c John Doar in December.

They made an odd couple—Ab uble politician from the streets o ark and the taciturn Princeton ma worked on civil rights in the Just

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himself," he said. Even New Jersey's Charles Sandman ...ened his brawling manner to explain: "For the first time ...life I have to judge a Republican, a man who holds the ...powerful office in the world ... This is the most important ...I shall ever do in my whole life, and I know it."

...New York Democrat Charles Rangel, the occasion had ...ive side. "Some say this is a sad day in America's his... he said. "I think it could perhaps be one of our brightest ...It could be really a test of the strength of our Constitution, ...what I think it means to most Americans is that when ...any other President violates his sacred oath of office, the ...are not left helpless."

...though some tried to keep their opening statements neu... ...ost revealed their position on impeachment right off, and ...there were few surprises. Wisconsin's Democrat Robert ...meier contended that "President Nixon's conduct in of... ...a case history of the abuse of presidential power." New ...Democrat Elizabeth Holtzman detected "a seamless web ...nduct so serious that it leaves me shaken." Texan Brooks ...d that the committee evidence traced "governmental cor... ...unequaled in the history of the United States." Asked Re... ...an Cohen: "How in the world did we ever get from the ...list papers to the edited transcripts?"

...the view of many members of the committee's majority, ...to impeach would do far greater harm to the nation's wel... ...an would the trauma of a Senate trial. Surprising his col... ...s with the vehemence of his anti-Nixon stand, Repub... ...Butler declared: "If we fail to impeach, we will have ...ed and left unpunished a course of conduct totally in... ...ent with the reasonable expectations of the American peo... ...and we will have said to the American people, 'These ...are inconsequential and unimportant.' "

Democrat Thornton claimed that such a failure "would ef... fectively repeal the right of this body to act as a check on the abuses that we see." After breathlessly reeling off a lengthy list of specific improper Nixon acts, Railsback warned of another result. Speaking of the nation's young people, he claimed: "You are going to see the most frustrated people, the most turned-off people, the most disillusioned people, and it is going to make the period of L.B.J. in 1968, 1967 . . . look tame."

The President's Staunchest Defenders

"To become Congressmen and Congresswomen," noted Missouri Democrat William Hungate, "we took the same oath to uphold the Constitution which Richard M. Nixon took. If we are to be faithful to our oaths, we must find him faithless in his." Iowa Democrat Edward Mezvinsky expressed a similar thought, arguing that Nixon should be brought "to account for the gross abuse of office," and that "we must all ask ourselves, if we do not, who will?"

The President's staunchest defenders quickly proved to be Sandman, California's Charles Wiggins and Indiana's David Dennis. Sandman called the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson in 1868 "one of the darkest moments in the Government of this great nation," and added: "I do not propose to be any part of a second blotch on the history of this great nation."

Nixon's supporters chose mainly to attack the nature of the evidence on which the committee majority had based articles of impeachment. "This case must be decided according to the law, and on no other basis," noted Wiggins. Posing sharp legalistic questions, Wiggins insisted that perhaps only half of one volume among the committee's books of evidence would be admissible in a Senate trial of the President. "Simple theories, of course, are

...ment under Presidents Dwight Eisen... ...er and John Kennedy. But the two ...worked closely with growing mutu... ...spect.

From the start, Rodino recognized the ...er that the inquiry would blow up in ...hands of the Democrats if the nation ...erved it to be a partisan vendetta ...ast the President. Even so, Rodino ...charged with partisanship himself ...on, when he gaveled through de... ...ns on party-line votes to give himself ...subpoena powers. Later, Rodino gave ...hat right and got strong bipartisan ...port for the eight subpoenas for pres... ...ial tapes, all of which Nixon refused ...mor.

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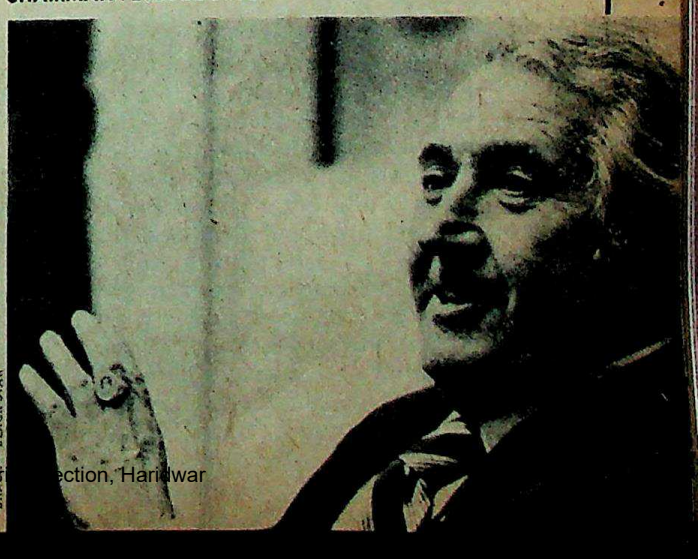
...ssiduously, Rodino backed off on ...r matters. Against the advice of Doar, ...no decided in fairness to allow Pres... ...ial Counsel James St. Clair not only ...end the sessions but to question wit... ...es and to call all six of the witnesses ...anted. And all the while, the chair... ...was urging the Democratic fire... ...ds to stop calling for impeachment. ...ld them that the ultimate judgment ...going to be the people's and our per... ...ance was going to be so judged," says ...no. The members went along with ...although not always happily. ...ped Detroit's John Conyers: "I just ...to make sure he's not too damn fair." ...Rodino's work load was horrendous. ...k after week, the committee met in ...ll session at 9:30 a.m. every Tues... ...Wednesday and Thursday. "All ...Mr. Doar," Rodino would say, "let's begin." The morning session ended at 12:15; the afternoon meeting went from 2 until 5. But those were only the formal sessions. Rodino was at his desk every morning at 8 and often was still there after midnight, sometimes conferring with his staff as late as 3 a.m. When he got a chance, he relaxed by playing paddle ball on the congressional courts or by listening to opera records—*Tosca* is his favorite—in the apartment he maintains near the Capitol. Weekends he spent in Newark with his wife Marianna, who had been a high school girl friend. (The Rodinos have two children—Peter, a law student at Seton Hall University, and Margaret, the wife of a Newark judge.)

The pace was too fast. In February Rodino landed in Bethesda Naval Medical Center for a few days. He feared heart trouble, but the diagnosis was simple exhaustion. "If I had to do it over," Rodino quipped, "maybe I'd have worked harder to be a poet."

As the inquiry went on, Rodino found himself confronted by an insoluble dilemma: the need to be fast as well as thorough. In closed sessions, Doar droned on and on, presenting the evidence that eventually filled 36 black loose-leaf binders—7,200 pages in all. By last month the whole inquiry was in danger of falling apart. The country was nodding off. "The committee is drowning in a sea of material," complained one ranking Republican Congressman who was ready to vote for impeachment. The Democratic leaders in the House pressured Rodino to get on with it. "Peter," said one top-ranking Democrat, "the honeymoon is over."

Doar drove himself until his face was gray to prepare his final brief, and Rodino steered his faction-torn committee to last week's climactic and bipartisan vote—the goal he had been striving for so diligently all along. Through it all—the proddings from his own leaders and the cries from the White House that he was conducting a "kangaroo court"—Rodino had kept his cool. As his colleagues acknowledged, by and large Chairman Rodino could say, with justification, "We have deliberated, we have been patient, we have been fair."

CHAIRMAN PETER RODINO



BRADY—BLACK STAR

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CALIFORNIA'S JEROME WALDIE



LAFFONT—SYGMA

BARBARA JORDAN OF TEXAS



BRACK—BLACK STAR

inadequate. That is not evidence. A supposition, however persuasive, is not evidence. A bare possibility that something might have happened is not evidence."

To follow an evidentiary trail from the improper activities of Nixon's aides to the President, argued California Republican Carlos Moorhead, "there is a big moat that you have to jump across to get the President involved—and I cannot jump over that moat." Mississippi Republican Trent Lott argued with vigor that "for every bit of evidence implicating the President, there is evidence to the contrary." The case against Nixon, contended Iowa Republican Wiley Mayne, consists of "a series of inferences piled upon other inferences."

In rapid-fire rebuttal, many of the committee Democrats in their turn rattled off specific presidential acts and conversations, particularly from the President's tapes, that they considered solid evidence. But the most effective general reply was offered by Republican Cohen. "Conspiracies are not born in the sunlight of direct observations," he said. "They are hatched in dark recesses, amid whispers and code words and verbal signals, and many times the footprints of guilt must be traced with a searchlight of probability, of common experience." Moreover, circumstantial evidence is admissible in trials, Cohen noted, and it is often persuasive. He cited as an example that someone who had gone to sleep at night when the ground was bare and awoke to find snow on the ground could reasonably conclude that snow had fallen while he slept.

The Pro-Impeachment Republicans

Some members used their opening statements to make impassioned pleas for articles of impeachment that seemed unlikely to win support from a majority of their colleagues. Father Robert Drinan, a Massachusetts Democrat, argued that it was wrong not to cite Nixon for the secret bombing of Cambodia just because it would not "fly" or "play in Peoria." Asked Drinan: "How can we impeach the President for concealing a burglary but not for concealing a massive bombing?" Surprisingly, New York Republican Henry Smith, considered wholly against impeachment, indicated that the Cambodia bombing was the one Nixon offense that he might consider impeachable. Mezvinsky urged that Nixon be cited for income tax evasion.

Running through Wednesday night and most of Thursday, the opening statements publicly confirmed Republican defections from the President that had become apparent in the closed-door strategy sessions on the eve of the debate. Demonstrating a willingness to impeach on at least one mainstream article were Illinois' Robert McClory, Railsback, Fish, Butler and Cohen. In a speech that was at first tantalizingly noncommittal, Froehlich hinted that he might go along with an article on the obstruction of justice in the Watergate cover-up.

Hogan followed his previous attack on Nixon with another assault. When Nixon and his aides discussed Watergate Burglar E. Howard Hunt's demands for money in the celebrated March 21, 1973, White House conversation, Hogan protested: "The President didn't, in righteous indignation, rise up and say, 'Get out of here. You are in the office of the President of the United States. How can you talk about blackmail and bribery and keeping witnesses silent?' . . . And then throw them out of his office and pick up the phone and call the Department of Justice and tell them there is obstruction of justice going on. But my President didn't do that. He sat there, and he worked and worked to try to cover this thing up so it wouldn't come to light."

Most of the pro-impeachment Republicans seemed to feel that the voters would stand by them. Hogan reported that as of last Friday his telephone calls from Marylanders were running 1,072 to 634 in favor of his decision. Butler's early mail ran about 50-50, but he also received vicious and obscene hate calls at his Roanoke home, upsetting his wife June. At week's end t ler requested an unlisted telephone number, but he was not ing down. "If it's come to that," he muttered, "maybe w impeaching the man too late. My God, these people will ha chance within six months to express their opinion of my formance in office. This type of activity is totally beyond me

Still not satisfied with the quickly prepared articles of peachment introduced under Donohue's name, the impeachi forces went to work on new drafts as soon as the round of eral debate was concluded on Thursday night. At this cri stage, Chairman Rodino joined the group of key Democrat sembled in Counsel Zeifman's office. Among them were F ers and Mann, who now held the virtual proxy votes of erate Republicans. Their aim was to find precisely the language that would placate the more liberal Democrats, the Southerners as well as the available Republicans, and technically proficient enough to withstand the anticipated sault from the Nixon loyalists during the closing debate.

The drafting was resumed Friday morning, delaying the of that day's public session until 11:55. Finally, with little stantive change but a tightening and polishing of wording, th ticles were introduced as an amendment to the Donohue ticles by Maryland Democrat Paul Sarbanes, a precise, s speaking Rhodes scholar.

Before acting on the amendment, however, the legislators bated two time-consuming diversionary problems in a some quarrelsome and highly repetitive lawyerly argument. At point, Rodino tried to reduce each member's debating time five minutes to two minutes, but objections were raised. He retained his evenhanded treatment of the contending parties ting the debate drone on.

But if the words were sometimes weak, the images and sonalities of the committee were vividly etched on a viewer's sciousness as the proceedings continued. The TV cameras abled Americans for the first time to see for themselves just representative this remarkably diverse group of U.S. Repre tatives really is. With few exceptions, they seemed less a of politicians or lawyers (which all are) than a particularly cut cross-section of ordinary Americans, exposing the acc the attitudes, the argot of the regions from which they c and the universal Chaucerian splay of individual character.

There was Rangel, with big-city bluntness inviting his versaries "to walk down this street" of evidence with him way. There was Thornton, speaking simply and sparingly the unmistakable sincerity of his Arkansas folk. "It is amaz Sandman boomed in a kind of McCarthyesque excess of casm and leering, as he hacked at some pro-impeachment sp er's folly. Then came the patient, adenoidal, invariably ligent queries of Wiggins, forever asking how the evi touched the President. Or the schoolmasterly, quick thrus Dennis, clipping words and arguments.

The Deep Southerners, Flowers and Trent Lott, though posite sides, spoke with the easy fluidity and courtesy of their itage. Mezvinsky was the new boy, carefully following the and model of his elders, Cohen the engagingly gawky bright of the class. Missouri's Hungate, full of

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key Ozark folklore, designated himself the comic, just as California's Jerome Waldie attempted wry wit. Texas Democrat Barbara Jordan loomed and boomed like some elemental force, her cultivated accent and erudition surprising each time she spoke. If there seemed a kind of fastidious smirkiness in Delbert Latta, then by contrast Fish and Mayne, Kastenmeier and Mann exuded a quiet and impressive earnestness and integrity. (Kastenmeier displayed probably the most imposing arched eyebrows since John Barrymore's.) For all their differences, the committee members clearly seemed to share the camaraderie of shipmates on an awesome voyage that none had chosen but all must take, to whatever end.

How Specific Must an Article Be?

In the general debate, the first sidetracking stemmed from an attempt by Republican McClory to delay proceedings for ten days if the President would promptly agree to give the House Judiciary Committee the same tapes he had been ordered by the Supreme Court to yield to Federal Judge John J. Sirica for use by Special Prosecutor Jaworski in the impending Watergate cover-up trial. Actually, McClory conceded that he had little expectation of a favorable response from Nixon. McClory's tactic was aimed at strengthening a contempt of Congress article against the President he planned to introduce. The motion was defeated 27 to 11 in the first rough test of the committee's voting lineup.

As direct debate on the Sarbanes amendment got under way, the committee fell into a second argument over just how specific on general the articles of impeachment ought to be. The Nixon loyalists, sometimes joined by more moderate Republicans, insisted that the proposed articles were much too vaguely phrased. Democratic defenders of the articles contended that the supporting facts should—and would—be included in the committee's final report and not jammed into the brief impeachment articles. The spirited argument had some light moments. Insisting that inferences can always be drawn from any given fact, Hungate suggested that "if someone brought an elephant through that door and I said 'That's an elephant,' someone would say, 'That's an inference. It could be a mouse with a glandular condition.'" There were sharp personal exchanges as the committee grew restive. Latta irrelevantly criticized Counsel Jenner for having publicly supported the repeal of antiprostitution legislation, and Latta in turn was scolded by Ohio Democrat John Seiberling for his improper remarks.

The opposing viewpoints on specificity were best expressed by Sandman and Jordan. Growled Sandman: "Why, even a simple parking ticket has to be specific . . . yet you want to replace that [requirement] and say it doesn't apply to the President. Why, that's ridiculous!"

Jordan (referred to as "the gentlelady" by Rodino) noted that the President was not being deprived of any information or due process. His lawyer James St. Clair had been permitted to sit through all the committee hearings on the evidence, receive all the documents given committee members, and cross-examine witnesses. "That was due process," she said. "Due process tripled, due process quadrupled." The Nixon loyalists, she charged, were using "phantom arguments, bottomless arguments."

The proponents of more specific articles had a plausible argument in wishing the charges to be as clear as possible, both out of fairness to the President and a desire to make the task of the House easier in judging the articles. Yet the nature of the charges against the President is not confined to single acts but often embraces a course of conduct over a span of time involving many acts. To be specific would produce lengthy and complex articles. The framers of the articles, moreover, did not want to be confined too strictly to each specific claim, since that would limit the evidence that could eventually be used in the Senate. The specifics would be spelled out in the committee's report.

The long hours consumed in the dispute were turned into a prime-time display of partisan maneuvering. The Nixon supporters sought to delay a final vote, hoping to discredit and discourage the majority, perhaps even win back one or two of their strayed Republicans. Since the loyalists were demanding facts, many Democrats used their turn at the microphones to spin out the litany, as they saw it, of Nixon's misdeeds. Most able of all at this was California's Waldie, whose sporadic running narrative was dismissed by Republican Wiggins as "Waldie's fable."

Sandman moved to strike the first paragraph of the Sarbanes articles and threatened to make the same move against eight other paragraphs. When a vote was finally held late Friday night, Sandman's move was defeated by the same 27 to 11 margin (although there was some shifting of sides in the two votes). That took much of the steam out of a peripheral argument that centered on form rather than substance.

The Facts Behind the Charges

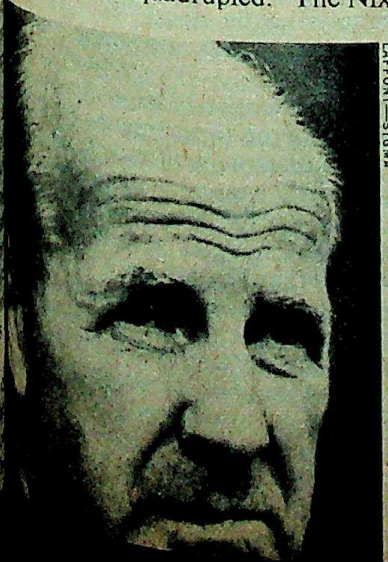
By the next day, Sandman, at least, saw little benefit in pursuing the fight over specificity. "The argument was exhausted yesterday," he conceded to the committee, then withdrew his other eight motions to strike portions of the article under consideration. But now, having been harassed for their failure to detail each general complaint against Nixon, the Democrats were more than ready. They turned the tables, introducing motions to strike paragraphs as a means of debating the facts behind each charge. That was as time-consuming as had been the Republican tactics of the day before, although Democrats argued that the educational value of explaining each charge was worthwhile.

The tactic was led by Flowers, who introduced the strike motion, then yielded his time to sympathetic colleagues. Cohen also took advantage of the situation by securing time to buttress his contention that Nixon had withheld evidence from various Watergate investigators. Sandman protested the reversed situation, complaining that the proceedings were achieving little and boring the viewing public. Nevertheless, some enlightening and sharp exchanges of views on facts of evidence were televised throughout Saturday afternoon and into the evening.

Wiggins and Dennis among the Nixon loyalists were pitted against Democrats George Danielson, Wayne Owens and Hungate. Every time a vote was taken on Flowers' motions to eliminate paragraphs, the proposals lost decisively; most of the time Flowers merely responded "Present," not voting on his own motion. When Sandman found it amazing that Flowers was not voting for his proposals, the Democrat got the laugh of the day by replying, "Well, the caliber of the debate is so outstanding that it leaves me undecided at the conclusion."

The reality of the debate was that no minds on the committee were being changed, but the cases for and against the President were being staked out for the showdown on the floor of the House. Noting the Democratic lineup against him on the committee, Sandman told fellow Nixon supporters: "You're going to have a far better forum on another day—in the House."

Finally all of the amendments



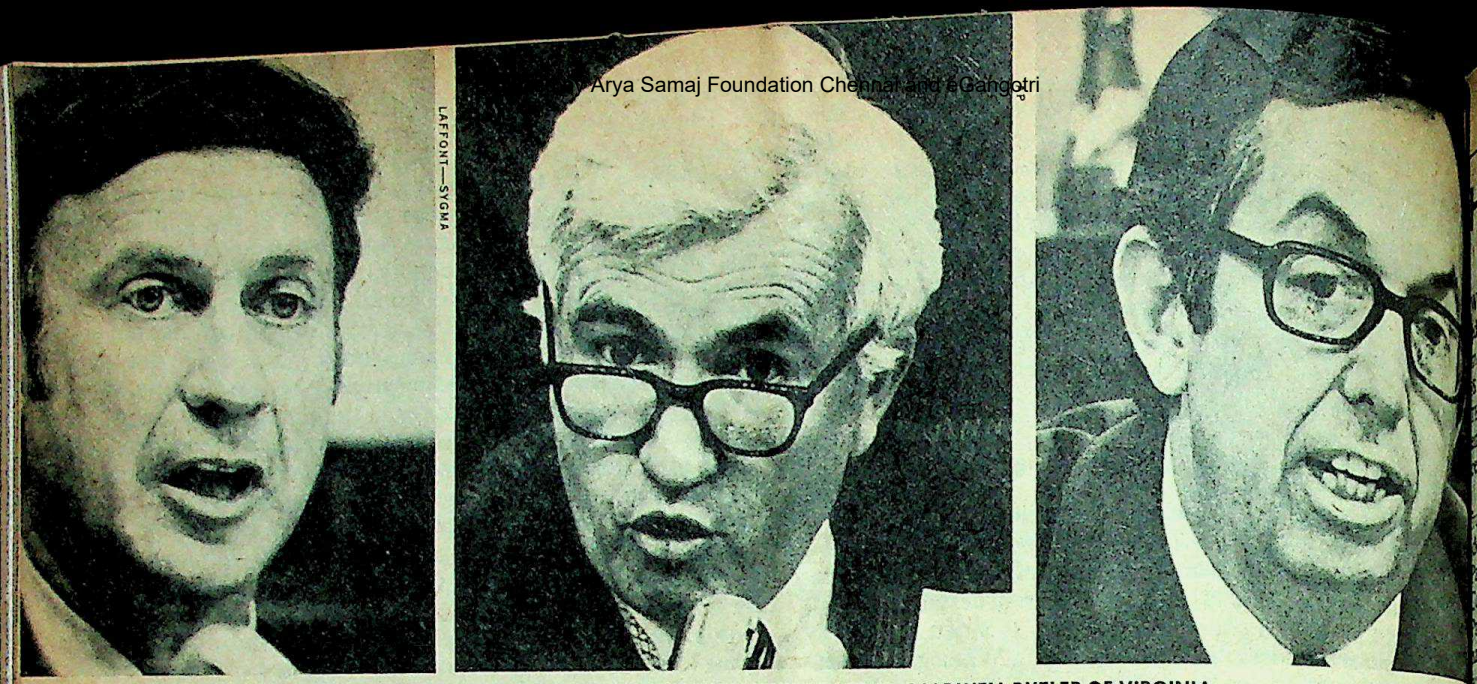
LAFFONT—SYGMA



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REPUBLICAN WILLIAM COHEN OF MAINE

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COMMITTEE MEMBERS: RAY THORNTON OF ARKANSAS, MISSOURI'S WILLIAM HUNGATE, M. CALDWELL BUTLER OF VIRGINIA

The accelerating momentum of impeachment was such that more evidence could be overkill.

were dispensed with and Chairman Rodino asked for the vote on the articles presented by Sarbanes, as amended slightly, even though all knew what the general outcome would be; the ensuing tense roll call was a moving, memorable moment. The only questionable vote was that of Froehlich, who cast a soft "Aye" that caused a murmur to ripple through the otherwise silent crowd of fewer than 300 reporters and spectators.

Several of the Congressmen bowed their heads as the vote was taken. Arkansas' Thornton closed his eyes as if in prayer. Democrats Seiberling and Mann and Republican Wiggins appeared close to tears. Almost all the "Ayes" were delivered in mournful, almost sepulchral tones. By contrast, the first "No" —from Edward Hutchinson—sounded buoyant and was accompanied by a thin smile.

After the Sarbanes substitute article passed, the final vote on the article as amended was anticlimactic, even though it marked the official passage of the first impeachment article against Nixon. "Article I of that resolution of impeachment will be reported to the House," Chairman Rodino announced just before recessing the committee.

This week its deliberations on other proposed articles will begin. An article charging the President with abusing the powers of his office seems likely to pick up the same margin of support, possibly with the addition of Republican McClory. He is also expected to introduce an article of his own, charging Nixon with contempt of Congress for failing to respond to the Judiciary Committee's subpoenas.

Moving on to the House

If the committee completes its voting on the articles early this week as expected, its staff would be given about a week to prepare a final committee report on the specifics of the case against the President. A majority of the committee would have to approve that report before it is transmitted along with the articles to the House Rules Committee. That committee is expected to report the articles for full-scale House debate beginning about Aug. 12, with a House vote coming perhaps Aug. 23. Quick approval for televising those proceedings is expected to be granted by vote of the House.

Already speculation has begun on who will be managers of the House case if a Senate trial is held. Chosen by the House leaders from the membership of the Judiciary Committee, they will act as the prosecutors in the trial. It is assumed that Rodino will be chairman of the managers and that another likely prospect is Democrat Sarbanes. A Southern Democrat, most probably Mann, may be offered such a position, but the chances of coaxing a Republican to share the work are not great.

Just when the Senate trial may begin would depend on how much time Senate leaders wish to accord the President and his lawyers to prepare their defense case. Two or three weeks is the period being discussed, so unless the House schedule slips badly, a trial presumably could start by the middle of September.

Although it is far from certain, the tapes subpoenaed by Special Prosecutor Jaworski from the President could play an influential role in the Senate trial. Just how and when any Congressional investigators could acquire them is not clear either since the Supreme Court directed that the tapes be made available for use in the criminal-conspiracy trial of six former Nixon aides, scheduled to begin on Sept. 9. For eight hours after the Supreme Court decision was announced in Washington, the San Clemente White House kept alive its earlier suspense about whether the President would comply. But then James St. Clair stepped into a Laguna Beach pressroom to announce that Nixon had directed him to "take whatever measures are necessary to comply with that decision in all respects." Some legal experts believe that the Senate could subpoena the tapes from Judge Sirica in ample time for a presidential trial.

At a hearing in his courtroom, Sirica reminded St. Clair that "a little over three months have passed since the subpoena was issued." Nixon's lawyer promised to "do as good a job as promptly as possible" but said that Jaworski's suggested ten-day deadline could not be met. The President, St. Clair said, "feels he should know what he is turning over" and thus must listen to all of the tapes.

Said Sirica moments later: "I don't think it's going to take the time you have in mind." Suddenly he asked St. Clair: "Have you personally listened to the tapes?" When St. Clair said no, Sirica was incredulous. "You mean to say the President would approve of your listening to the tapes?" Flustered, St. Clair did not directly respond. Sirica persisted: "You mean to say you could argue this case without knowing all the background of these matters?" St. Clair claimed that he was not a good listener. The judge sternly suggested: "You should personally undertake that assignment [analyzing the tapes]." St. Clair agreed to supply 20 of the 64 tapes early this week and hoped to have the other batch ready by week's end.

Such was the accelerating momentum of impeachment, however, that any new evidence from the tapes may be overkill. For its diligence and the bipartisan magnitude of its vote, the House Judiciary Committee has virtually assured a substantial, bipartisan vote for impeachment in the full House. That in turn is sure to have an impact on the Senate, as will public opinion. Last week a Gallup poll showed that Nixon held a favorable rating of only 24% of the population, his lowest level yet. A Harris poll found that 53% of Americans favor the President's impeachment by the House and a plurality, 47% to 34%, believes that he should be convicted in the Senate and dismissed from office. Both polls were taken before the massive exposure to the mass of evidence and argument in the committee's televised sessions —and the committee's vote. In the proceedings that lie ahead, those figures are likely to turn further against Nixon, and the evidence that brought the men and women of the committee

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Hanging In There at San Clemente

Down the street from the Western White House, a friendly innkeeper posted a word of encouragement on his motel marquee: MR. PRESIDENT, TO BE GREAT IS TO BE MISUNDERSTOOD. HANG IN THERE. It was perhaps the most heartening message that Richard Nixon received all week.

Day after day, the disturbing news from the East crashed upon the President's retreat like the waves from the Pacific below. First came the Supreme Court's unanimous decision that the President must surrender the 64 subpoenaed tapes to Judge John Sirica. This was followed by the defection of at least five Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee at the beginning of the committee's televised debate.

Adding to the President's woes was the release of a new Judiciary Committee volume of evidence on Nixon's income taxes. Among several embarrassing disclosures was confirmation that when, on Dec. 8 of last year, the President publicly asked the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation to look into his taxes, he had just the day before been privately notified that the Internal Revenue Service was about to do the same thing.

■

The Judiciary Committee volume disclosed details of that hitherto secret IRS audit for the first time. In general, they paralleled the findings of the Joint Congressional Committee. One new area of tax underpayment was disclosed. It concerned $10,384.50 in book royalties that Nixon said had gone to the tax-exempt Nixon Foundation; the IRS found, however, that "no assignment of title to the manuscript was ever made" and the money should have been reported as personal income. The evidence also shows that IRS investigators felt that without sworn testimony from the people who worked on Nixon's taxes about the numerous discrepancies in their statements to the IRS, there was insufficient proof that fraud had been committed. The IRS recommended to Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski that a grand jury look into the matter. That investigation is now under way.

During this stay, in contrast to most of his previous visits to San Clemente, the President did not dine out, go for a drive or even play golf. Early in the week he attended a private party at Budget Director Roy Ash's mansion in Bel Air, a lavish gathering of 150 old California friends and supporters. A few days later he flew into Los Angeles by helicopter to deliver his televised economic address before a sympathetic, if somewhat restrained audience of 1,700 business leaders at the Century Plaza Hotel. The speech, billed as an effort to rally Americans in the "great crusade" against inflation, turned out to be a rather bland primer in the theory of demand and supply (*see* BUSINESS).

For the most part, however, the President remained alone and out of reach in the private den of Casa Pacifica, a few hundred yards by fringe-top golf cart from his working office. Perhaps the best indication of his private thinking was offered by his daughter Tricia Cox, who declared spiritedly at the Ash party: "Innocence is innocence—and my father is innocent. If the committee votes to impeach, it will just be a political move by people who want to get Richard Nixon out of office. But they won't get away with it. This is a country of justice."

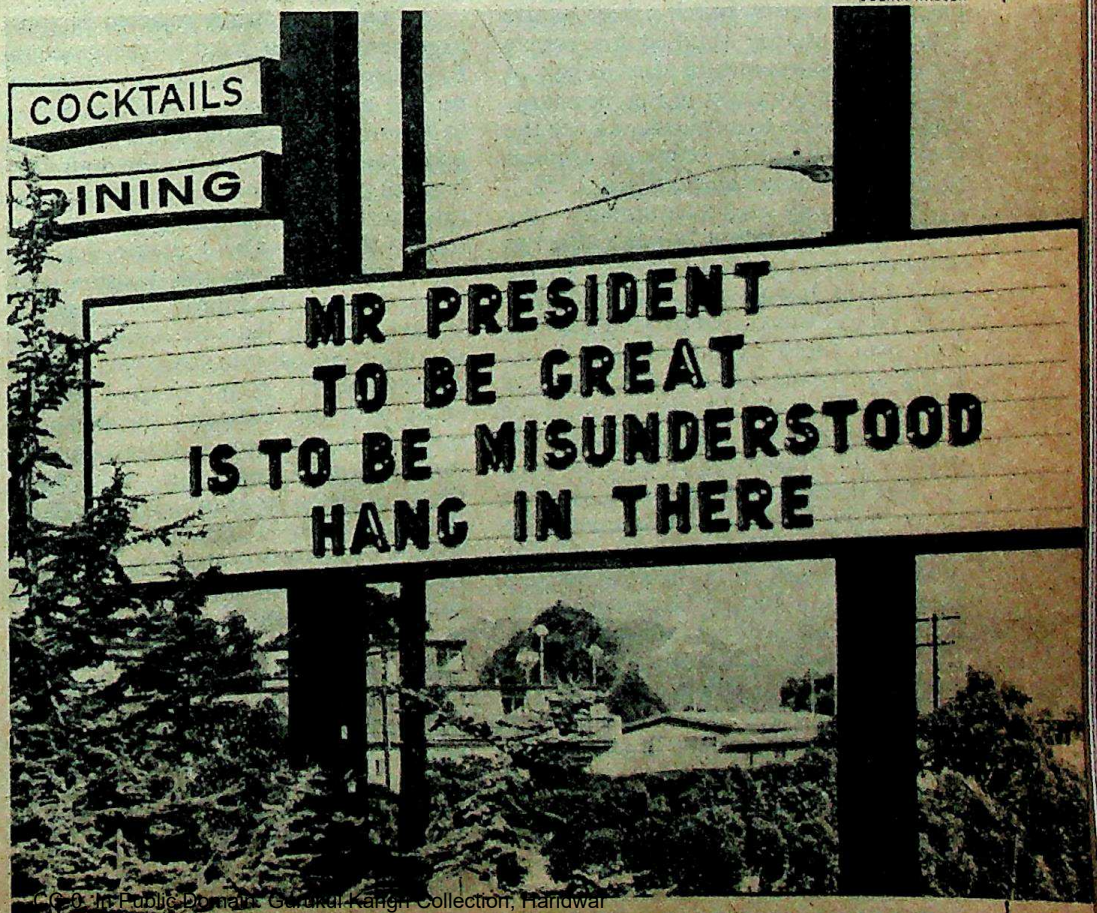
Behind the bravura, the White House staff appeared to be in genuine anguish. Recent strategy has called for the President's aides to answer every attack, always emphasizing that: 1) economic problems are far more important to most Americans than the Watergate affair, 2) the impeachment drive is essentially a partisan effort, and 3) only the overt commission of a serious crime constitutes an impeachable offense. Most White House officials still insist that in the end the President's position will prevail and he will serve out his term. But the events of last week left many with a feeling that the situation was getting dangerously out of hand.

At least one ranking official of the Administration—not a member of the White House staff—concluded grimly last week that Richard Nixon should be thinking less about impeachment than about a sort of plea-bargaining at the very highest level. This official suggested to TIME Correspondent Hays Gorey that the President should tell Vice President Gerald Ford that he is prepared to resign provided Ford would grant him an Executive pardon for any subsequent criminal indictments. Assuming that such a procedure would be politically and legally acceptable (and this is by no means certain), it would assure Nixon that as a private citizen he could not be indicted, tried and perhaps convicted for obstruction of justice or any other alleged wrongdoing in the Watergate case.

■

No one could say whether the President entertained such thoughts at San Clemente last week, but it seemed unlikely. What, then, was he thinking about in his private den? An aide offered the curious detail that the President had been absorbed in a biography of Napoleon. Had he been brooding, perhaps, about the exiled French leader marking time at Elba as he waited for the tide of opinion in France to change? No one could say. At midweek, a television set was wheeled into the conference room at the Western White House for the benefit of the staff; but in his study, according to his aides, the stoic President watched no part of the committee's historic debate on his future.

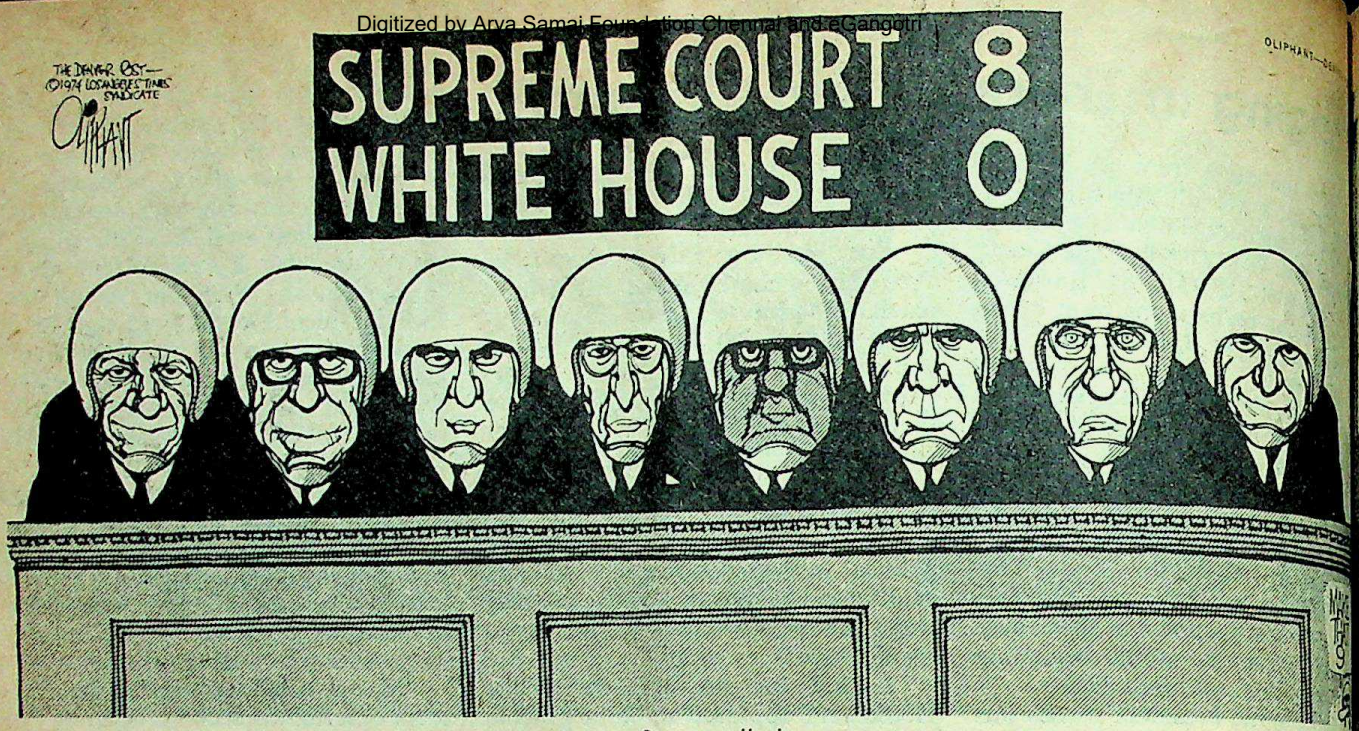
JULIAN WASSER



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MOTEL MARQUEE NEAR THE WESTERN WHITE HOUSE OFFERS THE PRESIDENT ENCOURAGEMENT

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Stonewalled.

THE SUPREME COURT

A Unanimous No to Nixon

It was precisely 11:03 Wednesday morning when the marshal's cry of "Oyez, oyez, oyez" rang out in the marble-pillared Supreme Court Building. The eight Justices sitting in the case of *United States* v. *Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, et al.* appeared from their chambers and sat behind the massive mahogany bench. Chief Justice Warren E. Burger shuffled his papers for a long moment and then began to read the decision constituting the sharpest judicial blow to a President since the court rejected Harry Truman's attempt to seize the nation's steel mills in 1952.

Definitively and unanimously, the court ended President Nixon's effort to withhold evidence from Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski in the Watergate case. Nixon was ordered "forthwith" to turn over tapes and other records relating to 64 White House conversations to Judge John Sirica's district court for use by Jaworski in the upcoming trials of six of the President's aides.

The presence on the court of three conservative Nixon appointees (a fourth, William H. Rehnquist, had disqualified himself from the case because he had been a Justice Department colleague of two of the Watergate cover-up defendants) effectively pre-empted any charge that the President had been the victim of his liberal enemies. As if to emphasize the strictly legal, nonpolitical nature of its decision, the court did not once refer to the ongoing impeachment inquiry. Indeed, the ruling tried to ensure that the 64 taped conversations would not carelessly become impeachment evidence by instructing Judge Sirica to "discharge his responsibility to see to it that until released to the special prosecutor, no *in camera* material is revealed to anyone."

In clear, nontechnical language, Burger elucidated the rulings of the high court, giving first general principles, then showing how each applied to the President's case:

▶ The court firmly rejected Nixon's argument that as head of the co-equal Executive Branch of the Government, he was entitled under the Constitution to determine finally the scope of his own privilege. On the contrary, the main theoretical plank of the court's opinion was the assertion of its supremacy in all matters of the law. The Judiciary's power to interpret the law, the decision said, "can no more be shared with the Executive Branch than the Chief Executive, for example, can share with the Judiciary the veto power, or the Congress share with the Judiciary the power to override a presidential veto." Quoting directly from Chief Justice John Marshall's decision in *Marbury* v. *Madison,* the court said, "It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is" with respect to the claim of privilege presented in this case.

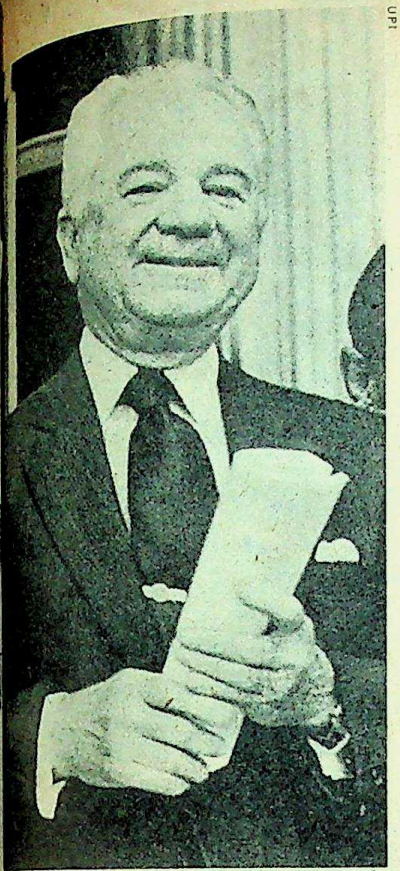
▶ The President's claims of Executive privilege must give way to the needs of the courts to settle a criminal case. Neither the separation of the Executive and Judicial branches nor the need for confidentiality "can sustain an absolute, unqualified presidential privilege of immunity from judicial process under all circumstances." The court found that President Nixon's claim of Executive privilege was too "broad" and "undifferentiated." It showed no dang to the nation if the tapes were tur over to Sirica for *in camera* inspect "We conclude that when the ground asserting privilege as to subpoenaed terials sought for use in a criminal is based only on the generalized in est in confidentiality, it cannot pre over the fundamental demands of process of law in the fair administra of criminal justice."

▶ The special prosecutor has standing to sue the President though he is an appointee of the Ex utive Branch and thus technically a s ordinate of the President. The court cluded that "the unique facts of case" remove it from an ordinary in branch dispute. Jaworski was gi "unique authority and tenure" to pro cute the Watergate case: indeed, President agreed that he could only removed with the consent of congress nal leaders. He thus has "explicit p to contest the invocation of Execu privilege in the process of seeking dence deemed relevant to the per mance of these specially delega duties."

The decision in favor of Jawo was reached with plenty of debate remarkably little serious disagreem among the court's members. Assem in their conference room on July 9, day after oral arguments were presen by Jaworski and Presidential Law James St. Clair, they needed little than an hour to decide on the ma ements of the ruling. Chief Justice ger began the discussion by sugges that the interests of the nation—a

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SPECIAL PROSECUTOR JAWORSKI
Privilege—but not whim.

unanimous decision. The other Justices were only too happy to agree.

Having decided on the importance of unanimity, the court began attacking the issues raised in the case one by one. In short order, a consensus in favor of Jaworski emerged. By the time the main question was decided—that priority be given the Watergate defendants' right to a fair trial over the President's general claim of Executive privilege—there was a perceptible sigh of relief in the room. The Justices were even unanimous in refusing to consider the President's claim that the Watergate grand jury exceeded its authority in naming Nixon as an unindicted co-conspirator. By rejecting consideration of the issue as "improvidently granted" (unnecessary for resolving the main questions of the case), the Justices let stand the grand jury's action.

Draft Opinions. There remained the often tedious and difficult task of hammering out the reasoning for the opinion. Burger exercised his prerogative to assign the writing of the opinion to himself. It was agreed that all the Justices would circulate memorandums or draft opinions on the case by the end of the week, and that Burger would attempt to incorporate them into the final opinion. A decision that all eight Justices would sign was approved in a discussion last Tuesday afternoon. The court quickly announced that it would be released the following morning.

Because the opinion was written in committee sessions, it never attempted to storm rhetorical heights. Individual but inspired turns of phrase gave

agogic recitation of basic principles in the American legal system: the supremacy of the court in interpreting the Constitution, the rights of defendants to a fair trial, and the duty of the Judiciary to provide checks and balances on the power of the Executive Branch.

Unique Case. But for all that, the ruling was a narrow one. For one thing, as the President pointed out the day the decision was announced, the court "reaffirmed both the validity and the importance of the principle of Executive privilege." The court, agreeing that "deference" should be accorded the "President's need for candor and objectivity from advisers," stated that the Chief Executive must be assured of confidentiality when discussing policy alternatives. Thus "the privilege is fundamental to the operation of government and inextricably rooted in the separation of powers under the Constitution." Stripped to its essentials, the court's decision placed one important restriction on Executive privilege: a generalized claim of confidentiality cannot be invoked to withhold criminal evidence. "It addressed particular circumstances in a particular and unique case," says Yale Law Professor Alexander Bickel. "Questions such as when Executive privilege exists and how much it should be enforced are still unanswered."

This, in the view of many lawyers, has a built-in potential for danger. Chief Justice Burger's opinion not only validates Executive privilege, it lays down general conditions where it should be observed—when "military, diplomatic, or sensitive national security secrets" are at stake. Thus it leaves a crucial question: Has the court now given sanction for future Presidents to use a claim of national security to withhold almost any other kind of information?

"The court has done something that may be mischievous," says Harvard Law Fellow Raoul Berger, author of *Impeachment: the Constitutional Problems.* Berger fears that Executive privilege "could be extended to the whole Executive Branch or used to deny information to a Congress." Indeed, the court seemed to imply that if Nixon could have credibly made a national security argument for not releasing the tapes, the decision might have gone the other way.

On balance, however, other scholars hold that the effect of the Supreme Court's action is likely to place limits on the power of the presidency. The significance of the court's opinion, says Columbia University Law Professor Abraham Sofaer, lies in its assertion that "Executive privilege does not mean Executive whim. The President does not have absolute discretion and is subject to the rules of law." Though the court gave theoretical sanction to Executive privilege, it also created a precedent for overriding the President's authority to invoke it. That precedent may yet turn out to be a crucial one in Nixon's



LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR REINECKE

TRIALS

Four Words

At the Senate confirmation hearings for Attorney General Richard Kleindienst on April 19, 1972, California's Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke was asked if it was correct that he had had "no conversation" with anyone in the Justice Department about the fact that "the ITT people had promised to do certain things in San Diego" before the settlement of a federal antitrust suit against ITT. Replied Reinecke: "That is quite true." For those four words, Reinecke, 50, was convicted of perjury last week by a federal jury in Washington, D.C.

Reinecke admitted to the Senators that he and then Attorney General John Mitchell had discussed ITT's pledge of up to $400,000 to support the 1972 Republican Convention then scheduled for San Diego. But, he said, this discussion took place only after the antitrust suit was settled in July 1971. In the course of his two-week perjury trial, Reinecke was forced to admit that he had mentioned the ITT offer to Mitchell a full two months before the settlement.

Reinecke's lawyer, James E. Cox, acknowledged that his client was "a big dummy" who may have made a "mistake" under oath. Assistant Special Prosecutor Richard J. Davis used a harsher term. Said he: "Reinecke deliberately lied for one reason—to protect the still very powerful John Mitchell, a man who could help him become Governor." Reinecke, who will appeal the verdict, faces a maximum term of five years and a fine of $2,000.

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Death of the Tiger

His wiry frame tensed for combat, his glance imperiously stern, his mustache visibly bristling, his arms formidably laden with books, the lean, dapper man strode briskly to his Senate seat. "Mr. President," his utterly confident baritone voice rang out, and then for two hours, three, four, and once for a marathon 22 hours and 26 minutes, Wayne Morse lectured, harangued, infuriated and often educated his fellow Senators. Sometimes they fled the lesson, and Morse addressed an empty floor and gallery. But it scarcely fazed him. For he was sure that he was speaking for the ages and not just for the benefit of his all-too-fallible colleagues.

"The Tiger," he was called, and it is true that only death could tame him. When he died at 73 last week in Oregon, he was in the middle of a comeback try for the Senate, where he had served for 24 tumultuous, useful years. Morse's battles had been a tonic to him; the harsher the better. Mostly he raged at conservatives, who, as he saw it, threatened civil liberties, or at special interests that wanted to encroach on the public domain. But he also feuded with friends. Some of his meanest gibes were directed at people who thought that they were close to him. After breaking with Richard Neuberger, whom he had helped win a Senate seat in Oregon, Morse simply would not let up the attack. When Neuberger returned to the Senate after a bout with cancer, Morse blithely remarked that the disease was obviously responsible for his erstwhile friend's lack of judgment. Neuberger once observed of Morse: "It's a tragedy, in view of his brilliance, to see him so unstable, obstreperous and irascible."

In Morse's defense, it can only be said that his invective was impartial and bipartisan. He accused Harry Truman of putting on "one of the cheapest exhibitions of ham acting I have ever seen." He said that Lyndon Johnson was "drunk with power." The corpulent G.O.P. Senator Homer Capehart was a "tub of rancid ignorance."

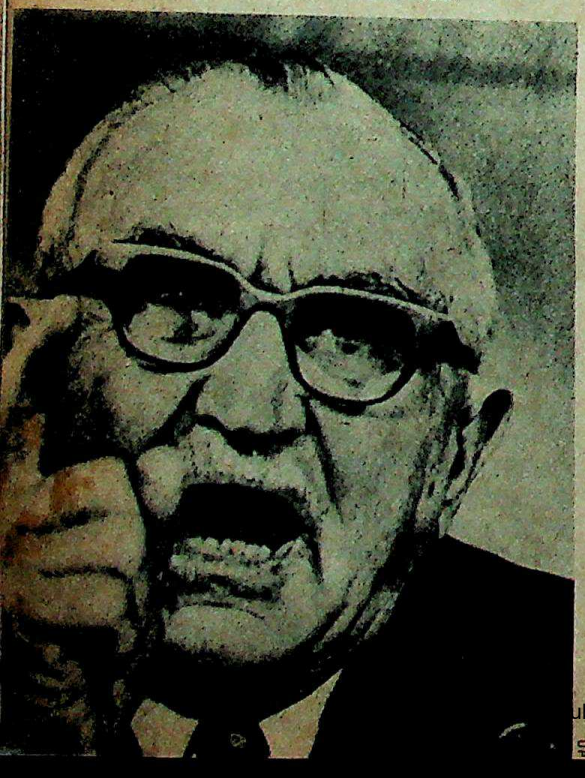
Morse could get away with being the perpetually angry man because he was always clean. He was nobody's man; he pursued a career that other politicians can only fantasize. He would not make a deal, he would not trade votes, he would not join a cabal. He switched from a Republican to a Democrat, but he was at home in neither party. While his colleagues rebuked him for being a gadfly, he taunted them for being "phony liberals." "A true liberal can't limit himself to a few areas," he declared. "He must be on guard everywhere, ready to pounce on evil wherever it raises its ugly head."

Morse was one of the most ornery of the "sons of the wild jackasses," the progressive Republicans out of the Midwest who waged epic battles with the banks and trusts. Born on a Wisconsin farm, Morse learned his politics from Senator Robert La Follette, the fiercely independent Republican who championed the small farmer and workingman. A prodigious talker, La Follette also inspired Morse with his lifelong love of oratory—the longer the better.

Labor Mediator. After earning a law degree from the University of Minnesota, Morse took a teaching job at the University of Oregon law school. At 30 he became dean and plunged into controversy. But he also demonstrated that he could end fights as well as start them. He often mediated labor conflicts on the West Coast. Appointed the Pacific Coast arbitrator of maritime disputes in 1938, he became the tough man on the docks, forcing even the doughty longshoremen to back down. In 1941, President Roosevelt asked him to chair an emergency board set up to arbitrate a threatened national railway strike. After being locked in negotiations for 36 hours with Tiger Morse, both sides gave in.

Appointed to the National War Labor Board, Morse broke with the Administration when the striking mine workers were granted a larger wage boost than other workers had been granted. After an angry blast, Morse resigned. Then he ran for the Senate in Oregon as a Republican. Franklin Roosevelt sent him a message urging him to give the President "hell" if he wanted to. With relish, Morse did as he was instructed, and won. F.D.R. later reminded him: "Well, it worked, didn't it?"

In his first six months in the Senate, Morse made more speeches than all the other freshmen combined. He started to take stands without regard to party position or leadership



MORSE ASSAILING VIET NAM WAR



WORLD WIDE PHOTOS

WITH CHAMPION SADDLE HORSE
Perpetually angry man.

erence. He backed President Tru when he vetoed the Taft-Hartley when he seized the nation's steel in an effort to forestall a strike when he fired General Douglas M Arthur. Though Morse fervently s ported Dwight Eisenhower for G.O.P. presidential nomination 1952, he became disillusioned by cautious civil rights stand and by choice of Richard Nixon as a run mate. Switching to the Democratic didate, Adlai Stevenson, Morse b the Republican Party.

When he returned to the Sena ter the election, he carried a fol chair. Where, he mischievously as should he sit? He was finally placed the Republican side of the aisle, b was stripped of his important comm assignments and relegated to the trict of Columbia Committee. Resig this "garbage-can disposal," as he ca it, he became one of the Senate's f formidable fighters for home rule desegregation in the District. Relis his independence, he delivered his ord filibuster against a bill giving offshore oil lands to the coastal st Mindful that his hero La Follette ha most been poisoned by some tainted nog he had sipped during a talkat Morse had an aide scrutinize the p aration of his tea, orange juice and h lon. Only poisoned words flowed memorable night in the Senate.

Re-elected in 1956 as a Demo Morse engaged in perhaps the mos ebrated duel of his career. When publican Clare Boothe Luce was n Ambassador to Brazil in 1959, M went to oratorical extremes to block confirmation. Rather inconsistently a civil libertarian, he phoned her tor to find out if she had ever been

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nfirmed, she struck back at her tor-
nator. The reason that he had been so
ivenomous, she explained, was that he
d once been "kicked in the head by a
rse." (Morse, in fact, had been hos-
alized for a blow in 1951, though he
s no more irascible after the event
n before.) Rising in anger on the Sen-
floor, he somehow managed to per-
ade his colleagues that the insult to
n was also an affront to the entire
dy. While some aggrieved Senators
ttered that they should not have vot-
for confirmation, Mrs. Luce resigned
r appointment.

Morse waged his last great battle
ainst the Viet Nam War. Only he and
aska Senator Ernest Gruening voted
against the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, which allowed President Johnson to intervene on a massive scale. Morse considered this his finest hour in the Senate. But if he took satisfaction in helping to drive Johnson from office, he could not save himself. In 1968 he was defeated for re-election by Republican Bob Packwood. Four years later he ran against Republican Senator Mark Hatfield and was soundly trounced.

Senate Primary. Spending more time on his 29-acre Oregon farm with his wife Midge, Morse finally seemed to have retired from political wars. He enjoyed periodic visits from his three daughters; he tended to his prizewinning saddle horses and cattle. But he could not be kept down on the farm. This spring he announced once again for the Senate. He won a rather mild primary and prepared to face Packwood in the general election. In the year of Watergate, when clean politicians are much in demand, he was given a chance of winning. But in the middle of campaigning, he developed a urinary infection. Blood poisoning followed and his kidneys began to fail. He slipped into a coma and never regained consciousness. Earlier he had rejected the use of a kidney dialysis machine to prolong his life. He had been beholden to no man in the course of his remarkable career, and he decided that he was not going to end his life in thrall to a machine.

E PRESIDENCY/HUGH SIDEY

A Summer Week in Washington

When it is all over, it may be one of
e most eloquent stories that democ-
y has written. Not Richard Nixon
d his squalid crew of fanatics, who cre-
ed the scandal. But the men, women,
tion and system that patiently, fairly
d inexorably unraveled the mess and
ved to set it right.

The main actors in this part of the
tergate drama form a remarkable
file of America. There is Frank Wills,
e black guard who found the tape on
e lock of a Watergate building door
d called the police. Reporters Bob
odward, an Ivy Leaguer, and Carl
nstein, a dropout from the University
Maryland, enlarged that slender
ead into the picture of corruption.
dge John Sirica, the Italian American
d old welterweight, applied common
se and created a new sense of jus-
e. Senator Sam Ervin, with a little
lp from St. Paul and Shakespeare, pro-
ded the best civics lesson in 50 years.
fessor Cox of Harvard, the blueblooded
liot Richardson and Bill Ruckelshaus,
oosier Republican, gave individual
or a fresh luster. Leon Jaworski, the
yer from Houston, showed principle
d courage. And then House Judiciary
airman Peter Rodino, out of the
gh precincts of Newark, looking
re like a Hollywood bit-player than
d, steered his committee through in-
stigation, hearing and vote with good
, restraint and dignity.

▪

They still argue in the Washington
ets that it was an accident. Time and
e again, we hung by a thread, and
y luck uncovered this monstrous as-
t upon the Constitution. Maybe so.
t it is interesting that all through our
tory those "threads" have held us to-
her. One suspects that if the Siricas
d Rodinos had not been there, others
e as clear-sighted and determined
d have been in their places.

Last week this remarkable odyssey of the American spirit reached a new height. Up on Capitol Hill, there was a town meeting of this nation, perhaps the first like it in our history. All three branches of our Government were at work. So were the people, looking, listening, talking and singing in the mellow summer nights with the great Capitol dome glowing above.

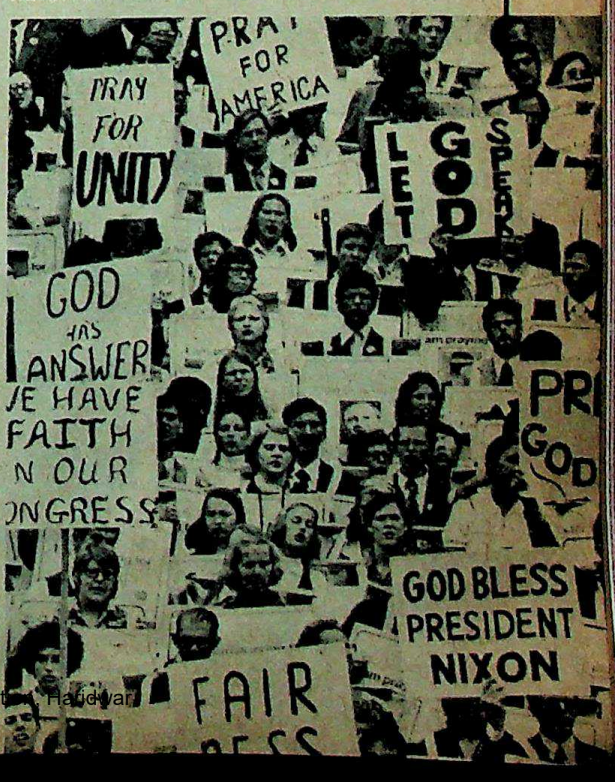
In the early light of Wednesday morning, Chief Justice Warren Burger climbed into his chauffeured Chevy, put up the small portable desk in the back seat, and as he rode over the Potomac River and up the Mall, looked over his notes on what he would say in a couple of hours. Sixty years ago, Burger was a boy in St. Paul whose special summer joy was eating ripe tomatoes off the vine in the family garden. On Wednesday, he read the court decision that put the most powerful man in the world back under law and the will of the people.

Just a block away, Rodino gaveled his Judiciary Committee into session to render their decisive verdict that Richard Nixon should be impeached. There were Southerners and Northerners, liberals and conservatives, black and white, male and female, and they came from California, Massachusetts and most places in between.

On the Capitol steps, 500 or so praying, fasting kids ended their three-day vigil for Nixon. They sang beautifully, strong voices lifting the strains of *America* and *The Battle Hymn of the Republic* out over Capitol Plaza. It reminded one of others in our history—like the Mormons—whose nourishment in times of stress came from song. White House Aide Bruce Herschensohn came round and read a message from the President, ensconced in his San Clemente mansion. A flack kept the publicity flowing. Thousands of dollars went into elaborate signs and banners. The leaders arrived in limousines. The Rev. Sun Myung Moon, founder of the committee, delivered his final exhortation in Korean, the kids, clutching their American flags, cheering in ecstasy.

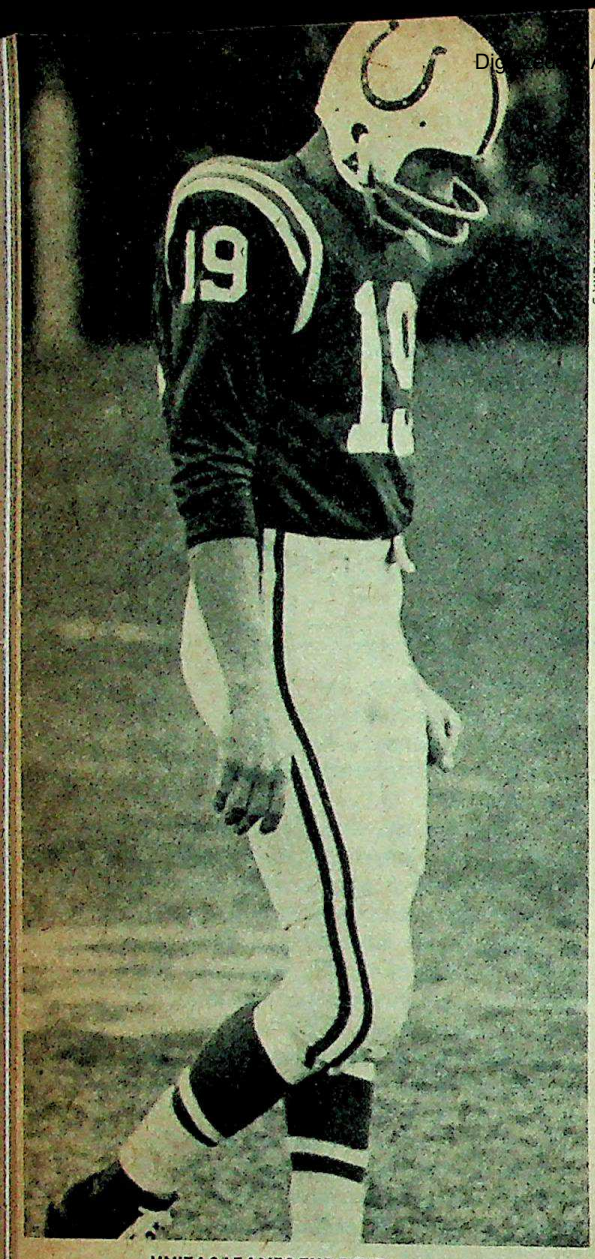
All during the week, tourists poured through this scene, stopping to lift their Instamatics for a snap or two, pointing out the famous and the infamous to their children. Teddy Kennedy paused at one point in front of the Capitol to survey the scene and was instantly set upon by well-wishers and the curious. He grinned, gave a few handshakes, and ducked into a convertible with his friend Senator John Tunney. As he was riding off and the fasters were starting another song and Rodino had his committee well into the impeachment debate and Justice Burger was still at work in his hilltop citadel, a couple of joggers from the Marine barracks slogged through in shorts, cropped hair and G.I. boots. They stopped, looked at each other, grinned, wiped their brows and ran on.

NIXON SUPPORTERS ON CAPITOL STEPS



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REGAN—CAMERA 5

UNITAS LEAVES THE FIELD

He is, by the record book, the greatest quarterback in pro football history. But last week **Johnny Unitas,** 41, turned in his shoulder pads. "I'm taking up time on the field that could be used for younger fellows," he said, resigning from the San Diego Chargers—who last year signed him to a two-year, $500,000 contract—and retiring from pro ball. Troubled by arthritis, Johnny spent much of the season on the bench. He looks back on his 18-year career with satisfaction. No one else has gained 40,239 yds. passing or made 290 touchdowns through the air. Three times Unitas was voted most valuable player in the N.F.L., and he led the Baltimore Colts to four N.F.L. titles. Now Unitas will concentrate on business ventures. But it won't be the same. "I'd like to play another 30 years," said Johnny U.

■

It was Kiss-a-Cop Week in Manhattan. New York City policemen know they are the finest, but it was nice to have it confirmed with a kiss from the British star of *My Fat Friend* **Lynn Redgrave.** "I used to be scared working in New York," she cooed to the patrolmen, "but this time I notice a huge difference." Two years ago, 60 actors, including **Hal Holbrook, Julie Harris** and **Joan Hackett** petitioned the city for better protection of the grubby Great White Way. It was claimed that actors could not step outside the greenroom without getting goosed or mugged. Today, says *A Little Night Music's* **Hermione Gingold,** "There are far less evil-looking people around." Two days later, an uptown precinct tried to persuade the visiting Moiseyev troupe of folk dancers that Central Park was safe. Not a bicycle thief was in sight when Patrolman Murray Trelford and eight of his colleagues challenged the 30 Russians to a Frisbee game on the Great Lawn. Then they all linked arms in a Russian folk dance. While a balalaika was strummed, **Igor Moiseyev** said, "Now we know the police are men with human qualities."



AP

■

"If you take care of your insides, the outside will take care of itself," is one of **Gloria Swanson's** favorite maxims. Looking fit, Gloria, 75, was in Manhattan after a brief but glamorous appearance in the film *Airport 1975* and was delighted to provide the details of the regimen that keeps her in shape. Sprouted grains for one thing. "They have plenty of chlorophyll that cleanses the b and makes the body smell pure. T is no odor to my sweat." After br fasting on dried and crumbled wh grain bread kneaded with carrot and topped with rice polish, lecithin gurt and a tiny ripe banana, G sometimes skips around the house a regular hausfrau, but I still need exercise." Gloria plans to buy a tr mill. To display what her way of has done for her in 50 years, G obligingly posed for a photograph exactly the same way she did in for a classic Steichen portrait and fered a final, somewhat enigmatic ty tip: "My life," she beamed, "is a a great surprise."



EDWARD STEICHEN

GLORIA SWANSON AT 25

■

What High School Senior R Lamkin, 17, did on her summer v tion comes down to a single big One morning last week, Randi and friend Carol Jenks were floating West Yarmouth, Mass., on a rubber Pretty soon a wind came up and the went bobbing out to sea. Randi's f David, her brother Chuck and Ch friend Stan Sacks went out to re them in a motorboat, but the waves so choppy that the boat was swa Then Senator **Ted Kennedy's** big sai hove into view. Said a still-incred Randi: "I kept saying to myself, sure, you're getting rescued by Ted nedy." A small motorboat arrived scene and ferried the five hapless ers to Kennedy's sloop *Curragh*, Ted, Sister-in-Law **Ethel Kennedy** several of his nephews and nieces ed them with hot soup and warm cl Said an impressed David La "Well, Mr. Kennedy, how often d rescue people from the ocean?" Re Ted, "Not very often." Later in th

Bhuksh Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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ELLEN GRAHAM

GRIA IN SAME POSE AT 75

ndi and Carol went to the Kennedy mpound to return the clothes, but Ted d Ethel had flown off to an **Andy Wil**ms concert. "I'll remember this for the st of my life. He's a good-looking an," said Randi.

■

"If you hadn't known who she was, u would have thought she was just me ordinary jerk," said one of **Car**ine **Kennedy's** fellow summer interns Senator Ted Kennedy's Senate office. ne cracks good jokes," continued Car**e's** new acquaintance, "and she's so spoiled, you can't believe it." Popu- with the other 15 teen-age interns, roline, 16, is working for only three eks, and she is not being paid the cus- mary $50 a week for her stint on the ill. Apart from clerical jobs in the of- e, she spends her time attending com- ittee meetings. Last week she was orted leaving the Judiciary Committee ate on impeachment. Caroline had comment, however, on the irony of hn F. Kennedy's daughter following eachment proceedings against Rich- M. Nixon, whom her father nar- ly defeated for the presidency in 0. All she had to say was, "I've got get back to the office."

■

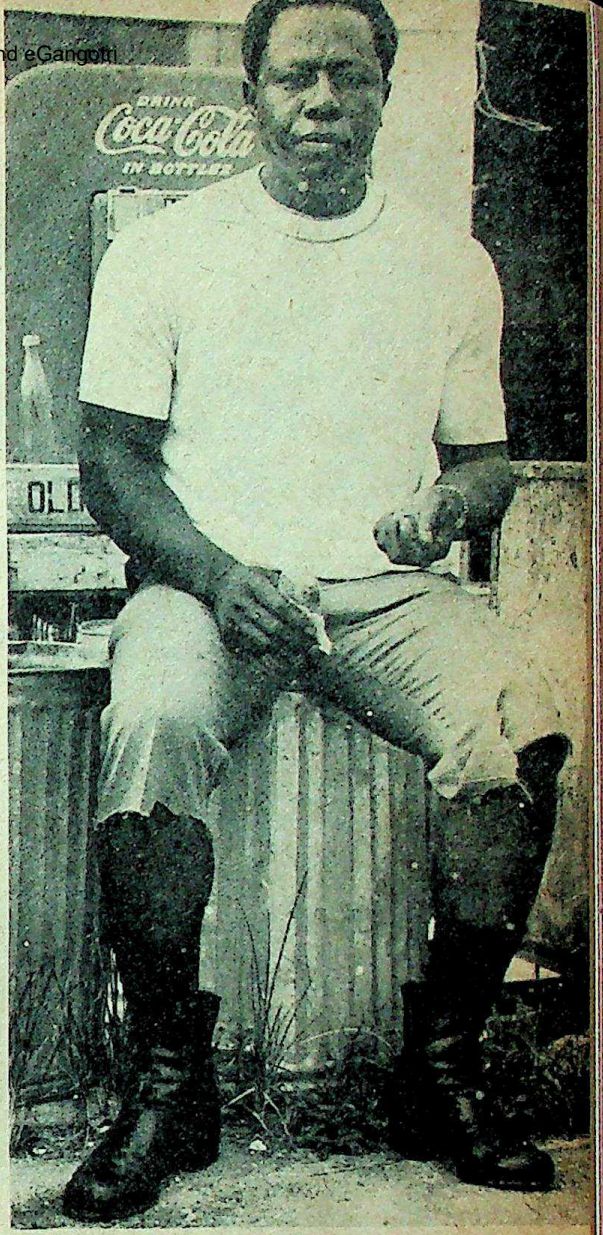
At long last NBC has ended its great t hunt to replace the late Frank Mc- ee on *Today* (TIME, July 15). After nt Runners Tom Brokaw and Gar- k Utley had made it clear that they uld not be caught feeding dog food a dalmatian before breakfast, the net- rk found a more easygoing newsman. m Hartz, 34, anchor man of the local s show in New York, has agreed to "I shall do commercials resigned- he said, and for a six-figure salary. ten-year NBC career frequently crossed McGee's, but their roles on *To-day* will be different. McGee insisted on being the sole host. "Frank had trouble working with a woman at first," explained Barbara Walters. Jim has no reservations about being Barbara's co-host, nor has he any plans yet for suggesting format changes. "I seldom get to see the show," he said somewhat sheepishly, "because I'm a late sleeper."

■

Babe Ruth's record-buster **Hank Aaron** stepped up to the plate at the All-Star game in Pittsburgh last week looking like thunder. The Atlanta Braves had fired Manager Ed Mathews, then announced that Hank would not get the job. "They should have asked me," said Hank. Then he underlined the fact that baseball has yet to have a black manager. "I'd probably say yes. Maybe that's what they are afraid of." The team also ruled out his brother Tommie, 34, manager of Atlanta's AA team in Savannah, now in a tight minor league pennant race. Braves General Manager Eddie Robinson said, "It would be unfair to take Tommie out of Savannah at this time." Hank again cried foul: Were the Braves more worried about the minors' pennant race than Atlanta's managerial situation? And as for Tommie, "I'm sure he doesn't want to stay in the minor leagues for the rest of his life and rot away," said Hank.

■

"How many glasses of milk do you drink per day?" asked a giggling teenybopper of the star. "Seven," ad-libbed Swimming Champ **Mark Spitz,** 24. Then he drank a small carton of milk—the way that **Dean Martin** used to toss off something harder—and launched into his stage debut at the Magic Mountain amusement park in Valencia, Calif. Backed by a fresh-faced chorus called the Mark Curb Congregation, Mark soft-shoe-shuffled and crooned through a couple of olden goldies, *The Sidewalks of New York* and *A Bicycle Built for Two.* Then he introduced his guests, National Hula Hoop Champion **Lori Lynn Raye,** 15, and Sugar-Rocker **Craig Johnson,** 15. Modest Mark admitted some identification problems in his new career. "I'm not Tom Jones and I'm not a cow," he allowed. Perhaps thinking nostalgically of the days when all it took to gain a cheer was winning another gold medal, he added, "This is a lot harder work than swimming."



REGAN—CAMERA 5

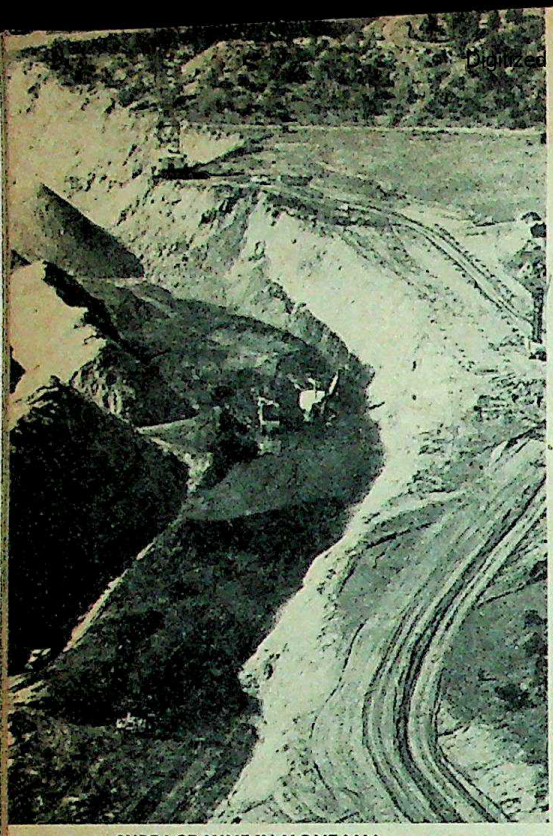
HANK AARON BEFORE THE BLOW-UP



BORSELL—CAMERA 5

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EPA-DOCUMERICA—BOYD NORTON

SURFACE MINE IN MONTANA

Defeat for the Strippers

For the U.S., coal will be one of the saving alternatives to oil as an energy source, and the easiest way to meet the nation's rising coal needs is to strip-mine. But strip mining—ripping off a top layer of earth to get at the coal underground—has done so much damage in the past that it is a prime target for environmentalists.

Half of U.S. coal output already comes from surface mines, and energy companies have taken leases on large chunks of the huge unexploited coal reserves of the West, where low-sulfur coal lies close to the surface. But with 1,000 chewed-up acres being added each week to the existing 2.5 million acres of strip-mined land, Congress is finally acting to make sure that coal producers do not create another ravaged Appalachia.

After more than two years of wrangling and delay, the House of Representatives last week passed a compromise bill that would set up a new agency to regulate strip mining. Backed by Russell Train, Environmental Protection Agency chief, but opposed by the Interior Department, the Federal Energy Administration and the coal industry, the bill passed by a top-heavy pro-environment vote of 291 to 81. It now goes to a House-Senate conference for meshing with an even tougher Senate bill, which was passed last October.

The House measure sets new federal standards for the "regrading and revegetating" of stripped land, and also for the preservation of water tables (removal of the coal can divert underground streams and deprive neighboring farmers and ranchers of precious water). The bill also provides funding for restoration of previously mined land. Pennsylvania, where strip mining has been thriving under strict state law, will be little affected. Similarly, in the well-watered Midwest, where new vegetation can take hold on restored land, stripping presents few reclamation problems.

The bill's main impact will be on low-rainfall Western states like Montana, the Dakotas, New Mexico and Wyoming, which have 25 billion tons of coal reserves. There, reclamation is difficult and sometimes impossible. Complicating the problem is the new demand for Western coal, whose low-sulfur content makes it highly attractive to industries that must otherwise invest in expensive antipollution equipment during the next few years to conform with the federal Clean Air Act.

Some coal producers are still hoping that President Nixon will veto the strip-mining bill. Their lobbyists insist that any regulation at all would "discriminate against energy values." National Coal Association President Carl Bagge calls the House bill a disaster, claiming that it virtually "prohibits" mining in many Western areas. Industry spokesmen argue that the committee bill could reduce coal production by as much as one-third. Not so, counter the environmentalists: underground mining of Western coal is feasible and could be profitable.

The Bufo Plague

Pub patrons in Australia's Queensland have long been accustomed to pass the time by tossing burning cigarette butts out the window, or Ping Pong balls, or whatever other small objects come to hand. Outside, likely as not, sits an all-purpose mini garbage-disposal unit called *Bufo marinus,* and the beer quaffers amuse themselves by watching this undiscriminating toad gobble up almost anything coming its way.

The Bufo, a South American native, was drafted into Queensland service by way of Hawaii in 1935 to help get rid of the cane beetle that was threatening the sugar fields. The Aussies got more than they hoped for. Supplementing its diet with varied and copious helpings of other insects and frogs, the cane toad may live for 40 years, grow to be eight inches long and three pounds in weight, produce up to 40,000 eggs a year, kill cats and dogs with a glandular poison it secretes, and upset the natural balance of some areas.

The toads have hitherto been confined to Queensland, in northeastern Australia, because dry areas adjoining the state hamper them from moving out to neighboring territory. But last month they turned up in two other places in Australia and promptly set off an all out toad hunt. Where Kangaroo Collection, Haridwar

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ritory, it was immediately clear that
all Australians regard the amphibi
gourmands with the equanimity
Queenslanders, who have grown use
skidding in their cars along
covered roads. The cane toad, said
member of the Northern Territory L
islative Council, is "loathsome and
pulsive," and the council rushed thro
a bill anathematizing it as "an out
. . . a pest to be destroyed on sight."

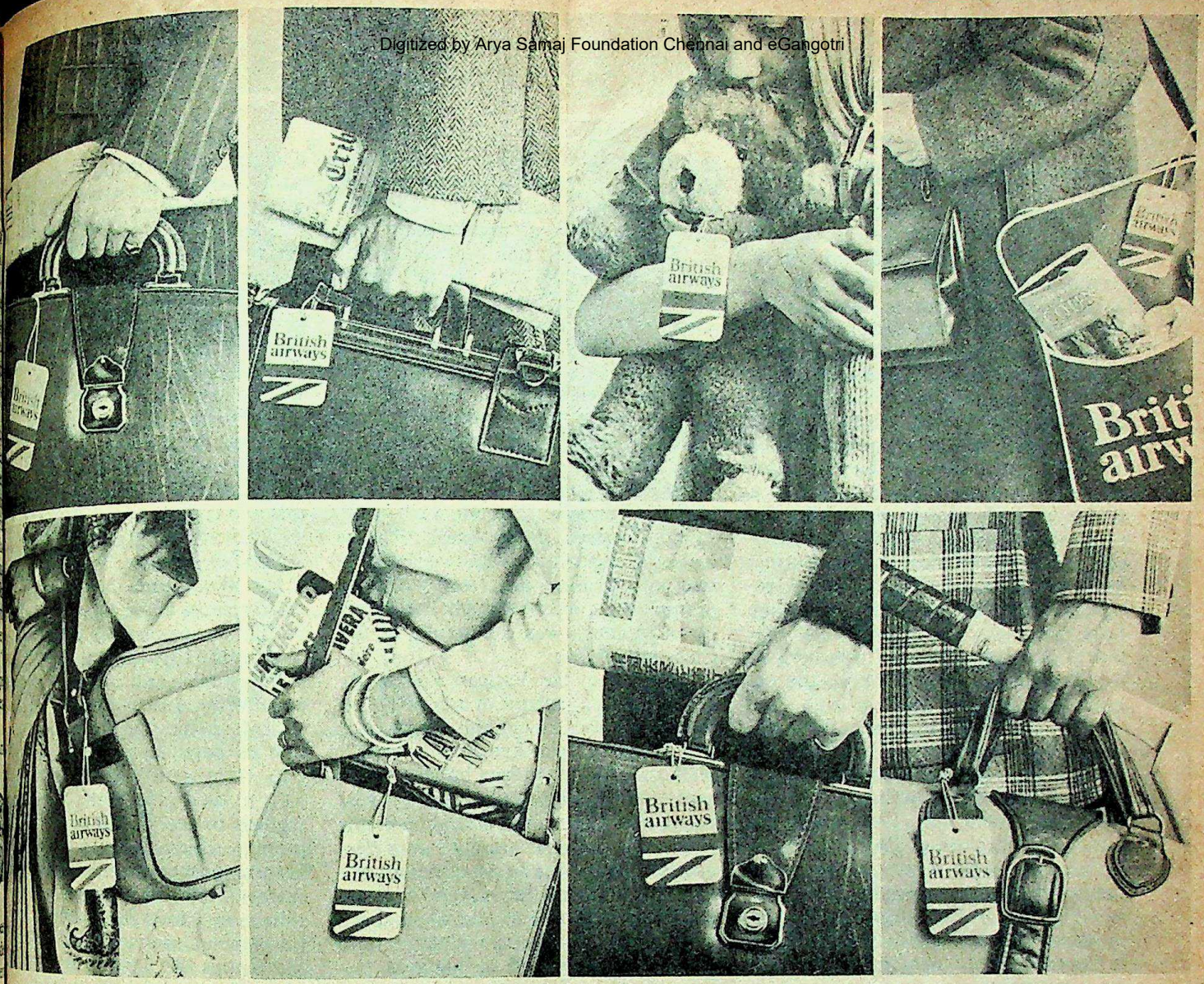
Support came quickly from more
entific but equally alarmed sour
"*Bufo marinus* is a vacuum clea
There could be an evolution explos
in the wet season," said Herpetolo
Michael Tyler. "It could get into bi
bongs [river pools] and replace the
tive species." Worse still, added J
Lake, director of the Northern Te
tory's Department of Forestry, Fish
ies, Wild Life and National Parks,
would threaten our smaller native s
cies—and that's equivalent to threat
ing the koala and the platypus."

To head off such a national cala
ity, the Wild Life Depart-
ment came up with a
bounty of $30 per Bufo,
and the Darwin Conser-
vation Society put up an-
other $7.50. When angry
cattle farmers, fearing
that the toads would eat the dung b
tles that eat disease-spreading flies,
manded that the education departm
pay a $1,500 reward for each toad.
federal government in Canberra ou
tered that such an absurdly high bo
ty might lead to the clandestine imp
of more toads from Queensland. An
ipating that, the Northern Terri
promised to fine all Bufo bootleggers.

Meanwhile, across the continen
Perth, the capital of Western Austra
buzzes of anguish rose from local ap
ists (*Bufo marinus,* of course, also
ishes bees), when several specimens
away from another consignment fr
Queensland. These Bufos, howe
were quickly isolated near Perth A
port, and it remains only for authori
to check adjacent drainage every
days for the next three years to m
sure that the toads or their progeny
no further.

Back in Darwin, things were not
ing so well. WANTED: DEAD OR AL
announced posters distributed throu
out the tropical city. As time passes,
authorities are becoming bolder, or m
desperate. Says Lake: "I'll try anythi
With five specimens of *Bufo mari*
still at large in the Northern Terri
the toad posses are counting on B
well-known amorous proclivities to
him in. A local radio station will broa
cast a recording of the male *Bufo*
nus' bass mating call in a last d
age-ditch attempt to lure lovesick

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Labyrinth of Kitsch

For centuries it was a habit of Popes to collect modern religious art. Up to the papacy of Urban VIII, who gave Bernini carte blanche to transform the face of Rome, the Vatican had a use for the best art of its time: magnificence as propaganda. The results, strung through exhausting miles of galleries and culminating in Raphael's *stanze* and Michelangelo's Sistine frescoes, fill the Vatican Museum. But this lofty tradition of patronage ebbed away, and by 1900 most official religious art was stranded in a sludge of gaudy plaster piety. With the exception of the gloomy Georges Rouault, not one significant modern artist has built his imagery round doctrinal religion and its themes. There were some fitful bouts of church patronage: Matisse's chapel at Vence, Corbusier's at Ronchamp. But on the whole, the old symbiosis was dead.

Pious Triviality. Could it be revived? The present Pope, Paul VI, hoped so. "The friendship between church and artists must be re-established," he declared ten years ago. Thus began the Vatican's collection of 20th century religious art, which is now receiving its first summer of tourists after some private viewings in 1973. About 542 works by more than 250 artists are displayed in the redecorated windings of the Borgia Apartments.

Three things can be said at once about this collection. First, it represents a decent and sincere intention. Second, it contains a smattering of respectable works of art: a set of Matisse chasubles from Vence, a cast of Rodin's *Hand of God*, some Rouault aquatints and so forth. Third, with such few exceptions, it is an aesthetic swamp. If some mischievous curator had been asked to assemble a study collection of rhetorical sham, displaying all the clichés of modern art at their meridian of pious triviality, he could hardly have done better.

The collection has no evident criteria of choice, for the Vatican, faced with the awkward but basic question of what a "religious" work of art may be, has been unable to find an answer. Instead, it has accepted anything that seems, however dimly or perfunctorily, to contain a religious motif—even decorous little landscapes whose views include a belfry or a church façade. Among the many big names represented by trivia (Braque, Chagall, Dali, Boccioni, Gauguin, Sutherland), Picasso makes an appearance with two very routine pottery plates decorated with fish; presumably someone thought the old satyr of Vallauris was ruminating on the Christian ichthus.

Moreover, the Vatican apparently believes that a portrait of a Pope is *ipso facto* a religious image; this illusion has stuffed the Borgia Apartments with a plethora of weak, vulgar bronzes of recent pontiffs. The only distinguished image of a Pope in the collection is one of Francis Bacon's variations on Velásquez's *Innocent X*. The gift of Italian Automobile Tycoon Gianni Agnelli, it sits, mouth open in a feral and silent snarl, glaring at the sacramental kitsch around it. But that it should be hung as "religious" art is unconscious black humor.

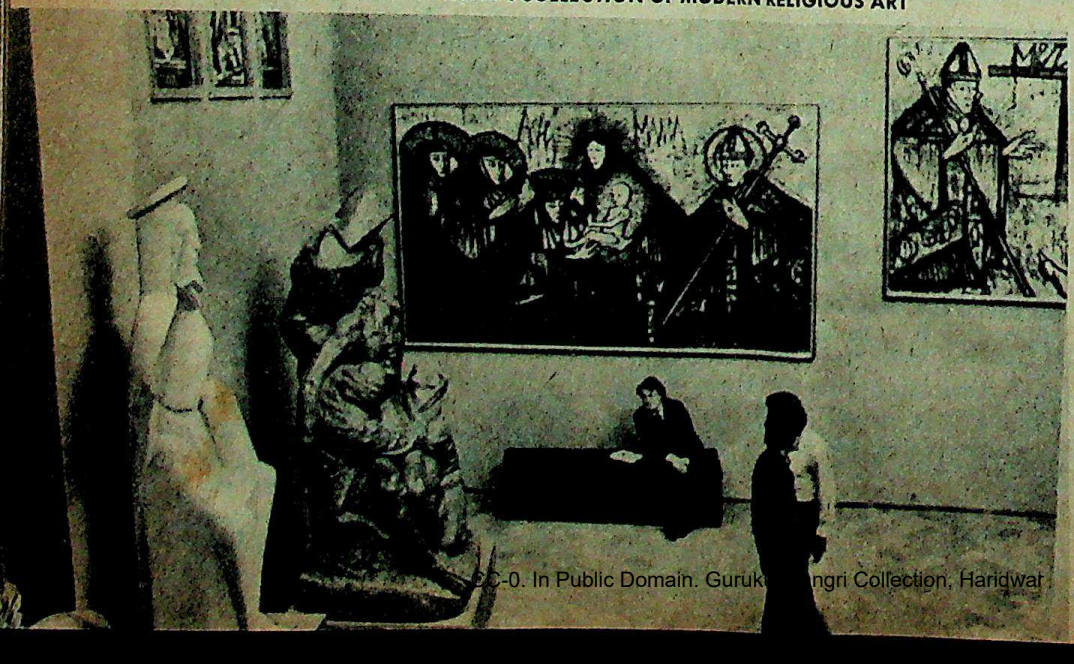
Except for the Rodin, a Matisse crucifix and some early bas-reliefs by Lucio Fontana, there is hardly a sculpture worth preserving in the whole collection. Yet the 20th century has been one of the great periods in Western sculpture, a circumstance that indicates the problems with which the papal collection must contend. Nearly all the major sculpture of our age has been secular in content; its spirituality, though ab-dant, cannot be explained either terms of Christian dogma or trad religious iconography. One may re this or not, but the fact is that to se a museum of modern religious art in hope of stocking it with works that both aesthetically rich and doctri recognizable is a doomed enterp One might as well build a zoo on a sil bed and wait for a live stegosa to waddle into it, resurrected by good tentions. So the only alternative play down the "religious" side, sub tute "spiritual" where possible (tho that too is close to a waffle), and g works of art which are dense with me ing and experience. There are still a few about, and they are among masterpieces of the 20th century.

But one cannot be a patron while tending the cap—or in this case the —for crumbs, and such is the Vatic posture. Its declared policy is to sp as little money on the modern col tion as possible, depending mostly gifts from artists and philanthrop This in turn reflects the Pope's unw ingness to seem extravagant in Its present economic crisis. The effect been to promote mediocrity, especi since the Pope's chief advisers on collection (Monsignor Pasquale Ma his personal secretary, and Bishop P Marcinkus of Chicago) appear to no special expertise in modern art.

Uninspired Choices. The only-fledged outside organization for ge art into the Vatican is at present Committee of Religion and Ar America, a tax-exempt body base the U.S., whose vice president is an dealer named Lawrence Fleischman far, the committee's choices, all religi in theme, have been uninspired: works of Ben Shahn, Leonard Bas Abraham Rattner, Philip Evergood Jack Levine—all of whom, by the sa est possible coincidence, are handle Fleischman in his other role as dire of New York's Kennedy Galleries. the U.S. is represented in Vatican by a lightweight and clumsily anec group of works that indicate nothi the real power of the past 30 yea American art. Fleischman, who see Vatican collection as a great opportu for the promotion of U.S. painting, thusiastically predicts that "15 out 65 galleries in the Vatican are goi be full of American work." At that el of quality, it is a dank prospect.

Unless the Vatican collection modern religious art gets better d finds a coherent policy and either ob cessions most of its contents or de estrates them into the Tiber, it will ably remain more of a curiosity th museum: an embarrassing documen religion's inability in recent years

SCULPTURES & PAINTINGS IN VATICAN'S COLLECTION OF MODERN RELIGIOUS ART



ALDO DUR

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AP

WOMEN'S WEAR DAILY

OF'S WINTER FUR, CARDIN'S BATLIKE DRESS AND DOUGHBOY ENSEMBLE

he Loose Look

While much of the world sweltered rough high summer, the couturiers of ers last week were busy unveiling their signs for the coming fall and winter. all signs, the dress—in the billowing ape of the chemise—will be making rveless comeback this year on the nes of the fashion-conscious. The se Look is about to sweep in, com- e with low hems, long sleeves and yielding, body-skimming fabrics; models swirling down the runways Paris salons had the air of well- ssed and well-heeled extras in a 30s movie.

The galactic attraction of the pre- ws was Yves St. Laurent, perennial -prince of *haute couture*. Midst gyp- violinists and the Second Empire or of his new couture house, St. Lau- t presented a collection that left lit- doubt 1974 could turn into the year the dress. Unlike the sad "sack" of e '60s, St. Laurent's Naive Chemise ures more elegant tailoring, arm- gth sleeves with tightly buttoned s, high necklines and low, mid-calf ths. "For me, the chemise is an ex- ssion of freedom," said Libertarian es. "I wanted to make the fabric float t and just caress the body in a sen- l way." The pathfinder who helped d women to long pants some six years o offered some manly trouser suits for ening wear, but it was clear that in rts at least, pants were approaching e passé. Reported *Women's Wear ily*: "Yves St. Laurent's Naive Che- e is the only real fashion message m of this season."

The loose chemise dominated al- most all the Paris presentations. Given- chy brought forth a somewhat slimmer and more refined version with hems stopping just two inches below the knees. Dior's Marc Bohan played a variation on the theme, dubbed the Big Droop, while Cardin swooped in with an off- beat bat-winged dress featuring sleeves starting at the hem. Even Courrèges, daddy of the mini, decorously draped the knee in this year's designs, threat- ening to leave mankind with nothing but fond memories of leg-watching.

Floppy hats, furs and knee-high boots (for both dresses and knickers) were frequent accessories. To drape over the dresses, designers introduced large, loose, shapeless coats and capes rang- ing from cardigan-small to something approaching a wraparound bedspread. For the woman of arty ways and means, Dior's delineators were at the ready with a painter's smock.

Buyers from a score of countries were on hand in Paris to look over the fashion parade, and their reaction was a mix of ecstasy and caution. "It was the best couture season in ten years," said Ohrbach's Sydney Gittler. "The chemise will sweep America." Some, however, took a less upbeat approach. Gloomed Spoilsport Clovis Ruffin of Ruffinwear: "The new Parisian chemise looks very old to me." Impoverished once by the midi superflop of 1970, other Yankee buyers announced plans to hike hem- lines to more profitable altitudes or to use slinkier, clinging fabrics for the U.S. market. "People don't care about what Paris says," commented a liberated pro from one Chicago boutique. "It takes a while for things to filter down. Maybe by next fall it will make a difference—pants are what's selling now."

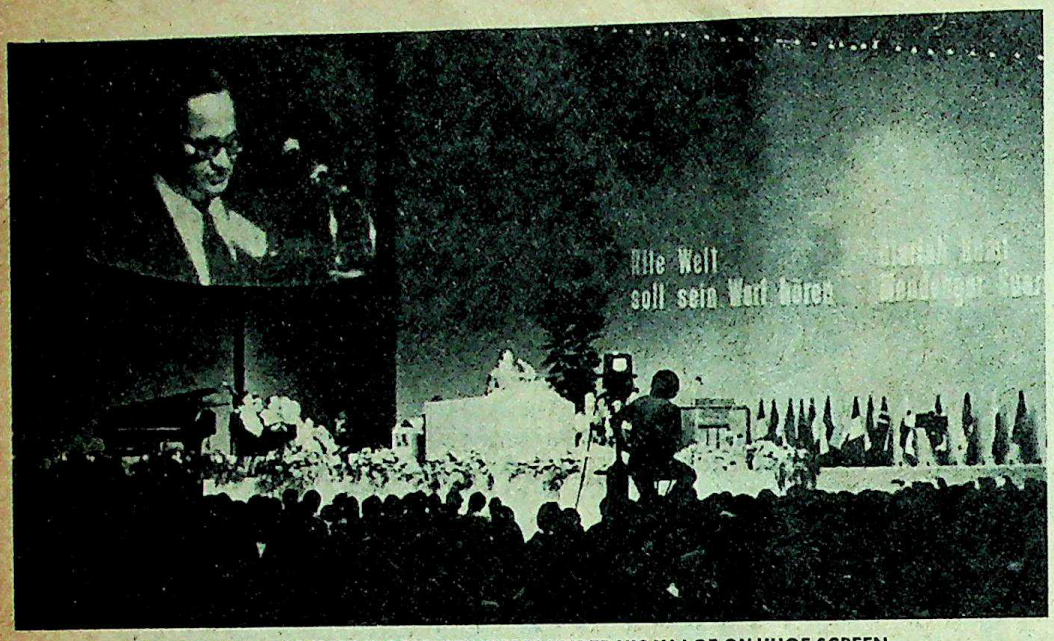
SMOCK COAT AND NAIVE CHEMISE FROM YVES ST. LAURENT

COLACICCO-SIPA



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RENE PADILLA ADDRESSES WORLD CONGRESS UNDER HIS IMAGE ON HUGE SCREEN

A Challenge from Evangelicals

"Go forth to every part of the world, and proclaim the Good News to the whole creation. Those who believe it and receive baptism will find salvation; those who do not believe it will be condemned."

—Jesus to the Apostles, as reported in *Mark 16: 15-16*

Millions of Christians still take that commission of Christ literally, still believe that one of their foremost tasks is to preach the Gospel to the unbaptized. Last week, in the lakeshore resort of Lausanne, Switzerland, that belief found a formidable forum, possibly the widest-ranging meeting of Christians ever held. Brought together largely through the efforts of the Rev. Billy Graham, some 2,400 Protestant Evangelical leaders from 150 countries ended a ten-day International Congress on World Evangelization that served notice of the vigor of conservative, resolutely biblical, fervently mission-minded Christianity.

The congress also constituted a considerable challenge to the prevailing philosophy in the World Council of Churches, headquartered some 30 miles down Lake Leman in Geneva. Some of the World Council's advocates of ecumenism increasingly have questioned whether Christians even have the right —let alone the duty—to disturb the honest faith of a Buddhist, a Hindu or a Jew. For many in the World Council, the Christian's mission has become more of a campaign to achieve a sort of secular salvation, a human liberation in the political and social sense. To oppose that trend, the Evangelicals at Lausanne laid the groundwork for a post-congress "fellowship" that could eventually develop into a rival international body.

At the same time, the Lausanne leaders seem to have had their consciences prodded by the World Council's concern for secular betterment. In the five hours after the meeting closed, 1,900 people (including some wives and observers) signed a 3,000-word document that had been drafted by a committee headed by Anglican Rector John Stott, 53, the leading figure among British Evangelicals. Called the Lausanne Covenant, it sternly reaffirmed traditional Protestant beliefs while also emphasizing secular action. Items:

ON SOCIAL CONCERN: "We express penitence both for our neglect and for having sometimes regarded evangelism and social concern as mutually exclusive ... Although reconciliation with man is not reconciliation with God, nor is social action evangelism, nor is political liberation salvation, nevertheless we affirm that evangelism and sociopolitical involvement are both part of our Christian duty."

ON THE BIBLE: "We affirm the divine inspiration, truthfulness and authority of both Old and New Testament Scriptures in their entirety as the written word of God, without error all that it affirms, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice."

ON SALVATION: "We recognize all men have some knowledge of through His general revelation ture, but we deny that this can Jesus Christ ... is the only mediator tween God and Man ... Those who ject Christ repudiate the joy of tion and condemn themselves to separation from God."

ON THE SECOND COMING: "We lieve that Jesus Christ will return sonally and visibly, in power and to consummate his salvation and judgment ... We reject as a proud confident dream the notion that can ever build a utopia on earth."

A note of self-criticism was heard at the congress, beginning Billy Graham's keynote address. sometime White House preacher told audience that it was a big mistake identify the Gospel with any po program or culture. I confess to that this has been one of my own gers in my ministry. When I go to pr the Gospel, I go as an ambassador the kingdom of God—not America."

Some of the Third World Evangelicals at the congress—who made a vocal half of the participants—had other critical views of some past Evangelical efforts. In one of the meeting most provocative speeches, Rene Padilla, an Ecuadorian Baptist who works in Argentina, assailed the sort of Christianity that the U.S. has often ported. "A Gospel that leaves unlouched our life in the world ... is not the Christian Gospel but culture Christianity adjusted to the mood of the day," Padilla warned. "This kind of Gospel has no teeth. It demands nothing." Accordingly, Padilla cautioned Evangelicals to resist the temptation of trying to get the maximum number of converts. Though conversions are wanted, "faithfulness to the Gospel should never be sacrificed for the sake of quantity." The final text of the Lausanne Covenant similarly confessed that

BILLY GRAHAM EXHORTS CONGRESS AUDIENCE IN LAUSANNE'S PALAIS DE BEAULIEU



YVES DEBRAINE

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...ave "become unduly preoccupied with ...tistics."

Statistics were nevertheless paraded. There was pleased talk about the successes of evangelism in Brazil, for instance, where the number of Protestants (6 million in 1970) continues to grow at three times the rate of population increase. There are now 91 million Christians in Africa south of the Sahara —about 30% of the population—and projections indicate that the percentage may reach 50% by the year 2000. In one area of Java, there are now 53 Christian congregations where none at all existed just seven years ago.

Though enthusiasm is hardly as epidemic as it was in the heyday of Protestant overseas missions in the 19th and early 20th centuries, there are probably more Protestant missionaries in the field today than ever before—more than 35,000 from North America, perhaps another 20,000 from other parts of the world. At the Lausanne conference the Rev. David Howard, missions director of U.S. Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship, reported that the number of American students interested in foreign missions is unprecedented. Since last December, 1,000 student members of Inter-Varsity alone have signed pledge cards for overseas service, and 4,000 others said they would answer a call.

The congress, however, heard Third World arguments for curbing the influence of American and European missionaries in developing countries. The Covenant noted that "a reduction of foreign missionaries and money in an evangelized country may sometimes be necessary to facilitate the national church's growth in self-reliance." Meanwhile, Third World churches, in areas that are still mission territory, now have 200 mission boards of their own and are sending 3,400 missionaries to other lands —mostly to neighboring countries.

Deep Gulf. The energy manifested at Lausanne may have given pause to the neighboring World Council of Churches. According to Billy Graham, that was one of the intents. "There was tremendous vision at the [World Council's] founding in 1948," Graham told TIME Correspondent Richard Ostling at the congress. "But the council gradually moved further and further from orthodox ties. The gulf between it and the Evangelicals has deepened. I hope this congress will get the World Council to re-evaluate its theological position."

A strong post-congress "fellowship" could spur such a re-evaluation. For now, the participants provided simply for a 30-member "Continuation Committee" to carry on the congress's work. Yet similar modest efforts began the ecumenical movement that culminated in the World Council.

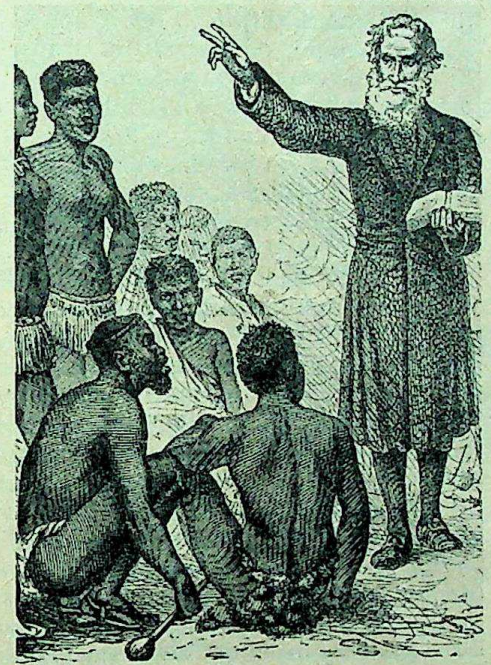
So far, Billy Graham and his key colleagues reject any suggestion that the Continuation Committee might build up an Evangelical organization to rival the

Evangelicals who came to Lausanne belong to churches that are members of the World Council. Still, Graham warned that if the Geneva liberals did not "carefully and prayerfully" heed the message of Lausanne, a rival group is a "possibility in the distant future."

Old Curmudgeon and New Christian Malcolm Muggeridge (*see* BOOKS), one of the speakers at the congress, was more direct. Muggeridge, a nondenominational believer who thinks that many Christians have sacrificed the spiritual message of the Gospel in pursuit of temporal liberation, spoke feelingly about the inevitable disappointments that follow upon "fantasies of power." As for setting up a rival organization, he told TIME bluntly, "Anything that does damage to the World Council of Churches is a step in the right direction."

In any event, the World Council is

CULVER PICTURES



19TH CENTURY MISSIONARY IN AFRICA
Basic issues make for basic clashes.

hardly done with the question: evangelism will be a major topic of its big, once-every-seven-years assembly, scheduled to be held in Jakarta next summer. Evangelism is the single item on the agenda of a special World Methodist Council meeting in Jerusalem next fall, as well as for the triennial Synod of the world's Roman Catholic bishops convening in Rome in September.

The debate about the Christian vision joined at Lausanne, in short, has hardly begun. There may never be any real resolution. Observed one Lausanne participant, Theologian Kenneth Hamilton of the United Church of Canada: "[We and the World Council have] very different viewpoints, and I don't see how they can be reconciled. Basic issues make for basic clashes. Big protests are not fashionable now, but the whole *raison d'être* of the congress reflects that the World Council is not giving the leadership it should on the central issue of expressing our faith. If there is no Gospel there is no future for the church."

Divorced. Lee Bouvier Radziwill, 41, younger sister of Jacqueline Onassis, actress *manquée* and fledgling author; and Prince Stanislas Radziwill, 60, British-based Polish nobleman and real estate investor; after 15 years of marriage, two children; in London.

■

Died. Johanna Davis, 36, novelist and former TIME writer; after being hit by a taxi outside her Greenwich Village home; in Manhattan. Daughter of Hollywood's much-storied Screenwriter Herman Mankiewicz (*Citizen Kane*), "Josie" Davis joined TIME in 1959 as a secretary and later wrote for its Show Business and Modern Living sections. She resigned from TIME in 1972 to work on *Life Signs*, a wry, witty tale of the psychic perils facing a young Manhattan mother.

■

Died. Arthur Kittredge Watson, 55, former chief of IBM's international operations and ex-U.S. Ambassador to France; following a fall at his home; in Norwalk, Conn. Son of IBM Founder Thomas J. Watson Sr., Watson rose to become chairman of IBM World Trade Corp., while his older brother Thomas Jr. took the reins of the parent company. Making his motto "world peace through world trade," he presided over a rise in IBM's foreign sales from less than $50 million to $2.5 billion annually. A major Republican contributor, Watson in 1970 was named U.S. envoy to Paris, where he served as an early diplomatic link with the Chinese Communists. He resigned his post in 1972 to rejoin IBM's board of directors.

■

Died. Lili Darvas, 72, celebrated Hungarian-American actress; after a brief illness; in Manhattan. Four years after her 1921 stage debut in Budapest, Darvas was discovered by Max Reinhardt, then Europe's foremost director. She toured the Continent with Reinhardt's troupe, then, in 1938, fled from the Nazis to New York with her husband, Hungarian Playwright Ferenc Molnar. After shining in such Broadway productions as *Bravo* (1948) and *First Love* (1961), Darvas won acclaim for her poignant portrayal of a 96-year-old invalid in the Hungarian film *Love* (1970).

■

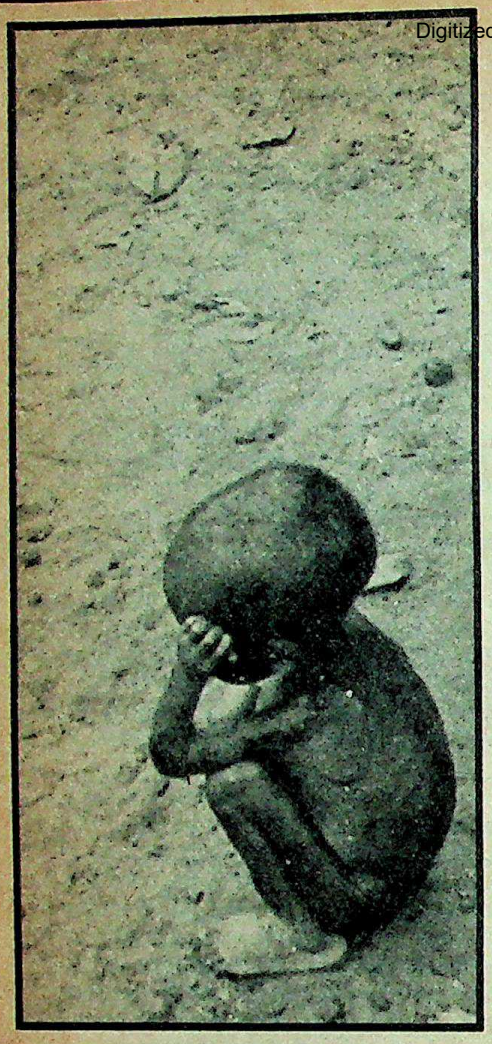
Died. Wayne Morse, 73, spunky, irreverent Republican-turned-Democrat who served for 24 years as Senator from Oregon (*see* THE U.S.).

■

Died. Sir James Chadwick, 82, British Nobel laureate physicist who in 1932 discovered the neutron, the atomic particle devoid of any electrical charge, later did work in nuclear fission and led the team of British scientists who contributed to the Manhattan Project; of a heart attack; in Cambridge, England.

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His Name is Today

"We are guilty of many errors and many faults, but our worst crime is abandoning the children, neglecting the fountain of life. *Many of the things we need can wait. The Child cannot.* Right now is the time his bones are being formed, his blood is being made and his senses are being developed. To him we cannot answer, 'Tomorrow'. His name is 'Today'."

Gabriela Mistral
Nobel Prize-winning
Poet from Chile

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TV Looks at Impeachment

House Judiciary Committee Chairman Peter Rodino was handed a note during the impeachment debate last Thursday afternoon. He glanced at it, then arched an eyebrow at CBS Reporter Roger Mudd, who followed a messenger from the committee room. Mudd learned that a bomb threat was about to interrupt the meeting and that the bomb's alleged location was in "a CBS camera." "I guess that this is one of those things that television brings," he said on the air during the ensuing recess.

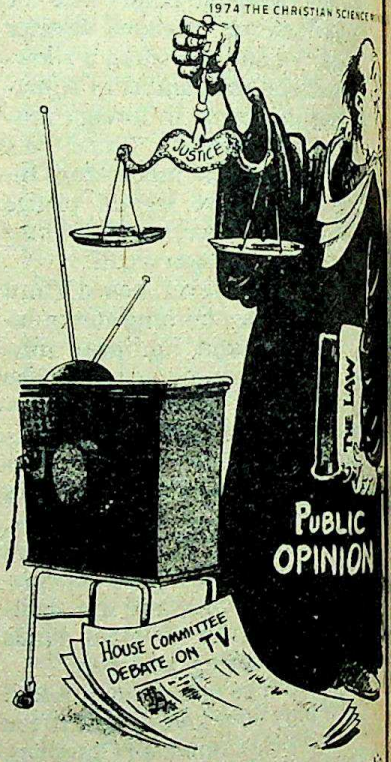
TV's impact on the Judiciary Committee proceedings* was hardly limited to anonymous threats. Four cameras and a panoply of klieg lights transformed the committee room into a blazing national platform. Yet the big eye's presence did not cause any histrionics. The contrast with last summer's Ervin-committee hearings was sharp. Speeches and statements were shorter; committee members are used to competing for time on the House floor with 434 colleagues, while Senators can afford a more leisurely pace. The TV cameras often appeared to be the *raison d'être* of the Senate Watergate grillings; in the smaller, more intimate and somehow more professional Judiciary Committee room, they remained discreet onlookers.

Unblinking Coverage. The same could not be said for newsmen from ABC, which drew the Wednesday session under the networks' rotating-coverage plan (only the Public Broadcasting Service carried every meeting). When the committee was slow to reconvene after a bomb threat, Co-Anchor Man Howard K. Smith quipped unfunnily that the Representatives could "use a good TV director." At the end of the session, Smith concluded that he "would hate to spend three hours a night, 365 days a year" watching congressional committees in action—a bit of instant disparagement that seemed totally out of place.

The carping disappeared on succeeding days. CBS Newsmen Walter Cronkite, Bruce Morton and Mudd kept largely out of sight while committee members concluded their opening statements on Thursday. NBC's John Chancellor and Carl Stern (a law-school graduate) helped clarify Friday's complex procedural wrangles as the committee hammered out acceptable articles of impeachment. Sessions were not interrupted by commercials (a condition decreed by the House); interviews in the meeting room were forbidden. PBS conducted scholarly post-mortems on each session, drawing on outside experts and a battery of law professors.

Print journalists generally applauded TV's unblinking coverage. The Tulsa (Okla.) *World* found the TV scrutiny especially appropriate at a time when "Americans are in a 'show me' mood about politics and public life." New York *Times* Columnist James Reston was in a dissenting minority of commentators. He rather sourly accused committee members of "making recitations before the TV cameras" and declared that the whole exercise produced "bad law and boring television."

Audience reaction seemed to fall somewhere between these conflicting judgments. Ratings by A.C. Nielsen the day after the first session showed



"Everything but the blindfold, sweetie. I want to see what's going on."

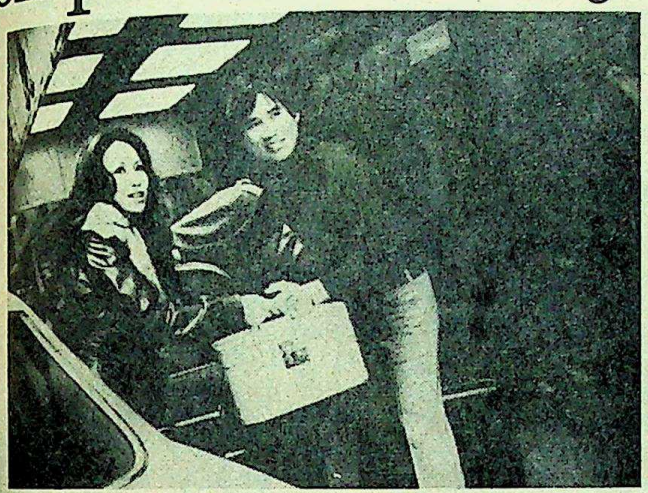
ABC stations in New York City and Los Angeles initially doubled their normal audiences—but that New York viewers began switching to reruns of CBS's *Cannon* and *Kojak* after the first hour. CBS's share of the prime-time audience during its Thursday coverage was lower than ABC's the night before. Whatever the ratings, the live-TV coverage performed a valuable national service by giving the country at large a look at Representatives as they struggled toward a historic decision. The experiment was being carefully studied by the rating-conscious network chiefs and leaders of the House, who must decide not only whether to impeach but also whether to televise. At week's end it was virtually certain that the House leaders favorably impressed by the

*Although congressional hearings on Vietnam and Watergate have been open to radio and TV, the full House and the Judiciary Committee had to approve the first-ever broadcast of a committee meeting.

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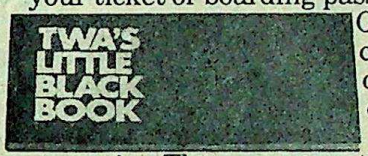
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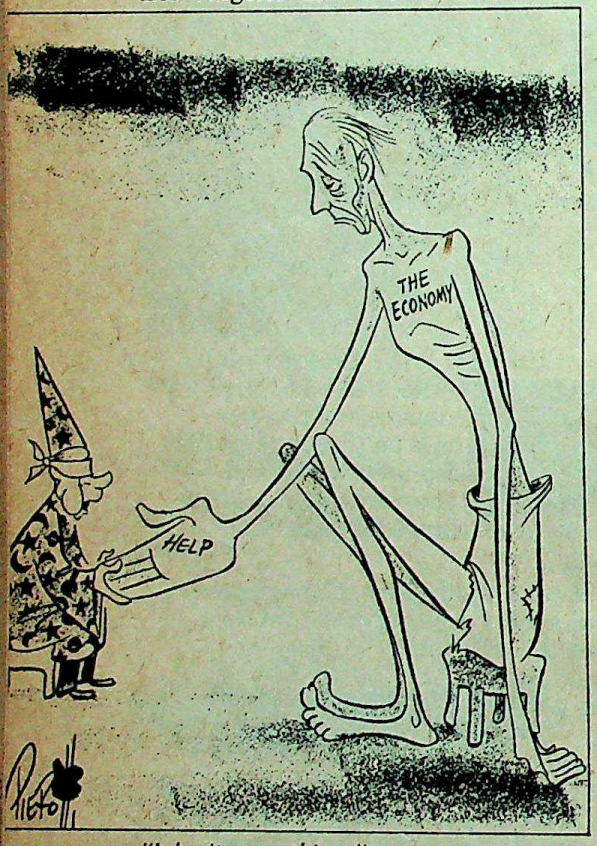
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POLICY

Oldtime Religion v. Inflation

In still another clear bid for conservative support, President Nixon last week took to nationwide television to defend his Administration's economic policies. The message was that the White House has no intention of taking any important new action despite rampant inflation and declining production. Nixon told a warmly sympathetic gathering of four California businessmen's groups in Los Angeles that the Administration would continue on its present course of "steadiness" and "would respect the basic laws of the marketplace." He again rejected any return to wage-price guidelines or controls and said that the battle against inflation would best be served by restraining demand for the short term while increasing supplies for the future. To help accomplish this goal, the President rightly stressed the need for more effective use of workers and machines to improve the nation's sagging productivity, but he offered no suggestions on how to do it.



"I don't see a thing."

Scrap Plans. Nixon said that he will seek to hold federal spending for this fiscal year to about $300 billion, or about $5 billion less than present estimates. But beyond promising to eliminate 40,000 of the Government's 2.8 million jobs he gave no hint of where the cuts would be made. Nixon announced that he has ordered a "sweeping review" of all federal regulatory agencies in order to scrap old rules that hamper production. He said that the nation must "re-evaluate" environmental and safety laws, which many businessmen have criticized as being too costly. In private talks, Nixon has been outspoken about his determination to weaken clean air and water controls.

For all its generalities, the tone and thrust of the President's talk proved that despite his politically successful fling with the easy-money, deficit-spending ways of Keynesian economics, he has returned with some relief to that "oldtime religion," with its emphasis on gradualism, balanced budgets and monetary restraint. Yet the message is not likely to dispel the public's thickening gloom about the economy.

No Gain. The nation's real output of goods and services has already suffered two consecutive quarterly declines, and last week New York's First National City Bank reported that the economy is gripped by not just a temporary slowdown but by "a pervasive recession." The bank predicted that real gross national product will probably show a drop for all of 1974, instead of the small gain forecast by the Administration.

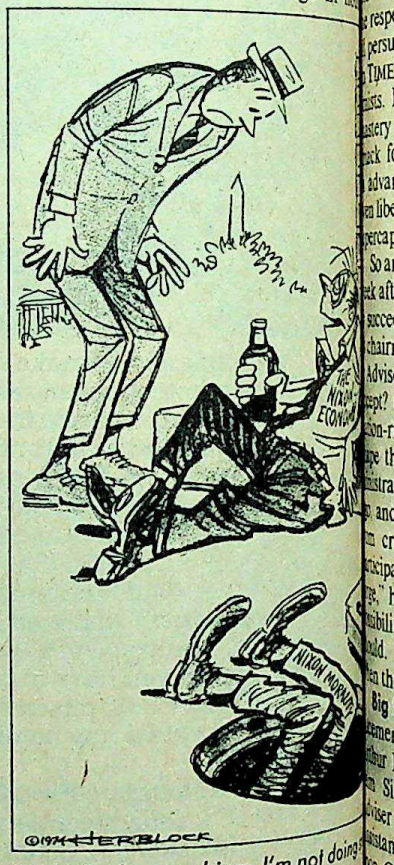
Prospects for any appreciable slowdown in inflation soon are dim. For all the public agonizing over cutting the present budget, there is little likelihood that federal spending will be reduced sharply enough to have a substantial impact on prices. Consumer prices in the first six months of this year shot up 12.6%, and they are likely to continue leaping at or close to a double-digit pace for the rest of the year. Farm prices are marching up again, and increases in wage settlements jumped from 7.6% in the first quarter to 10% in the second.

The Administration has been relying on the Federal Reserve Board to curb demand by keeping a firm rein on money supply. The rate of money expansion has shrunk from about 12% in February and March to less than 7% in the second quarter. That policy has made it too costly for many companies to raise money in the long-term bond markets and virtually dried up capital in the stock market. It has also hammered the housing industry into its worst condition since the end of World War II.

Housing starts are limping along at an annual rate of 1.6 million, *v.* 2.5 million a year and a half ago. Many economists expect a further decline, to a rate of some 1.3 million in the third quarter. Home-loan capital has all but evaporat-

ed because of a run on deposits in ings and loan associations, which not compete with the rich-yielding being offered for Treasury bills, certificates of deposit and comm paper. Mortgage rates round the try average about 9.2%, and many buyers have to make down payme 30% or even 40%.

In addition, inflating labor and terial costs have jacked up the pri an average new house from about 000 to almost $36,000 in the past The industry's deepening slump critical significance because there rarely been an economic recovery was not paced by a surge in ho



"Relatively speaking, I'm not doing

starts. Yet Michael Sumichrast, tional Association of Home Bu chief economist, sees no relief in until inflation's back is broken.

The Administration seems be moving only slowly to revive the omy, hoping that sluggish growth rising unemployment will even cause the fires of inflation to burn Yet if, as generally expected, unem ment edges up from its present 5. near 6% later this year, the Dem Congress may impatiently ram th a series of expansionary measure could well bring on even worse tion. The Administration cannot any outpouring of public suppo Harris Poll released last week bef President spoke showed that those questioned no longer believe his Administration can effectively

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ECONOMISTS

Supercapitalist at the CEA

Ever since he served as principal economic adviser to Richard Nixon in the 1968 campaign, Alan Greenspan has resisted countless offers to join the Administration. He has preferred to remain an outside critic—consulting when asked, praising and needling as he saw fit. His reputation surely did not need it. His reputation surely did not need whatever prestige—or damage—would accrue from a high job in a Government preoccupied with impeachment. He earns more than $300,000 annually as head of Manhattan's Townsend-Greenspan & Co., an economic consulting firm that has some 100 blue-chip corporate and Wall Street clients. He has earned the respect, too, of fellow economists of all persuasions, including his colleagues on TIME's nine-member Board of Economists. Erudite and witty, with a fine mastery of business statistics and a knack for calling economic turns well in advance, Greenspan, 48, impresses even liberal Keynesians who dispute his supercapitalistic views.

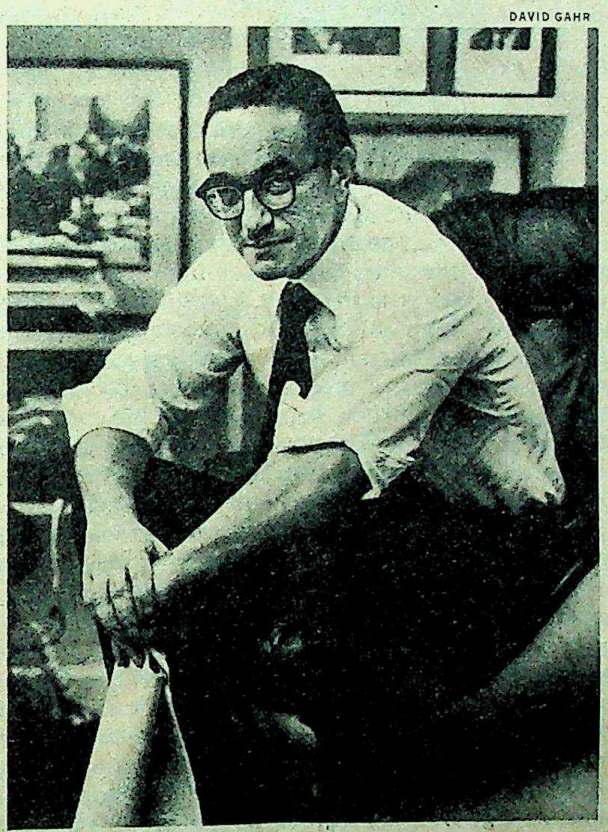
So an obvious question emerged last week after President Nixon named him to succeed Herbert Stein in September as chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers: Why did Greenspan finally accept? Greenspan replies that the inflation-ridden economy is in much worse shape than it has been since the Administration began pressing him years ago and the time has come to switch from critical spectator to committed participant. "What is at stake is so large," he says, "that if anyone has the possibility of making a contribution, he should. It's one of the rare instances when the issue of patriotism comes up."

Big Sacrifice. There were other inducements. Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns, Treasury Secretary William Simon, Presidential Economics Counselor Kenneth Rush and Presidential Assistant Alexander Haig all prevailed upon Greenspan to accept. To avoid conflicts of interest and satisfy the Senate Banking Committee, which is expected to approve his appointment, Greenspan will place all stock he owns in his firm in a blind trust over which he will have no control. Thus he faces a real financial sacrifice that will not be offset by his $42,500 salary at CEA. Profits earned by his firm while he is away will be lost to him forever—distributed to employees and charities.

Greenspan entertains no fanciful notions about what he can accomplish in his new advisory role. "I'm not sure what can or has to be done," he says with characteristic candor. But he does know that a drop in crude-oil prices could do wonders to ease world financial imbalance. And, as a sharp foe of controls, he enthusiastically supports the Administration's anti-inflationary policy of laissez-faire. He will press hard for reduced Government spending aimed at balancing the budget in fiscal '76. To Greenspan, budget deficits are the incendiary fuel of inflation; they force the Government to compete with private business for borrowings, thus forcing up both the money supply and interest rates.

Greenspan is more interested in how the budget is cut than in how much it is cut by, although the more the better. The important thing, he says, is a perception by the American people that the Administration and Congress are working vigorously on a credible anti-inflation policy. He questions the orthodox view that unemployment will rise as spending goes down. Indeed, he asserts, unemployment ultimately would fall if inflationary expectations were reduced, because consumers would feel confident enough to spend more. Says he: "Short-term policies create an illusion, and then we find that's all it is —an illusion."

DAVID GAHR



CHAIRMAN-DESIGNATE ALAN GREENSPAN
Quarter-of-a-million-dollar pay cut.

For the longer term, Greenspan favors thorough review of the budget-making process itself, with an eye toward re-examining such historic "uncontrollables" as Social Security and veterans' benefits that he says go to permanent and ever-expanding "fiscal constituencies." He suspects that the administration of federal programs has generated huge cost overruns that would have made Lawmakers, had they foreseen them, think twice about voting affirmatively. Greenspan's question: "Are the programs really mandated by law? We should look into that."

Greenspan's early background hardly pointed to a career in economics. The only child of parents who were later divorced, he was graduated from Manhattan's George Washington High School, where Henry Kissinger was a fellow student. Greenspan studied clarinet at the Juilliard School, and during World War II joined a dance band (Leonard Garment, now counsel to the President, played the sax). After a year of one- and two-night stands, Greenspan decided that he would prefer to go to college. In 1948 he was graduated *summa cum laude* in economics from New York University. He worked for The Conference Board (a business research group) for a while, then founded his now-thriving consulting firm in 1953 with William Townsend, a Wall Street bond trader, who died in 1958. Presently a bachelor, Greenspan was married for one year before a divorce.

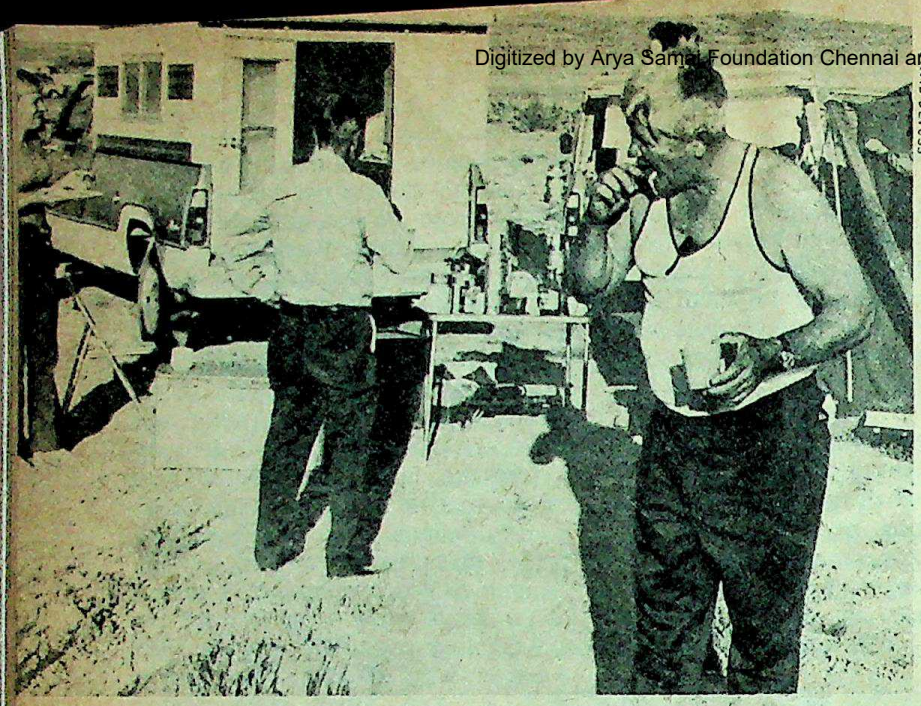
Major Crossroad. He argues with cool passion that a free market functioning on its own without Government intervention is the most efficient and equitable way to allocate goods and services. But he likes to sound out economists who disagree, and he is likely to consult regularly with many of them and run a fairly open CEA. Over the years, Greenspan's ideas have been pragmatically tempered. He does not, for example, think that an immediate return to the gold standard is feasible, as he once did, although he says that the issue is "arguable."

His basic views have been greatly influenced by his friend and mentor, the Russian-born novelist and theorizer Ayn Rand (*The Fountainhead, Atlas Shrugged*), whom he has known since 1952. "America's abundance," she has written, "was not created by public sacrifices to the common good, but by the productive genius of free men who pursued their own personal interests." Of Greenspan's new job, Rand, 69, said last week: "I think it's an heroic undertaking."

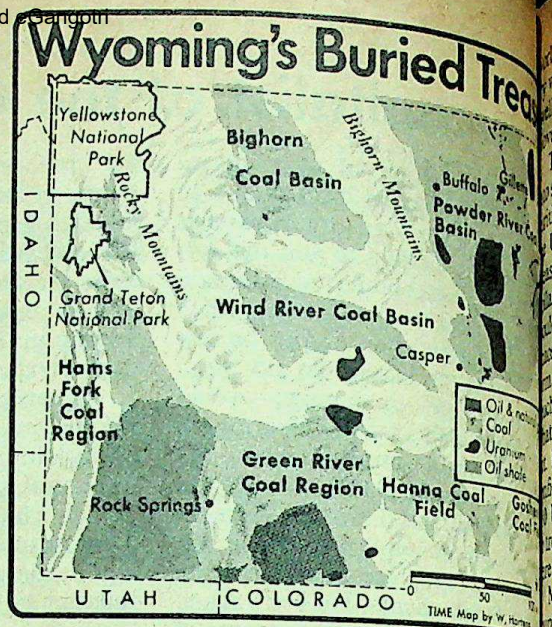
Hardly a man to make Panglossian predictions, Greenspan foresees an 8% inflation rate in the fourth quarter and "turgid" industrial growth and slimmer profit margins in 1975. In order to begin moving toward stabilizing the economy by 1976, he says, decisions for doing so must be made now. To help make those decisions, Greenspan is willing to take his quarter-of-a-million-dollar pay cut. "We are at a major crossroad," he says. "The actions taken in the next year or two will have a significant impact on where the U.S. is in 1980 and 1985."

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DAVID DEVOSS



CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' CAMPSITE NEAR ROCK SPRINGS, W

RESOURCES

Boom of Mixed Blessings

On the rolling prairies and in the regal valleys of Wyoming, where there are more cattle (1.4 million) than people (332,000), the standard headgear has long been the ten-gallon Stetson favored by ranch hands. But the Stetsons are now being joined by an increasing number of hard hats worn by coal miners, oil roughnecks, geologists and engineers. Beneath the state's grazing lands lies the nation's richest treasure of high-quality, easily minable coal that the U.S. badly needs for energy.

The rush to exploit new or neglected energy sources is transforming the ranching economy of the whole Rocky Mountain region. In Montana, a $700 million electric generating complex is being built to convert local coal into power for the Pacific Northwest. In Colorado, a consortium of twelve companies is experimenting with ways to tap the oil and gas held in the state's vast shale deposits. In Utah, the leasing of shale lands has pumped $120 million into the state's coffers. But it is in Wyoming, where the antelope still play beside highways, that the changes are most noticeable.

Wyoming already ranks as the nation's leading producer of uranium and soda ash and is the source of more than 12 million bbl. of oil per year. But even greater promise is offered by more than 545 billion tons of coal. At present rates of use, Wyoming could supply the nation's total coal demand for a quarter-century. Much of the coal is low-polluting, low-sulfur sub-bituminous that lies in miles-long, 45-ft.-thick seams only a few feet below the surface.

The fuel, which can be extracted by relatively inexpensive strip mining, has started an immense coal rush. Many companies, including ARCO, Texaco, Kerr-McGee, Gulf, Exxon and Phillips Petroleum, are paying up to $1,000 an acre for grazing land that sold for only $60 an acre a year ago. Annual coal production—now 13.6 million tons—is expected to double by 1976.

The energy boom is taking place at the same time Wyoming's cattle industry is on the skids. Livestock prices have been falling, and ranchers have been selling out. Some of them fear that simply the presence of more people will upset their bucolic way of life even further. "We're talking about a life-style changing," says Bob Browne of the Federal Bureau of Land Management.

Good News. Social problems are the most intense in Rock Springs, a huge trove of coal, oil, shale, potash, sand, gravel, clay and cement rock. Since 1971, about 5,000 workers have moved in to build the giant Jim Bridger Power Plant* and work in a newly discovered oilfield. Another wave of outsiders, lured by the expansion of trona mines, a source of widely used sodium compounds, and the reopening of old coal mines, is expected to increase the town's 26,000 population to 40,000 by 1976. This, of course, is good news for businessmen. For example, John Anselmi's Outlaw Inn motel has enjoyed a 99% occupancy rate for 18 months, and Anselmi has sold 400 mobile homes (average price: $14,000) at his Wheel Estates showroom in the past year. Brother Paul Anselmi has a flourishing auto dealership, a National Car Rental agency and various motel properties, and Uncle Angelo Anselmi's real estate business has climbed 40% since 1971.

For other residents, though, the population influx has been no blessing. Classrooms built to accommodate 30 students are now bulging with 60. The streets are clogged nightly with traffic and with rough-and-ready miners, oil-stained roughnecks and prostitutes who have rushed in from out of state. One wiry hooker named Clovis, marveling "I made $300 my first day in town" cause houses are so expensive scarce, many new arrivals move tents or squalid mobile-home camps are called "aluminum ghettos."

According to a report released the University of Denver Research stitute last week, the crime rate in R Springs and surrounding Sweetw County has increased by 60%, and patient load at the mental-health c has jumped ninefold since the boom gan. Other communities are bracing a similar onslaught, but trying to a the problems. Anticipating that as m as 3,000 more people will move into lette (pop. 8,500) by the end of this town officials are building 1,500 h ing units, two elementary schools a $1 million recreation center.

Another worry is that increased mining will sully the often spectac landscape. Wyoming ecologists among those pushing for the tough eral strip-mining bill that was passe the House of Representatives last w If the economic surge mars Wyomi hard-working but casual and frie life-style, the damage may not be to repair. "None of us like to grow fast," says Rock Springs' Mayor Wataha, "but you can't lock the g to the city." Which means, of co that the hard hats are in Wyomi stay.

*Named for the famous trapper, guide and raconteur

OIL

Prospects for Price Cut

His belt pinching after feasts of lamb and pilaf, his legs a bit w after trying them at Arab dancing liam Simon left the Middle Eas week feeling justifiably tired but mistic. The Treasury Secretary's ten-day, four-country barnstorming ended on the upbeat. Not only w

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...rld petroleum prices but that coun... ...will probably also invest much of its ...lling surplus of petrodollars in U.S. ...vernment securities.

The "recycling" of the Saudi funds ...special nonmarketable Treasury se... ...ities could greatly ease the strain on ...U.S. balance of payments and de... ...ese chances that a fast shuffle of oil ...lars from one currency into another ...uld provoke international monetary ...ses, if the investments are not short... ...m. Crucial details, including how ...ch the Saudis would invest and at ...at interest rates, remain to be worked ...But Old Bond Trader Simon was ...fident that as much as $5 billion to ...billion might be involved. "I had ...trouble selling them," he said. "They ...e already agreed in principle."

More important, the Saudis an... ...nced that for the first time they will ...ction some of the more than 5 mil... ...bbl. of oil daily that they receive ...m their 60% ownership of the Ara... ...n American Oil Co. (Aramco). Un... ...e Kuwait, which two weeks ago an... ...nced that it will no longer auction ...crude because offered prices were too ...the Saudis will accept whatever ...y are bid. The first auction will take place in August and could involve most of Saudi Arabia's share of Aramco's output. Initially the oil will probably sell for as much as $10 per bbl., but during later auctions the price could drop by as much as $2 per bbl. Big reason: the non-Communist world's oil production of 49.8 million bbl. daily has been outstripping consumption of 48 million bbl. daily, a 4% oversupply that will continue to press downward on prices.

A price drop would lighten the burden on the oil-importing nations, which this year face the prospect of spending $100 billion for foreign petroleum, a fivefold jump since 1972. But as Saudi Oil Minister Sheik Ahmed Zaki Yamani stressed, compassion had little to do with the Saudi drive to lower prices. The Saudis, he said, want to avoid a "worldwide recession because that will hurt us," and to prevent rising unemployment and inflation from strengthening "the leftists in the major industrial nations." Moreover, Yamani warned, economic weaknesses in the West could shift the balance of power in favor of "the Eastern bloc, Russia and China. They are self-sufficient in their energy."

Any price cut will be opposed by the other nations in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, most of which are eager for yet another boost. Algeria and Venezuela are considering cutting back production in an attempt to keep prices at their current levels. In Kuwait, the government recently beat back an attempt by some members of Parliament to slash daily output to 1.5 million bbl. from 2.5 million bbl.

Shoveling Money. Non-Arab Iran also opposes any price reductions. Iran needs every petrocent that it can get to finance the Shah's foreign loans and investments, which already total roughly $10 billion. Some Iranian economists fear that if oil prices fall, Iran will be short of cash to meet its commitments. Still, the Shah keeps shoveling out the money. Last week Iran agreed to loan $1.2 billion to Britain. By arranging a direct nation-to-nation loan and bypassing the commercial Eurodollar market where they had previously raised cash, the British indicated that they no longer consider banks capable of recycling the huge sums of petrodollars involved. If so, the only alternative would be for governments themselves to take over the job, probably through the kinds of deals that Bill Simon believes he brought back from Saudi Arabia.

...he Battle of the Little Big Cars

This week Ford Motor Co. will show ...two new 1975 models—the Granada ...d the Mercury Monarch—that Pres... ...ent Lee Iacocca describes as "the big... ...small cars the company has ever ...de." That is an understatement, and ...ould apply as well to much of the ...st of the industry. Before the year is ...r, all the automakers will be loosing a ...ts of new "small" cars, some of which ...ll be longer and heavier than a Mer... ...des 280, with which Ford executives ...e to compare the Granada. Not es... ...ially economical, Ford's two entries ...s week average at best 14 miles per ...n in city driving.

Depending on the options they ...ose, buyers will have to pay $3,600 to ...00 for the Granada. It will be 197.7 ...long and weigh 3,408 lbs. The Mon... ...ch will be similarly sized and priced. ...h five-passenger cars will offer what ...makers think the public wants: a ...rriage of modest size and luxury (air ...nditioning, power steering).

In September, all of General Mo... ...r divisions will bring out new small ...s. Next year, a long-awaited small ...illac will be introduced. It will be ...o feet shorter than a full-size Caddy, ...t will carry the same $10,000 price ...as an Eldorado coupe. In 1975, Chev... ...et will also roll out a rotary-powered ...ra with a claim that it has overcome ...ny of the fuel-economy problems suf... ...ed by Mazda.

Early next year American Motors plans to bring out a "luxury" version of its successful Gremlin subcompact at about $4,000. Chrysler will introduce two "personal luxury cars," the Charger SE and the Cordoba. Both will carry price tags ranging from $5,500 to $6,560; in style and size, they will most closely resemble Ford's Thunderbird.

In an otherwise slow sales year, small cars continue to burn up the track, accounting for just under 50% of sales. The rise of U.S. compacts has hit imports and further hurt foreign automakers; car sales are down 20% to 30% in most European countries and in Japan, where auto workers face layoffs in spite of the Japanese tradition of lifetime employment. The U.S. is better off, but not much. This year sales of U.S.-made cars are expected to drop to 8.2 million from 9.7 million in 1973.

FORD'S NEW SMALL-CAR MODELS: MERCURY MONARCH (TOP) AND THE GRANADA





CHUCK TERNES

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Inflation, Communist Style

The controlled press of the Soviet Union and other Communist countries has recently found fresh and juicy evidence of capitalist decline: the double-digit inflation now ravaging Western nations. By contrast, Red journalists crow, living standards in the socialist bloc have markedly improved in the past decade or so, while price rises have been virtually nil. There is some truth to that claim, but like vodka, it has to be taken cautiously in order to avoid losing touch with reality.

Officially, most Communist governments maintain virtually zero inflation because prices for almost all goods and services are set by state agencies and changed only rarely. Though workers who overfulfill production quotas are showered with medals and occasionally cash bonuses, wages, too, are generally controlled, on the basis of supply of consumer goods available. If supply goes up 5%, say, so do wages. That way, supposedly, there is no excess cash chasing scarce goods.

So goes the theory. The reality is somewhat different. Basic services such as housing, medical care and mass transit in the Communist countries are generally cheap, but prices for many items from cars to quality foods have long been set so high that they remain beyond the reach of most Russians, as well as Poles, East Germans, Czechs, Rumanians, Hungarians and Bulgarians. Says one Soviet economist ingenuously: "We do not have inflation—we just have high prices."

Moreover, as a matter of policy, prices for some goods are set below the cost of making them. Vladimir Sitnin, chairman of the Soviet Union's state price committee, notes: "There is some relation between production costs and prices, but not necessarily a direct one. Retail prices have a social objective, varying from low prices for schoolbooks to higher prices for liquor."

Consumers pay dearly in other ways for official price stability. Many goods are offered in only skimpy variety and threadbare quality because that is all factories can afford to make at state-set prices. Massive government subsidies must be paid to industries and to Soviet agriculture in order to keep prices steady despite regular rises in production costs, caused by inefficient use of workers and machines. The subsidies chew up capital that would otherwise be invested in new plant and equipment and contribute to the persistent inability of Communist economies to expand fast enough to meet demands of consumers.

CHRIS BENNETT



MOSCOW SHOPPERS LOOK OVER DISPLAYS OF HIGH-PRICED LIQUOR IN STATE-RUN STORE
In theory the system works perfectly, but the reality is something else.

In addition, undisguised inflation exists in sectors not subject to iron-fisted government control—imports, goods sold on sanctioned free markets and those peddled in widespread black markets. There is an Orwellian rip-off on the prices of so-called new products. By making the most minute change in any item—even installing a new car heater—a factory manager can get it classified as new and kick up the price. That does not count as an "increase" because the product theoretically has just come to the market. In the Soviet Union, the latest model Volga car costs $12,170, about 68% more than its predecessor, though only an engineer could see the difference.

Free Market. All these factors make misleading the Soviet Union's claim to being free of inflation. Many prices are oppressively high for a country in which a working husband and wife average about $350 in income per month between them. Butter and sausages, for example, cost $2.05 per lb., and ... more than $2.60. That is in state ... where supplies often run short ... consumers frequently turn to the ... market, where farmers sell produce ... have grown on private plots for ... ever the traffic will bear.

Some farmers have grown rel... rich flying into major cities to ha... cases full of tomatoes at $4.68 per ... winter or strawberries and cher... $2.34 per lb. in the spring. In add... to high prices, the drabness of many ... sumer goods is sparking a shopper ... bellion. So many Soviet men turn ... their noses at shapeless suits sell... $90 each that the government ... cently forced to offer them at half ... Even then they did not move. ... buyers are turning increasingly ... pensive imports: $18 cotton sports ... from Iran, $50 platform shoes fro... goslavia. Those are official prices ... black market is more costly still. F... ample, a Seiko watch that goes for ... in the West brings $325, and a p... genuine Levi's jeans $130.

Surge in Demand. Conditions ... little better in the Communist cou... of Eastern Europe. Poland, which ... only a 1.9% annual inflation rate ... been forced to bow to public pres... and raise workers' wages 7% in ea... the past three years. The rise has ... ated a boom in demand that has p... up many unofficial prices. Nearly ... country's food is sold on the free ... ket. Last year the price of beef cli... 7%, potatoes 8.5%, sauerkraut 24% ... pickles—a staple of the Polish di... walloping 33%.

In Czechoslovakia, which ... price rises of only 2% a year or less, ... sumers are balking at paying high ... for shoddy goods. Sales of Skoda ... have nosedived, and for the first ... the country's history, thousands ... brand-new models are slowly rusting ... factory lots. To stir consumer appe... the government has permitted West ... goods to be sold in state stores, ... price is high (nearly a month's sala... a pair of Austrian ski boots).

Yugoslavia, the only Comm... country that allows a kind of free-... ket pricing, is the most prosperous ... ing state in Eastern Europe. Its ... are crammed with Mercedeses ... Fords, its shops filled with French ... fumes. But the price of affluence ... been steep. Last year the govern... candidly reported an inflation ... 20%, about as bad as anything ... West. The key problems are the ... ciency inherent in the country's ce... ized planning system, rising wages ... large imports from the West. Re... the Yugoslav mint reported that the ... of making coins now exceeds the ... ue. A 20-para coin (worth about ... cents), for example, now costs 32 ... to produce. As a result, Yugoslavia ... soon probably convert entirely to ... money—provided, of course, the ... price of paper does not scoot up ...

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Video Follies

E GROOVE TUBE
ected by KEN SHAPIRO
eenplay by KEN SHAPIRO and
NE SARASOHN

Two and three-tenths cheers for *The roove Tube,* an amalgamation of ced-up skits on the subject—and at e expense—of television. *The Groove* be first saw life some six years ago as eries of sketches on videotape. It has en expanding since, from the college cruit to its current incarnation here, a ick theatrical feature.

The Groove Tube probably looked tter on tape. There, the visual texture levision can be effortlessly duplicat- and the film's misfires would not seem greatly enlarged. A bit of patience is quired plus some small tolerance for sort of home-room scatology, but per- erance is rewarded. *The Groove Tube* often enough a hoot.

The movie is largely the doing of en Shapiro. His attacks on the boun- s of popular television are pratfall ab- rdist, his dithering humor a hybrid of bert Downey (*Greaser's Palace, Put- y Swope*) and Carol Burnett. Shapiro's tic is to restage some popular forms e commercial, an adventure series, the o'clock news—with all due attention nuances of style. One of *The Groove* be's best sequences, for example, is a zz beer commercial. "When you're out Butz, you're out of guts!" runs the slo- n. To illustrate, we are whisked to one those boisterous prole bars where ev- guy in the joint clutches a foaming g or frosted bottle. Shapiro carries e scene to its ruthlessly realistic and ue hilarious conclusion. One guy, who ems to be just easing out of a day driv- g the No. 4 bus, decks a well-groomed e in a flowered shirt. The whole bar -pits, the virtues of malt and macho e duly celebrated, and the place looks e Pork Chop Hill at the fadeout.

Some of the skits are lamer: a windy d-up of a typical series called "The alers," which has to do with the ex- ts of a couple of hard-luck traffickers grass. But overall the movie maintains h energy. There is one scene of true piration. At the end of the 6 o'clock s, the anchor man signs off and sits ring, smile firmly fixed, waiting for e fadeout and credits. Nothing hap- s. Soon the smile begins to stiffen at e edges. Gamely, the anchor man ffles script pages on his desk, making cial-looking marks in the upper right ners. Still nothing. His composure ver crumbles, just begins to crack. e still in place, if just a little askew, e anchor man starts to slip slowly off chair, and down out of camera range eath his desk. For laughs it beats the

■ Jay Cocks

Bad Intersection

THE TAMARIND SEED
Directed and Written by
BLAKE EDWARDS

The only sensible use for Omar Sharif's talent is a script that would take him to the nearest pound and put him up for adoption. He is incapable, it would seem, of conveying any emotion other than woebegone wistfulness. That's kibbles in the bowl for stray puppies but not exactly money in the bank for producers of romantic spy thrillers.

In Blake Edwards' adaptation of Evelyn Anthony's novel, Sharif is cast as an allegedly dashing Soviet spy named Sverdlov. Liberal views and a developing taste for high-living Western ways make him a prime candidate for the Lubyanka prison. Vacationing at a Caribbean resort, he meets Judith Farrow (Julie Andrews), secretary to a well-placed British official. Omar claims it is love at first sight. She thinks he is just after a quick roll in the hay. A British intelligence officer—crabbily, almost picture-savingly played by Anthony Quayle—insists that Sharif is trying to recruit her for his spy network.

It turns out that Omar is sincere enough, both in his growing anxiety to do a little espionage work and in his well-oiled lust for Julie. Just as she begins to warm to him—despite an initial reserve that would have done Mary Poppins credit—his enemies at the KGB grow bolder. He requires Julie as a go-between to trade for his asylum a nice piece of intelligence: the name of Russia's top agent in Britain.

There is more exposition than dramatization of an exceedingly complicated plot thereafter. Yet if Sharif could have managed a modicum of magnetism and if Andrews had finally furled that old umbrella of hers, *The Tamarind Seed* might have been a moving exploration of the nasty intersection where politics and personal desires meet.

Since it is hard to understand what she sees in him—or he in her, for that matter—it is difficult to care whether he is offering true love and if so, whether it can triumph over the brutality of the Russians and the blindness of the British. Director Edwards, who can be a stylish operative, here contents himself with posing Andrews (who is his wife), showing off her Diors against various pleasant beaches and European capitals. Doubtless the aim here was to make an old-fashioned adventure-romance in the manner of Hitchcock, whose *Foreign Correspondent* may be glimpsed on television during one scene. While the nostalgia for such almost vanished elegance is justifiable, the slackness of this picture is not.

■ Richard Schickel

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A Handful of Lust

LIFE IS ELSEWHERE
by MILAN KUNDERA
Translated by PETER KUSSI
289 pages. Knopf. $6.95.

LAUGHABLE LOVES
by MILAN KUNDERA
Translated by SUZANNE RAPPAPORT
242 pages. Knopf. $6.95.

It is clear now to thoughtful members of the literary *apparat* that a critic who praises an Iron Curtain writer does so at considerable risk to his reputation as a subtle fellow. Some variant of the skepticism now being directed at Solzhenitsyn is sure to tar the enthusiast. "A great soul, certainly," it will be said, "with great lumps on his head from those rubber truncheons, but a great *writer* ... ?" The message is stern: under an oppressive state, all artists may be persecuted, but not all those persecuted are artists.

Thus the case of the Czech comic novelist Milan Kundera comes up at a time when to be persecuted in Czechoslovakia is not a clear advantage. Kundera's work was banned in Czechoslovakia not long after his novel *The Joke* was published in 1967. It was about a youth who innocently wrote a postcard to his girl friend that teased her about her dedication to Communism. His little joke got him seven years at hard labor. As Philip Roth notes in his introduction to Kundera's short-story collection *Laughable Loves*, the author also paid. Now 45, Kundera lives in the provincial city of Brno, stripped of his teaching job at the Prague Film School, without the right to travel abroad and denied all but 10% of the royalties his books earn in Europe.

Roth's championing of Kundera is not surprising. Both writers can be both savage and painfully hilarious about the tyrannies of politics and sex. At one point in the novel *Life Is Elsewhere*, Kundera tells of a poetry night at a policemen's convention. "Yes," says one of the cops during the question period, "all the poets were first-rate. But had anyone noticed that despite the fact that approximately 33 poems had been presented (assuming an average of three poems per poet), not a single one of them dealt with the national security force, even indirectly?"

There is a Czech tradition of satirizing mindless officialdom that goes back to Kafka's *The Trial* and Jaroslav Hasek's *The Good Soldier Svejk*. But this is not Kundera's main theme, and there is no reason to think that his work would be wholly different if his country's absentee landlords were still the Habsburgs, not the Soviets.

The novel is a sly and merciless lampoon of revolutionary romanticism, and it deals with lyric poetry as a species of adolescent neurosis. The hero is an unpleasant young man named Jaromil, whose every childhood uncertainty has been marveled at by his crazed mother as evidence of an artistic soul. Out of resentment of her coarse husband, who hung his smelly socks on her beloved alabaster statuette of Apollo, this monstrous mother determined to make her infant son a poet.

Jaromil indeed becomes a poet. He tries to spy on the maid as she takes her bath, and fails, but produces a vivid poem about his "aquatic love." The genius of lyric poetry, Kundera observes, "is the genius of inexperience ... We can scoff at the poet's lack of maturity, but there is something amazing about him too. His words sparkle with droplets that come from the heart, and that gives his verse the luster of beauty. These magic dewdrops need not be stimulated by real life events. On the contrary, we suspect that the poet sometimes squeezes his heart with the same detachment as a housewife squeezing a lemon over her salad."

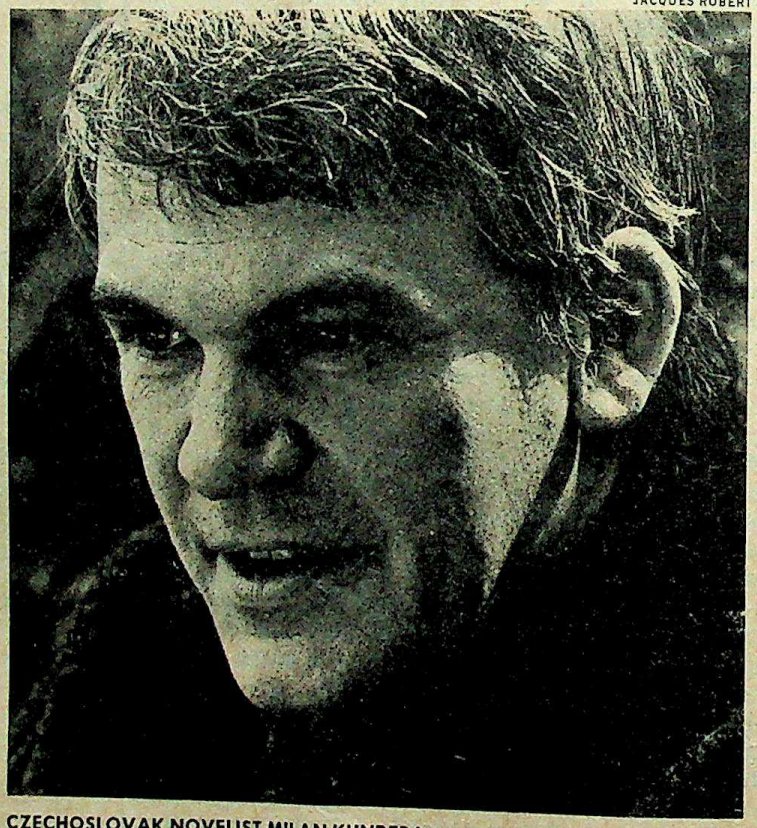
In this way the romantic prose becomes reality, and a necessary [illegible] this reality, Kundera cheerfully demonstrates, is that the poet be an utter [illegible]. The novelist is not shy about invoking the names of such famous poetic [illegible] (as he sees them) as Rimbaud, Keats, Shelley and Victor Hugo. In wicked parody of their legends, he kills Jaromil at 20. The young poet attends a party one cold night and insults another poet, who locks him out of the apartment on a balcony. Jaromil pridefully refuses to beg to be let back in, catches pneumonia and dies of asininity.

Kundera commits some of the funniest literary savaging since Evelyn Waugh polished off Dickens in *A Handful of Dust*. Running through it is a wonderfully comic sense of burlesque—as, for instance, when Jaromil and his mistress are making love, and his mother, hearing her moans (and knowing perfectly well what is happening), comes rushing into the room with a bottle of medicine and a teaspoon.

This amused look at eroticism is the business of the story collection *Laughable Loves*. The book is light, wry and wise. Again and over again, Kundera sets up the classic situation of sexual farce: A realizes intuitively that B is interested, and therefore smitten with vanity and lust; in reality, however, B's interest is in C, whose tender billets-doux are meant for D.

One of the best stories, *Edward and God*, about a young teacher who pretends to great holiness in order to seduce a churchly girl, gets him in trouble with the atheistic school director whom he must then seduce. Equally as good is *Symposium*, a pants-off bow to Plato, which follows several male doctors, a woman doctor and a nurse through a nightlong misadventure. Everyone is feeling randy, and each soul present, though perfectly satisfied that he knows what is happening, is in fact calamitously mistaken about who wants to do what to whom.

Kundera's tone in these stories, the novel is that of a detached observer who lifts an eyebrow now and then in mock surprise at the world's absurdity. As Roth suggests in his introduction, this ironic detachment is a natural refuge for a writer who must endure the reprieties of a police state. It is also a [illegible] achieved at considerable cost. Here remark the author makes in one [illegible] that "a man lives a sad life when he does not take anything or anyone [illegible]



JACQUES ROBERT

CZECHOSLOVAK NOVELIST MILAN KUNDERA
A lemon for a poet and a pants-off bow to Plato.

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he reader is meant to see the lifted eye-
ow and to smile. Then he is meant to
e the sober truth of the statement be-
d its mockery. Then the mockery be-
d that sobriety and so on. What lies
per, the mockery or the truth? It is a
e comic writer who can raise the
estion, and Kundera is one. ■ John Skow

ormwood, Anyone?

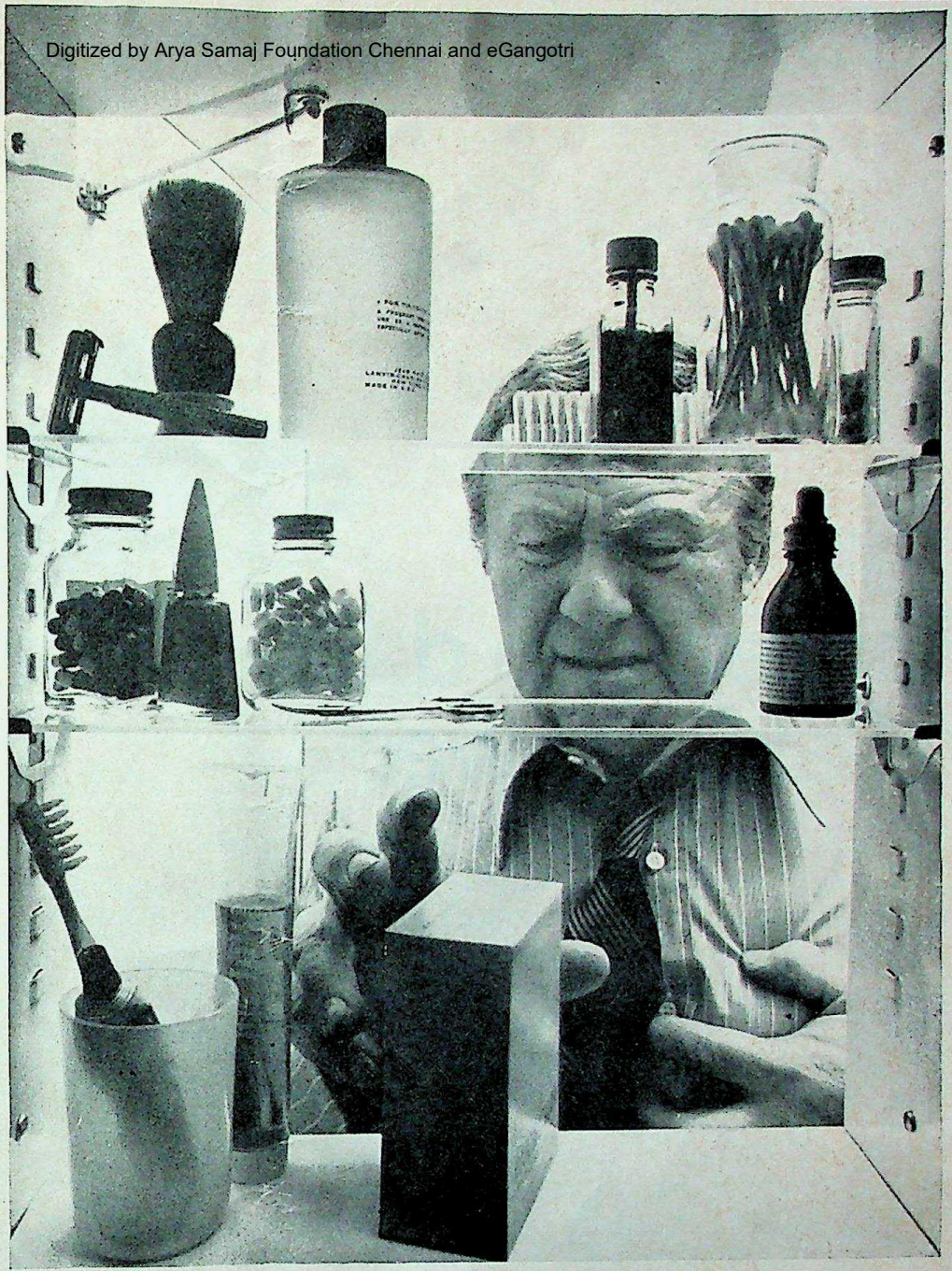
NFERNAL GROVE
MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE
0 pages. Morrow. $7.95.

British literary intelligentsia, Mal-
m Muggeridge once said, may gen-
ly be viewed as "priests and religious
ques. The Rev. Stephen Spender,
ther [Cyril] Connolly, Dom Graham
reene, Sister Brigid Brophy." To this
should be added Muggeridge him-
the Prophet Malcolm.

For nearly 40 years, in journalism,
tures, and radio and TV appearances,
ggeridge has been decrying every-
ng that he finds fraudulent or ridic-
us—*i.e.*, virtually everything. Ours is
ulgar and destructive age, he has in-
cted us. Our arts and literature are
eap of rubble. Our inner lives are
n with salt. Even now that Mugge-
ge has converted to an idiosyncratic
istianity (as described in his 1969 *Je-
s Rediscovered*), his cup of wormwood
eth over.

With most prophets who deal in un-
ieved raillery, the tedium is the mes-
e. But Muggeridge is too canny an
ertainer for that. In *The Infernal
ve*, the second volume of his auto-
graphy, he writes with enough verve
d instinct for artful exaggeration to
p a good novel spinning along. His
es are enlivened with provocations
conventional wisdom ("Innocence is
n a quality of worldly success, as so-
tication is of worldly failure" ...
ews like sensuality is a passing ex-
ement; perhaps the ultimate fantasy
all"). His characters—including a
o's *Who* of English politics, journal-
m and literature—are wickedly
etched, from the most obscure Lon-
n banker ("The very texture of his
e was like a parchment deed made
in his favour") to General de Gaulle
The face of a man born to lead a lost
se, with the additional sorrow that
could ostensibly triumph").

Nor does Muggeridge spare himself.
s narrative runs from the early 1930s
ough the end of World War II, cov-
g journalistic sojourns abroad and
Fleet Street and wartime experiences
a cloak-and-dagger man in Africa
Europe. Among Muggeridge's no-
e colleagues of that time were Gra-
Greene and the double agent Kim
by. Spying depressed Muggeridge so
t he even flirted with suicide one
ht in Mozambique by swimming out
sea. Unlike Evelyn Waugh, whose at-
pt to drown himself was foiled by a



You may think it's "heartburn" ...but you could be dead wrong

If you have these symptoms, you may be having a heart attack.

1. Prolonged, heavy pressure or squeezing pain in the center of the chest, behind the breastbone.
2. Pain may radiate to the shoulder, arm, neck or jaw.
3. The pain or discomfort is often accompanied by sweating
4. Nausea, vomiting and shortness of breath may also occur.
5. Sometimes these symptoms subside and then return.

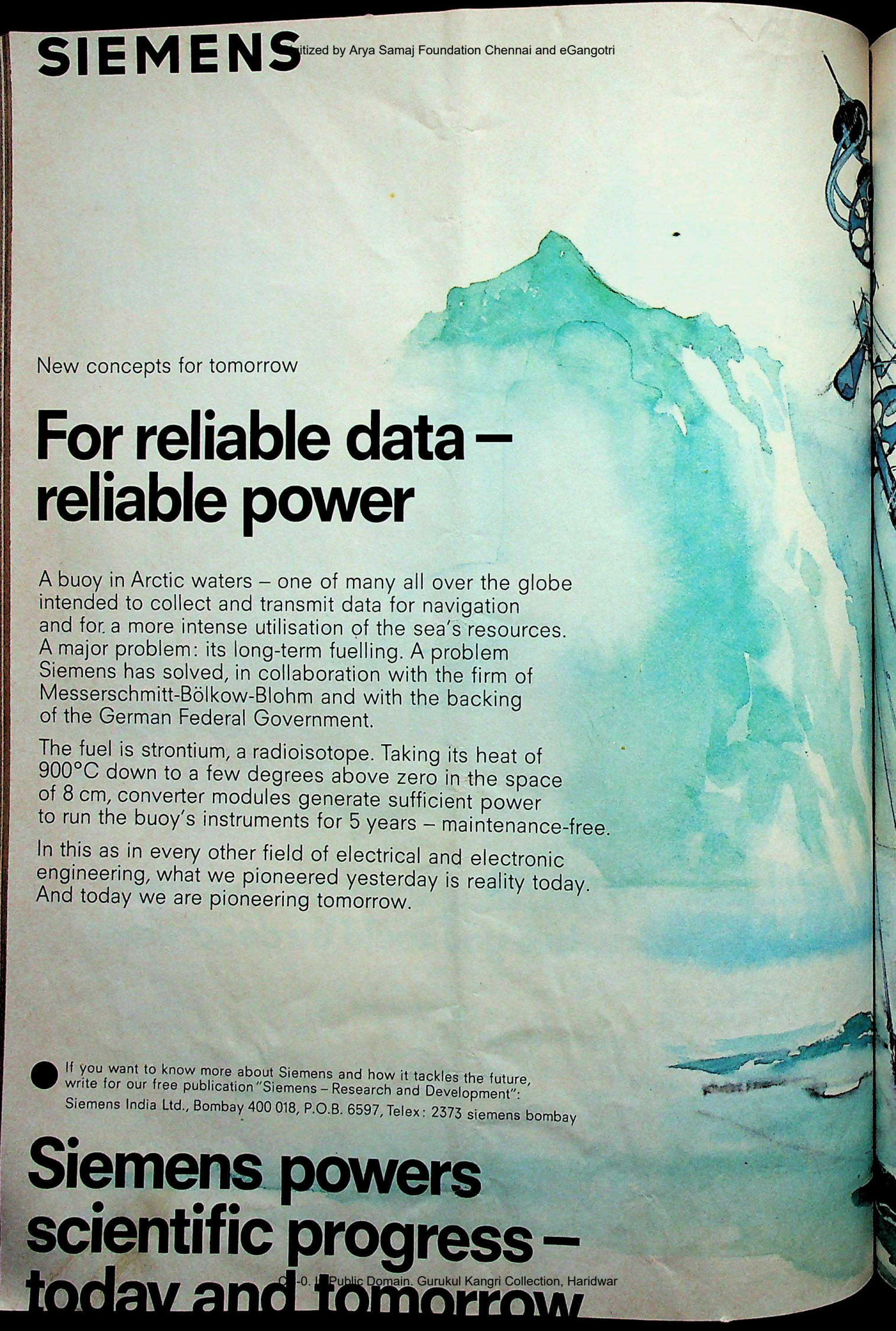
Don't wait. Call your doctor immediately and tell him your symptoms. If he isn't available, get to a hospital emergency room at once.

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...Heart Association

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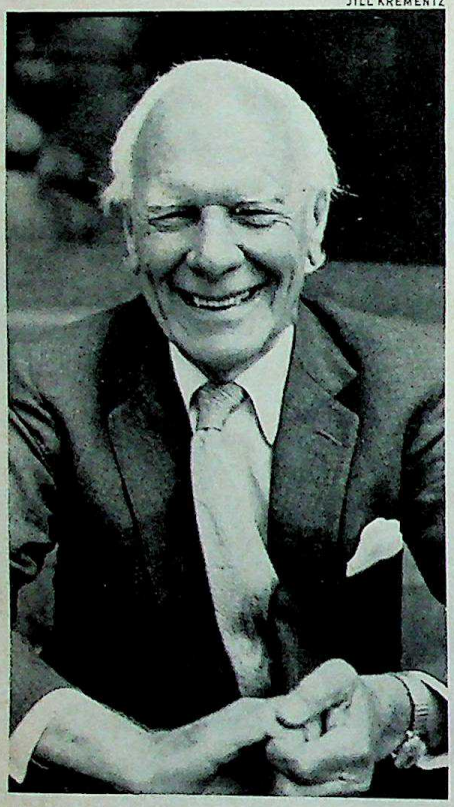
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ply turned back to shore "without thinking or deciding." Through it all, he affects to find his younger self as vain and misguided as the rest of mankind.

By his own account, Muggeridge seems to be the sort of true believer who cannot forgive the world, and perhaps himself, for failing to live up to his youthful ideals. As he recounted last year in *The Green Stick,* his first autobiographical installment, he was raised as a devout socialist in a middle-class suburb of London. Later, his utopian faith was shattered by his experiences as a correspondent in the Raj's India and Stalin's Moscow. Now, as the war ends in *The Infernal Grove,* he turns away in final disenchantment from the "world's

JILL KREMENTZ



MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE
Abandoning the world's wreck.

wreck," disgusted equally with the victors and the vanquished.

If the Heavenly City is not to be found on earth, Muggeridge turns his eyes toward heaven itself. Foreshadowing his conversion, he concludes that the quest for "an alternative reality" is the only thing that can redeem what he regards as "a lost life."

This presumably is the meaning of the overall title for the projected three volumes of his autobiography: *Chronicles of Wasted Time.* Yet here is where Muggeridge does not quite come clean. His putdowns may be born of an admirable zeal to avoid mouthing hypocrisy and cant. On the other hand, cynicism—or *la belle indifférence,* as Muggeridge would have it—can be a pose too. For the fact implicit in the very act of writing his autobiography is Muggeridge's assumption that the reader will find neither his life nor his account of it a waste of time. And he is right on both counts. ■ Christopher Porterfield

Future Imperatives

BREAKFAST IN THE RUINS
by MICHAEL MOORCOCK
174 pages. Random House. $5.95.

FRANKENSTEIN UNBOUND
by BRIAN W. ALDISS
212 pages. Random House. $5.95.

THE DISPOSSESSED
by URSULA K. LE GUIN
341 pages. Harper & Row. $7.95.

Whether one subscribes to the big-bang or the steady-state theory of science fiction, there is no doubt that the genre continues to flourish, worlds without end. Here are three writers of what is now preferably called "speculative fiction" who are doing particularly well.

Britain's Michael Moorcock is both bizarrely inventive and highly disciplined as he rockets from blood-and-thunder histrionics to wry social satire in his latest fantasy, *Breakfast in the Ruins.* In it, Karl Glogauer, a young Englishman, swaps physical and mental identities with a strange African with whom he has a homosexual encounter. Time and place are also cut loose; interwoven with the story of Karl's transformation are 18 historical sketches covering more than 100 years of European history. Moorcock shows Karl as an orphan who sees his mother murdered in the Paris Commune of 1871. From a London sweatshop in 1906 he is drawn into revolutionary violence. Later he plays the violin in Auschwitz. The book is by turns puzzling, funny and shocking. By 1990, with Karl sitting in the ruins of London, Moorcock has brilliantly demonstrated his point—that man's imagination has always driven him deep into inhumanity.

Brian Aldiss jumps a few years ahead to 2020 to describe a world not only in ruins but also mutated in the most frightening way. The entire structure of time and space has been disrupted by a nuclear war so that past and present, here and there, exist simultaneously. One never knows from day to day if he will awake in medieval times or the age of the Pharaohs.

Aldiss's hero is Texan Joe Bodenland, who, in a variation on H.G. Wells' *Time Machine,* adventurously drives his car smack into the flux and arrives in 1816 at the edge of Lake Geneva. Joe stumbles upon a villa containing Byron, Shelley and Mary Shelley, who is writing *Frankenstein.* His subsequent relationship with Mary is dominated by the presence of Dr. Frankenstein and friends, who are quite as "real" as Mary, their creator. Joe comes to see Frankenstein's pursuit of pure scientific truth without social responsibility as the root of modern technological society, where "the head had triumphed over the heart."

Aldiss has always written with gus-

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cabre story. Using a verbal counter—19th century literary style against curt phrases of the 21st—the author brought off a convincing interpretation of *Frankenstein* for today.

Ursula le Guin also deals with the tellect run amuck in *The Dispossessed* about a planet called Anarres—a moon settled by anarchists. One m people left Urras, the mother planet years ago to establish their ideal com nity, without government, laws or p erty, currency or competition. Shev brilliant physicist and dedicated a chist, works there on a revolutio theory. But despite years of cond ing, he begins to realize that somet is rotten in his world. Freedom has en way to rigid utilitarianism; mat athy and fear of change have suffoc individual voices. A central admini tion has arisen and grown powe even restrictive. Shevek risks every in a courageous visit to Urras, "to l to teach, to share" and to break dow walls. There he hears his first bird s but other experiences, perplexing dangerous, make him re-examine philosophy of life.

Le Guin's previous book, *The Hand of Darkness,* won both a Hug Nebula—science fiction's equivale the Oscar and the Emmy. *The Dispossessed* should do no less. The com ing worlds of Anarres and Urras h been realized with painstaking int gence. Le Guin's characters, espec Shevek and his family, are complex haunting, and her writing is remark for its sinewy grace. ■ Helen R

Best Sellers

FICTION

1—Watership Down, *Adams (1 last week)*
2—Jaws, *Benchley (2)*
3—Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy, *Le Carré (4)*
4—The Fan Club, *Wallace (3)*
5—The Dogs of War, *Forsyth (10)*
6—Cashelmara, *Howatch (5)*
7—My Life as a Man, *Roth (8)*
8—If Beale Street Could Talk, *Baldwin*
9—The Snare of the Hunter, *MacInnes (6)*
10—The Other Side of Midnight, *Sheldon (9)*

NONFICTION

1—The Gulag Archipelago, *Solzhenitsyn (2)*
2—All the President's Men, *Bernstein & Woodward (1)*
3—You Can Profit from a Monetary Crisis, *Browne (3)*
4—Alive: The Story of the Andes Survivors, *Read (6)*
5—Times to Remember, *Kennedy (5)*
6—Plain Speaking: An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman, *Miller (4)*
7—Working, *Terkel (7)*
8—The Wall Street Gang, *Ney (9)*
9—The Memory Book, *Lorayne & Lucas*
10—The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence, *Marchetti & Marks*

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When Luis Marden found the Bounty...

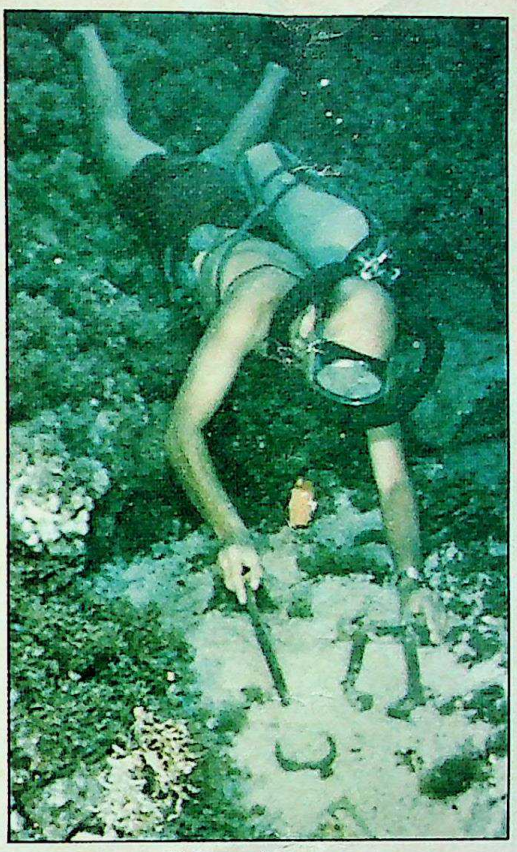
After Captain Bligh and 18 loyal men had been put into a boat and cast adrift, Fletcher Christian sailed away in the Bounty—and disappeared.

Eighteen years later, in 1808, an American ship called at Pitcairn Island and uncovered the grim fate of the Bounty and her crew.

Mr. Christian had run the ship ashore and burnt her. Of the crew, all but one died violent deaths.

Pitcairn Island is 1,300 miles south of Tahiti. Luis Marden went there to see if he could find the Bounty. He knew some of her charred timbers had been found in 1841 and that her rudder was found in 1933. It seemed likely that the shallow water round that totally exposed coast would have swept away every trace of the Bounty, but Marden felt there was a chance.

He dived again and again in the rough seas in Bounty Bay and found nothing, but his luck turned and one day he and Len Christian, descendant of



Fletcher Christian, came upon what Marden believes to be the complete keel line of the ship. All around were fragments of the copper that had sheathed the Bounty's hull, as well as a pintle, an oarlock and fastenings and nails, all covered in hard limey growths.

Marden has dived all over the world in his work for the National Geographic Magazine. He always wears a Rolex.

A Rolex Oyster case is carved from a solid block of 18ct. gold, platinum or stainless steel; so you'll find no seam around its elegant circumference. In all other watches the winder is a weakness. The patented Rolex winding crown holds a unique strength, screwing down onto the case rather like a submarine hatch, to provide a perfect, impenetrable seal. The Rolex crystal is another unique device and becomes even tighter under pressure.

Luis Marden has been wearing his Rolex Submariner for over 16 years. He still calls it his new watch. But then he expects to be wearing it for a long time to come.

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of Geneva

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Pictured: The Rolex Submariner. Available in 18ct. gold or stainless steel with matching bracelet.

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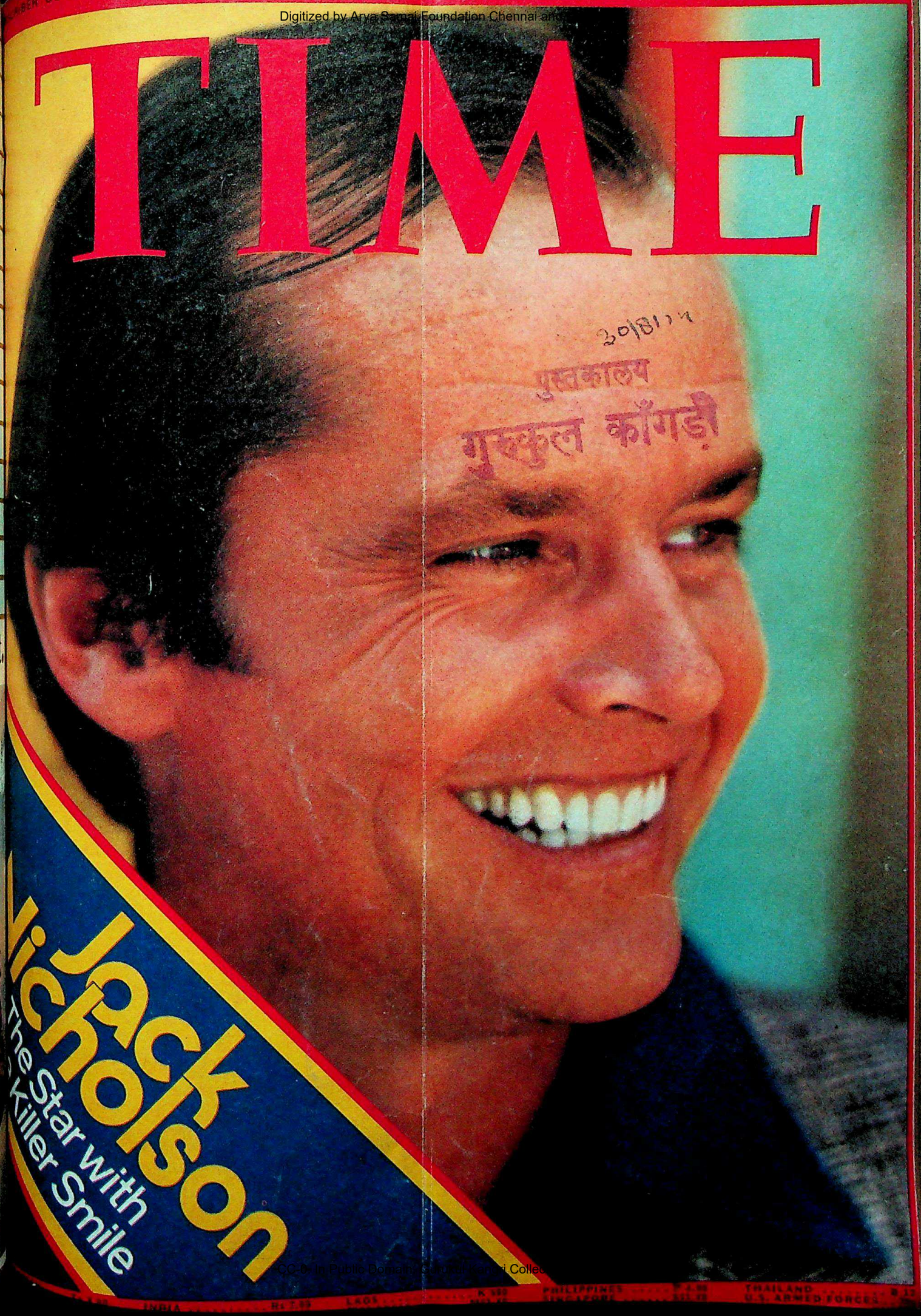


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Jack Nicholson
The Star with a Killer Smile

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aders and Followers

/ Your recent examination of leadership
y 15] was in itself an example of lead-
ip at a time when many Americans have
son to wonder if any institutions—and
se who are responsible for the leadership
them—can survive this decade. I com-
d TIME for drawing attention to excel-
ce and achievement.

ROBERT MORRIS
Sudbury, Mass.

/ The special section on leadership is
nificent in concept and monumental in
ghtenment. You have made a stimulat-
contribution to the ongoing progress and
re necessities of our nation.

RAYMOND M. VEH
Thiensville, Wis.

/ Your article on leadership left out a
l element—followers. Good leaders will
ays be needed if ends that will serve most
the people are to be achieved. But with
ly 200 million Americans in pursuit of
t as many transitory causes, what this
ntry now needs most is long lines of ded-
ted and trustworthy followers.

QUINTON J. NIXON
Virginia Beach, Va.

/ It is a refreshing pleasure to know that
re is a corps of 150 (and perhaps more)
tential world leaders who are dedicated
themselves and to humanity.

Today's young people from 25 to 45
inheriting the reins of power in many
ntries of the world; and, to the surprise
the "old folks," are doing remarkably
l.

ETHAN M. SCHLAMM
Caracas

/ Reading "150 Faces for the Future," I
ld not help thinking that if Watergate
d not been covered up, we might have
n the faces of such future leaders as John
n, Jeb Magruder or Ronald Ziegler.

RONALD KELLY
Aix-en-Provence, France

/ I am sure all members of the Progres-
e Party are glad to see Gordon Waddell
uded in your article, but why, oh why,
e out Helen Suzman, who has done so
ch for the party and represented them
ell in Parliament for so many years?

ALICE POWELL
Johannesburg

hn Suzman is above our cut-off age of

xon and the Court

/ If, as St. Clair argued before the Su-
me Court [July 22], the Watergate grand
y's mention of Nixon as an unindicted co-
spirator made him "an 85% President,"

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we should be pleased, since that clearly indicates at least a 40% increase. But ah, for the day of 0%!

DAVID RIDGELY
Columbia, Md.

Sir / Your article mistakenly describes Justice William J. Brennan Jr. as 74 years old and a Republican. He is neither. A lifelong Democrat, the Justice is presently 68 years old. Given the depth of understanding and wisdom so often displayed in the Justice's opinions, it is not surprising that TIME might have thought that the Justice had served on the court an additional six years. However, as his past law clerks can readily attest, the Justice's remarkable physical vigor belies even his 68 years. Few other men—regardless of their age—begin each day at 5 a.m. with a hearty walk of an hour or more.

TOM JORDE
Law Clerk to Justice Brennan
1973 Term
Washington, D.C.

Double Standard

Sir / It is remarkable to note that when John Mitchell was acquitted, President Nixon spoke glowingly of the American jury system and expressed his profound belief in it; but when Ehrlichman was convicted by jury trial [July 22], Nixon called it a "blot on justice," according to his supporter Rabbi Baruch Korff.

JOHAN HANSELER
Stamford, Conn.

Sir / Judge Gesell's charge to the jury in the Ehrlichman case would put all 200 million of us in jail. We have all had evil thoughts against our neighbors.

CORNELIUS C. FELTON
El Cerrito, Calif.

Sir / Reflecting on the conviction of Mr. Ehrlichman, it is ironic that a long-running TV hit was *Mission: Impossible*, whereby a crew of operatives engaged in all manner of illegal and extralegal acts at the urging of an unnamed "Secretary" who would disavow any knowledge of their actions if they were caught. What was entertaining on TV seems less than humorous for real.

No doubt the men in Washington wish they had followed the original TV scenario, with tapes self-destructing after ten seconds.

LEWIS J. WALKER
Stone Mountain, Ga.

Slim Pickings

Sir / Regarding the verse Sam Ervin quoted before the news conference: *God, give us Men*! [July 22]. The poem might have had more significance, if it had been paraphrased to include the female half of the population. As it is, if the call for people of strong minds and great hearts is limited to men alone, the pickings will be slim indeed.

JANET PARTLOW
Olympia, Wash.

Sir / Had you included the four final lines of Josiah Gilbert Holland's poem, you might have affronted a quibbling press and that fault-finding, do-nothing Congress whose principal aim is to get re-elected. I dare you to quote them, lines which apply to Democrats as well as to Republicans:

"For while the rabble, with their time-worn their little deeds,/ Mingle in selfish strife, Lo! Freedom weeps,/ Wrong rules the land, and waiting Justice sleeps."

DORIS D. SCOTT
Chicago

No Sale

Sir / So 50 U.S. Congressmen support a bill to sharply restrict the sale to Russia of voiceprint identification machines, psychological-stress evaluators, fraudproof identification systems and other surveillance gadgetry [July 22]. Is there still time to amend that bill to also sharply restrict the sale of this equipment in the U.S.?

LEE TURNBULL
Bainbridge Island, Wash.

Sir / The proposed surveillance sale by U.S. businessmen to the Soviet government represents all that is wrong with the American way of life. Such greed! Such lack of principles! The newspapers and magazines today are replete with accounts of Soviet dissidents being hounded, bugged, interrogated and experimented upon with mind-bending drugs. And for the almighty dollar, U.S. businessmen are willing to become partners in this grisly operation to stamp out a fledgling democratic movement. How sad!

VICTOR A. NAKAS
New York City

Sir / It is within America's power (and our businessmen are obviously ready) to show the Russians how to make good the Communist notion that, where state dogma is concerned, privacy and dissent have no place—not even within the hidden recesses of the mind. Here is a fine example of business and dictatorship working together peacefully and profitably.

I strongly urge Congressmen, who will vote on this proposed trade deal, to first read a book on the subject by Alexander Solzhenitsyn: *The Gulag Archipelago*.

ROBERT M. STANLEY
Sacramento, Calif.

Warren: Justice or Fairness?

Sir / Earl Warren [July 22] may be remembered by some as a great man of justice, but I cannot help feeling that those who became victims of his court could also ask "Is it fair?" Perhaps this country's bleeding-heart liberals should review Miranda and his record after 1966. I personally credit Earl Warren and his court for the breakdown of morals and the rise in crime in this country.

DAVID MOORE
Sherman, Texas

Sir / Chief Justice Earl Warren will be greatly missed. In the critical years ahead, America will need all of the Earl Warrens it can find if our constitutional American way of life is to survive.

The courts and the press are two of the few defenders still standing against the growing assaults on the guarantees of our constitutional form of government.

ROBERT H. HOFFMAN
Philadelphia

Scream Fire

Sir / The suggestion in "Revolt Against Rape" [July 22] that women in danger should scream should be carried one step further. Instead of screaming "rape" or "help," they should scream "fire." Unfor-

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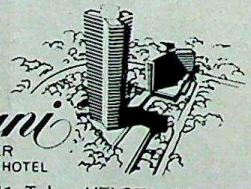

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to the screams of someone in danger ... they feel that they share that danger.

MERLYN WHITAKER
Salt Lake City

Sir / It is not the medical community ... courts or the law-enforcement agencies ... have declared war on rape—it is ... themselves. Women should demand ... their daughters receive courses in self-... fense in junior and senior high schools ... that local governments and private ... provide adequate lighting at night. ... cerned women will continue to demand ... their communities fight the conditions ... attitudes that nurture rape.

DEBORAH L. CAZZELL
JILL LENK SCHILP
Dallas Women Against Rape, Inc.
Dallas

Sir / Napoleon knew that man can't ... a moving needle. When a woman ... plained to the Emperor that she had ... raped by one of his officers, he handed ... his sword and asked her to sheathe it ... he moved the scabbard.

The woman said she could not ... as he was moving the sheath. Napoleon ... plied that if she had done the same ... she never would have been raped.

D. PEELEMAN
Antwerp

In Sinatra's Wake

Sir / Secretary of State Henry Kissinger ... next mission should be a good-will tour ... Australia to calm the wake left by ... spoiled and ill-mannered Frank Sinatra ... [July 22]. Do us all a favor, Frankie, and ... turn to retirement.

KENNETH G. LEMMER
Madison, Wis.

Sir / It seems to me that as soon as a ... person shuns the press, you in turn ... down their necks and get on your high ... es. Do you think you're gods, that you ... control everyone's lives?

ELLEN D. KREIL
Doraville, Ga.

Sir / The arrogant Mr. Sinatra doesn't ... the press, just as his friend the arrogant ... Agnew didn't like it, or the arrogant ... Nixon. What this shows is how ungrateful ... these people are for the very institutions ... that enabled them to climb to social, ... ical and economic heights in the first ... None of them were born wealthy. ... weren't for the free press we would ... long since had a ruling class in America ... and these men would certainly have ... peasants, not aristocrats. The self-made ... man is a phenomenon possible only in a free ... society. How pathetic it is that so many self-... made men seem to forget the debt they owe ... to those institutions that make that freedom ... possible.

JOHN A. REEDER
Buffalo

Missed Chance

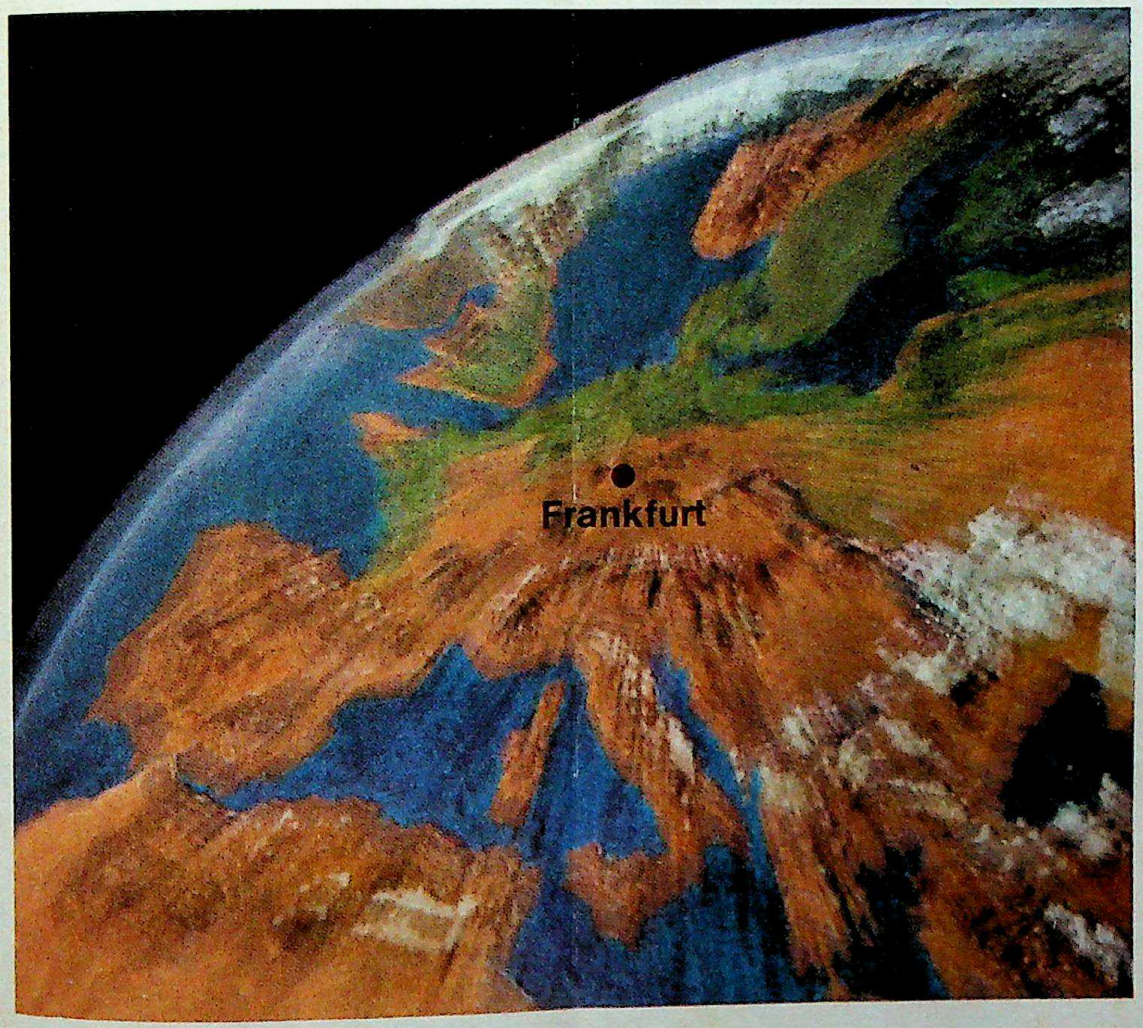
Sir / What is happening to TIME? Last week ... no coverage was given to the World Cup ... in Germany by your magazine. Here was ... your chance to give us a break from Watergate and President Nixon, but you sadly blew it.

MICHAEL L. MIDDLETON
Delft, Holland

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All European centers are central. But one is more central.

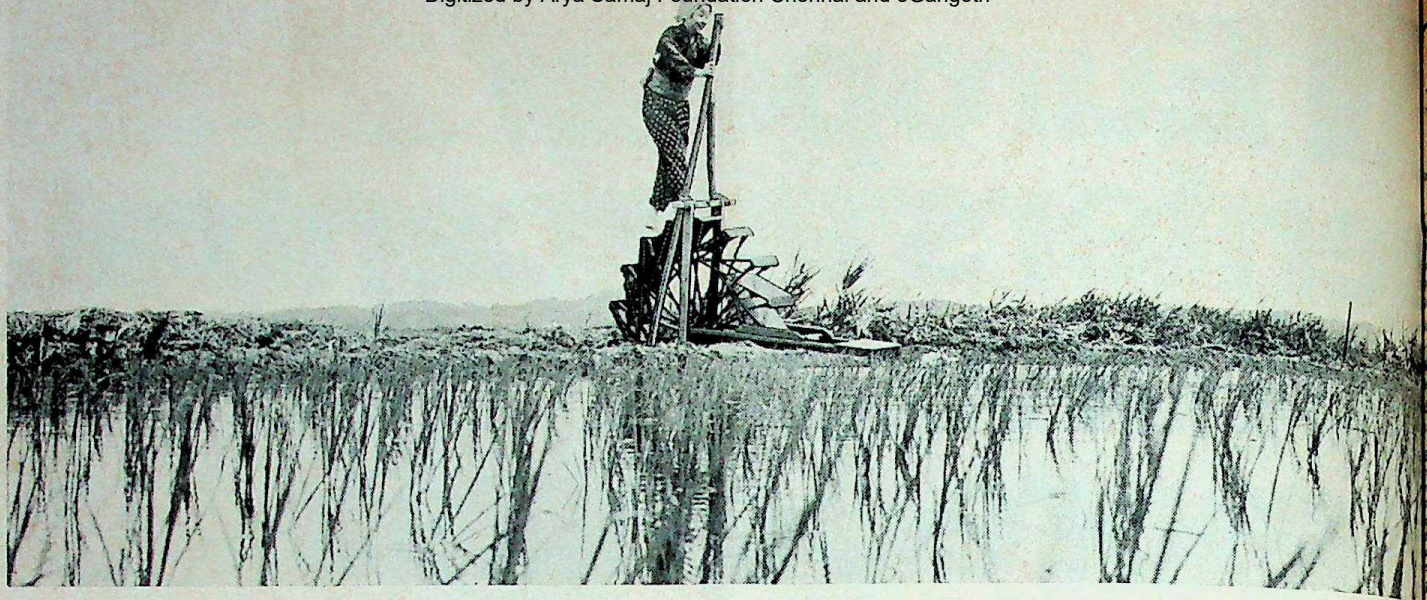


The more you fly

Lufthansa
German Airlines

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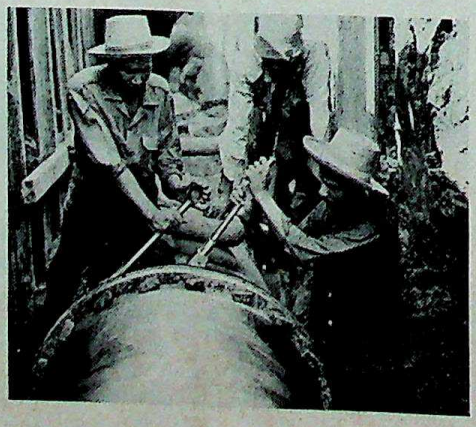


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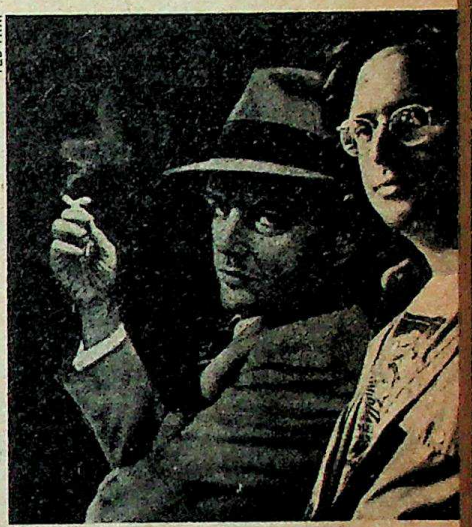
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A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

Movie critics are born and not made, at least if the professional development of TIME's Jay Cocks is at all representative. "Even before I could read," he says, "I looked at the movie ads in the papers rather than the comics." Naturally, as a kid Cocks lived on a steady and omnivorous diet of films, but stopped short of skipping school to sit goggle-eyed before the big screen. "My parents were both educators, so hooky was out of the question." At Kenyon College in 1966, Cocks organized the campus' first film festival, then joined TIME in 1967. He now sees about eight movies a week—"mostly through my own choice"—including oldies shown on TV and others occasionally on his home 16-mm. system. When reviewing a new film of unusual interest, Cocks might sit through it five times (though not necessarily consecutively) before rendering judgment.

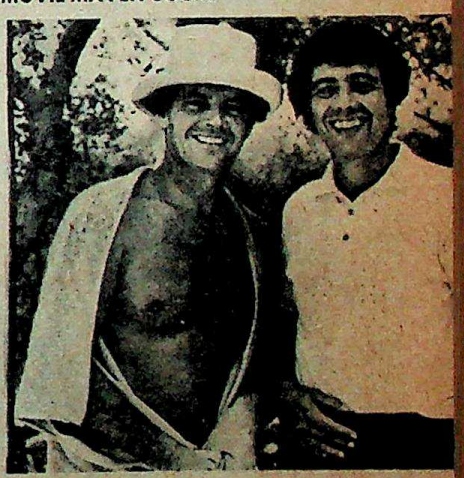
Cocks first spotted this week's cover subject as "a really aces actor" in the early 1960s, when Jack Nicholson was gracing drive-in screens in horror movies. In writing the story, Cocks drew on correspondents' files and the research aid of Pat Gordon, taking time out for a few quick antiaircraft battles at his favorite pinball parlor. The writing done, he turned his manuscript over to Senior Editor Martha Duffy, who asked Cocks to wait while she gave his piece a once-over reading. "I'm going to the movies," he announced. "You're *what?*" said Duffy. "To the movies," repeated Cocks, already out of the office door. "I've gotta relax, you know."



TED THAI

MOVIE MAVEN COCKS

Los Angeles Correspondent Leo Janos handled the bulk of the reporting, conducting eight hours of interviews with Nicholson at the actor's Los Angeles home. Before their first session Janos asked Nicholson for "a list of people in your life who may not be obvious to me—leave out close friends, former wife and girl friends." The gregarious Nicholson reeled off more than 40 names. A few days later Janos was at Nicholson's house when "the phones—three separate lines—began ringing off the actor's wall." "My friends are reporting in from all over the place that they're being interviewed," Nicholson said, adding with some hyperbole: "It's like undergoing an FBI full-field check for a top-secret job. TIME marches on."



JULIAN WASSER

NICHOLSON & JANOS

Ralph P. Davidson

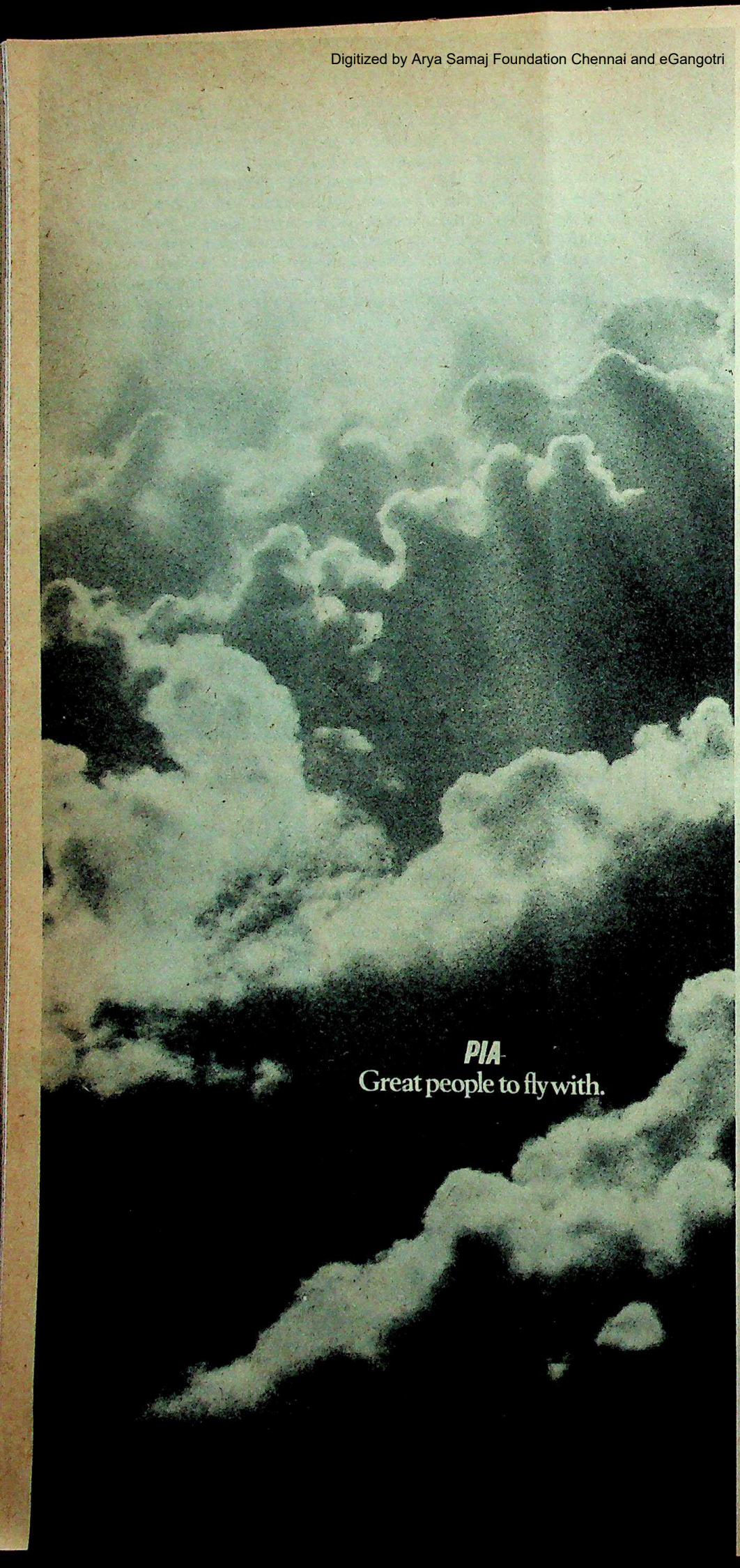
INDEX

Cover Story 34	Economy & Business 46	Milestones 44
Essay 29	Environment 45	People 32
Behavior 31	Letters 1	Religion 40
Books 54	Market Week 14	Science 52
Cinema 34	Medicine 44	Sport 39
Dance 42		U.S. 16
		World 7

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We've built up one of the best training schools in the world. Twenty-six other airlines have sent us their pilots, engineers, and ground staff for training. And many of them show their respect for our Engineering Department by sending us their aircraft for maintenance.

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We'll take you there–and to many other places–by DC10-30 or Boeing 707.

And every fourth passenger we fly is a new one. We're growing fast. Because more and more people are choosing PIA.

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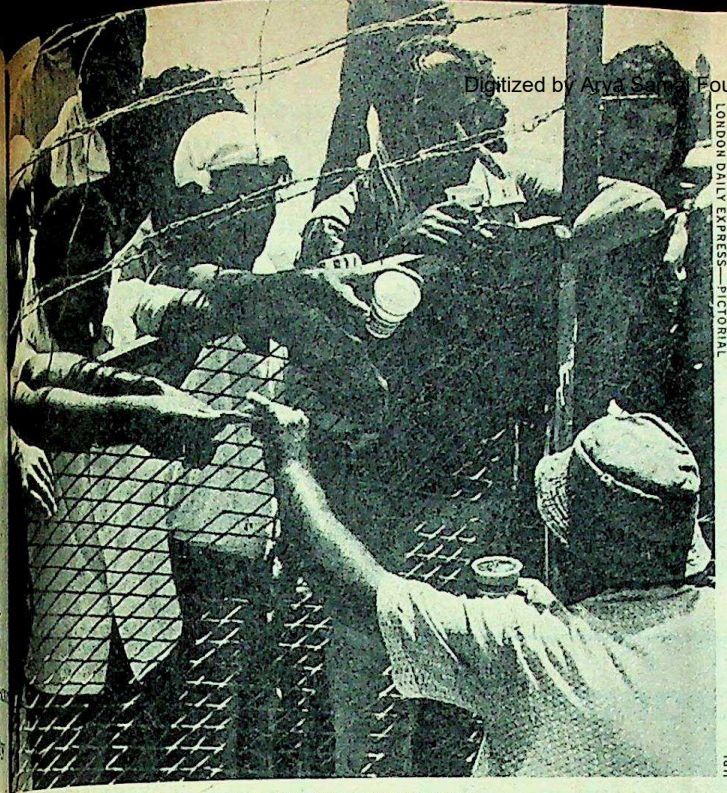
We're adding new routes to our Eastern network. And we're adding new aircraft.

We're setting ourselves new standards for every aspect of PIA's operation: engineering; ground service; catering; flight service; punctuality.

And when we achieve these targets, we'll set ourselves higher ones.

That's why (if you're that one new passenger in four) we hope you'll find us great people to fly with.

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TISH-CYPRIOT PRISONERS BUYING WATER AT LIMASSOL



GREEK-CYPRIOT PRISONERS AT P.O.W. MESS HALL IN TURKEY

PRUS

rying to Make Peace

The bitter battle over Cyprus be-
en Turks and Greeks extended last
k beyond the island to United Na-
s conference halls in Geneva and
w York City. In each arena, military
political, Turkey was emerging as
decisive victor. On the island, the in-
ding Turks continued to pour men and
pment into their corridor between
rnia and Nicosia. By week's end the
ish force was estimated at 30,000
backed by 300 tanks. In political
ks in Geneva, the Turkish govern-
t delayed attempts to scale down its
rus force and took advantage of the
ation by broadening its Kyrenian
chhead in open defiance of a cease-
agreement.

In spite of the death and debris that
badly crippled Cyprus *(see box)* and
ed at least a thousand victims on ei-
side, small Greek forces continued
hold out against overwhelming Turk-
power. Skirmishes raged round the
rnia area as ill-equipped Greeks de-
ded such small Greek Cypriot villag-
s Karavas, Lapithos and Agridhaki.
s on Mount Kyparissovouno, nine
es west of Kyrenia, mortar shells ig-
d massive forest fires.

When they were not breaking the
e-fire, some Turkish troops system-
ally looted shops and homes in Kyre-
a former Greek Cypriot enclave and
most important town Cypriot Turks
occupied since troubles began on
sland. Residents of Kyrenia fled to
were protected by U.N. soldiers. Said Andreas Karioulou, 52, a noted diver whose discoveries off the island include a 2,200-year-old Greek galley: "It is hard to see your property go up in ashes. But I was born here, and I have no intention of leaving. The Turks should not keep us under guard forever."

Favoring Turkey. The Turks refused to obey peacekeeping orders from blue-helmeted U.N. troops. They made U.N. soldiers leave Turkish enclaves and forbade them to bring food to Greek refugees in Kyrenia, permitting the International Red Cross to handle the job instead. Snapped one Turkish official last week: "The U.N. has been openly favorable to the Greeks from the beginning, and it has got to stop."

Such antagonism was not a hopeful sign for the second round of talks due to open in Geneva this week to find a peaceful solution for the island. Last week the three guarantors of peace under the 1960 treaty of independence —Britain, Greece and Turkey—completed the first round during six days of lengthy discussions at the U.N.'s Palais des Nations. They agreed to a basic declaration that largely favored Turkey by allowing it to keep its troops in Cyprus and also reiterated a cease-fire plan worked out at the U.N. The mood of the participants, who in the second round will include Greek and Turkish Cypriots, indicated, however, that peacekeeping would be difficult all round.

Glafcos Clerides, who has been acting as temporary President of Cyprus following the coup against Archbishop Makarios and the downfall of Coup Leader Nikos Sampson (TIME, Aug. 5) hopefully said that the Geneva talks could be "the start of a new era." But Clerides also complained that "the Turks have imposed the conditions. They are in a position of strength, and they are taking advantage of it."

Turkish Cypriot representatives bound for Geneva were equally belligerent. The Turkish community on the island is already making plans to enlarge Kyrenia's port. In addition, a new ferry service linking Kyrenia and the Turkish mainland nearly 50 miles away will soon start. The Turkish Cypriots, who are outnumbered almost 5 to 1 by Greek Cypriots on the island of 659,000 people, apparently do not intend to relinquish any of the salient that has been won for them by the Turkish army. Said Rauf Denktaş, leader of the 119,000 Turks on Cyprus: "We want Kyrenia to come back to normal, but it will be different now; we will be the master." Denktaş hinted that federation of the Turkish sector of the island to Turkey itself might be his eventual goal.

Such declarations got strident support from Ankara. Premier Bülent Ecevit, Turkey's new hero for his decision to send troops to Cyprus *(see following story)*, noted that "many things have irrevocably changed." In Athens the new democratic government of Constantine Caramanlis had little choice but to accept the changes. "Mistakes have to be paid for," said Caramanlis in a reference to the former junta's rash decision to overthrow Makarios. Greek Foreign Minister George Mavros explained that "we did not go to Geneva for diplomat-

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ic glory. We went there to prevent a deterioration of the situation."

One danger of the heated-up situation on Cyprus was that it could involve the superpowers more directly, something that both Washington and Moscow have so far avoided. Soviet U.N. Delegate Yakov Malik at one point last week brusquely vetoed a U.N. Security Council draft resolution on the crisis. The motion called for beefing up the Cyprus peace-keeping force to 5,000 men and allowing U.N. troops to begin mapping cease-fire lines and laying out buffer zones between Greeks and Turks. Malik hinted that the Soviets are increasingly unhappy with the exclusive Western involvement in solving the Cyprus crisis. After making his point, Malik let the motion pass the next day.

The Soviet complaint was aimed mainly at Washington. U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger took a long-distance but key part in the Geneva negotiations, exerting America's growing influence on the Eastern Mediterranean. Kissinger was on the telephone frequently with British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan as well as with Premier Ecevit in Ankara, who studied international affairs under Kissinger at Harvard in 1957. Kissinger suggested the compromise that kept last week's Geneva talks from failing. When the Turks objected to the eventual communiqué's calling for immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from the isla... proposed it read "timely and pha... duction of forces." The Turks ac... the wording, since it gave them ... time to keep their troops on Cyprus ... the Greeks went along. In additio... Turks were allowed to keep land ... army had taken after the original ... fire a week earlier.

Though talk of full-scale w... tween Turkey and Greece has ... muted, the situation remains so vo... that swift success in the peace-kee... negotiations this week is considere... gent by all participants. Yet the ... lems are so complex and the hatr... tween Greeks and Turks so deep ... no quick solution is in sight.

"Scarred for Two Generations"

Ancient Kyrenia, tucked into the north coast of Cyprus, was once one of the most idyllic small-boat harbors and vacation spots in the eastern Mediterranean. But last week, reported TIME Correspondent William Marmon after a revisit to the place where he had vacationed in the past and more recently hunkered down during the Turkish invasion, Kyrenia was like a charnel house. Bloated human bodies rotted in back alleys; livestock and chickens were dying of starvation; meats and produce were putrefying in the summer sun because shelling and gunfire had cut off electricity. From a happy harbor Kyrenia had disintegrated into a place where 700 terrified Greek Cypriot refugees were locked up in Castellis Dome Hotel rooms designed for 250 guests while Turkish soldiers happily looted stores and private homes.

In a sense, Marmon reported, the same disintegration affected the whole island as a result of the fierce fighting between Turks and Greeks. Few utilities were functioning fully. The tally sheets of death and destruction were still being added up, and islanders on both sides were struggling to comprehend the "new realities" that Turkish Premier Bülent Ecevit warned of in the wake of the Turkish invasion. Thousands of residents—both Turkish and Greek—had been turned into refugees.

In the long term perhaps the most serious effect of the invasion will be on the economy. Damage was severe to the tourist trade, in which Cypriots have invested $300 million. Last year travelers from all over the world left $66 million on Cyprus, or 40% of the island's foreign-exchange earnings. This year the take had been expected to reach $90 million. "Our hearts are bleeding," Tourism Director-General Adonis Andronikou told Marmon. "This year would have been a record."

■

Nicosia's International Airport, which handled most of the tourist travel, was heavily damaged and will be out of service for months. In addition, the airport is situated in a disputed zone which both Turkish and Greek Cypriots now claim. In Famagusta, four major hotels along the town's "Golden Mile" of hostelries—the Venus Beach, Blue Sea, Salaminia Tower and Aspelia —were nearly destroyed. The Ledra Palace in Nicosia, acknowledged queen of Cypriot hotels, is a shell-pocked shambles. A construction program ... which 35 additional hotels were ... built throughout the island has been ... pended indefinitely.

The war claimed other casu... Monasteries and Crusader castles ... diadems among Cyprus' sightseeing ... tractions, were hit by gunfire or ... by shell-started flames. In Fama... the church of St. Nicholas where ... kings of Jerusalem were once cro... was damaged. The temple of Apha... in Paphos was seriously pocked by ... tar shells. In Bellapaise, high abo... sea on the north coast, the 14th ce... abbey with its lemon trees is under ... ed Nations protection.

Though the situation is bleak ... not totally black. Shops, banks ... newspapers were slowly reopening ... week. A few freighters returned to ... riot harbors. From Limassol, in ... the first post-fighting shipments ... go of lush grapes left the island ... with other government offices, the ... of Cyprus returned to limited work ... island is far from broke: the Bank ... prus has $330 million in sterling in ... don vaults to underwrite loans that ... assist Cyprus in rebuilding. But a ... U.N. official in Nicosia observed, ... prus will be economically marked ... generation, and psychologically s... for two generations."

THE BODY OF A VICTIM OF LAST WEEK'S FIGHTING IN CYPRUS BETWEEN TURKS & GREEKS LIES IN AN ALLEY OF KYRENIA



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TURKEY

Ecevit: The Poet Premier

"He wouldn't even kill an ant," was the way Turks described Bülent Ecevit, 49, their Premier. His biographer called him a "romantic, artistic, even mystical man." The son of a respected writer, Ecevit (pronounced Edge-a-vit) is a translator of the poetry of T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound into Turkish and a poet in his own right. In fact, one of his poems is about the ambivalent attraction between Greeks and Turks:

"No matter that we are not of the same racial blood;/ The wild spirit flowing in our veins is the same./ We have kissed each other;/ And have been bloodily knived;/ But there is still a love within us."

Short (5 ft. 6 in.) and skinny, he has the appearance of a prim provincial schoolmaster and lacks the flashy personal style common in Turkey's byzantine politics. But since he ordered the invasion of Cyprus by Turkish troops, Ecevit's image has changed. He has become a national hero. He has also won the grudging respect of the Turkish armed forces that he had alienated in 1971 when he was the only politician to protest publicly the grabbing of political power and imposition of martial law by the generals.

Before the recent Cyprus crisis, he had spent most of his political career on domestic affairs, crusading for liberal causes. As Minister of Labor in 1961, he sponsored Turkey's first right-to-strike legislation. He is an advocate of land reform, the improvement of health care and social services in rural areas and increased state participation in basic industries. Two years ago, he successfully challenged Turkey's venerable political leader Ismet Inönü (who had served as President or Premier throughout most of a quarter-century) for the chairmanship of the mildly leftist Republican People's Party.

When the generals permitted parliamentary elections in October 1973, Ecevit's party increased its number of seats by nearly 100%. He became Premier last January after patching together an unlikely coalition of his own party and its conservative opponents, the Moslem-dominated National Salvation Party. Although his coalition has a comfortable 16-vote majority in the 450-member National Assembly, Ecevit will probably be tempted to call new elections as soon as the Cyprus situation settles down. He will want to cash in on the popularity he gained from his defiance of the U.S. in allowing Turkish farmers to grow opium poppies after a three-year ban (TIME, July 15) and his decisive actions during the Cyprus crisis. Re-election would give him up to four more years in office.

John Shaw and Mehmet Ali Kislali in his spacious office in Ankara. Over tea and with a relief map of Cyprus on the wall near him, Ecevit gave his views of the situation:

ON THE CYPRUS WAR

Our main concern is the large Turkish community [119,000]. It is our moral responsibility to help when needed. The Greeks had been violating Cyprus agreements for a decade by illegally shipping in troops and military equipment.

KEYSTONE



ECEVIT DURING JULY VISIT TO LONDON
Romantic, artistic and now a national hero.

In the crises of 1964 and 1967, when Turkish Cypriots were being massacred, we wanted to go in and help, but our allies put obstacles in our way. Thus we hesitated. This time we knew we could not delay. If we did, then everything would have been lost for all Cypriots. The independent state of Cyprus would have ended, and *de facto enosis* [union with Greece] would have occurred.

It was our duty. So we took the initiative. We limited our objectives to providing security and to restoring the constitutional status of Cyprus. We have now reached a position where we can ensure that any new solution to the Cyprus question does not conflict with the interests of Turkey or with the interests of the

example, it is a fact that the Turks on Cyprus can no longer live under Greek rule. This fact should be made part of the new constitutional solution for Cyprus. Separate government for Greeks and Turks on the island is essential after all that has happened.

ON PEACE PROSPECTS

I do not want to look too far into the future. But at the Geneva talks we insisted that Turkey should not be expected to withdraw forces now or stop reinforcing them. The reason is that we have learned from dire experience over the years that our military presence is necessary if we are to contribute to establishing constitutional order in Cyprus as well as maintaining the safety of the Turkish Cypriots. And we have to keep troops there as long as necessary—until we can feel sure about Cyprus. To reach that stage, there must be mutual confidence, on the island and the mainlands. Without that, we cannot live together, so I feel it is our duty to contribute to building mutual confidence, and I hope the Greeks will reciprocate.

ON TURKISH-GREEK RELATIONS

I believe there is a strong, latent affinity between Turks and Greeks. We share some of the same folklore and lived under the same government for centuries. I believe in Turkish-Greek friendship. Even during the fighting we tried to say nothing to hurt the Greeks. There have been no public demonstrations against Greeks in Turkey.

I think that Constantine Caramanlis, the new Premier of Greece, is the sort of man with whom we can work. In the past, he has shown he realizes the need for friendship with us and contributed much to it. He may have to do certain things that the Greek people may not easily accept. I assume the Greeks realize that Premier Caramanlis has inherited an accumulation of mistakes for which he is not responsible. The military regime in Athens made it impossible for us to have a dialogue with the Greeks. But now we have a new opportunity.

However, in the present hostile state of relations between our two countries, we cannot continue cooperating with the Greeks in NATO. While Greeks and Turks were fighting on Cyprus, high-ranking Greek officers remained at NATO headquarters in our Port Izmir. I have explained to the Americans that this is no longer possible. We realize that the continuation of the alliance in the area is essential. Therefore, an atmosphere of mutual confidence between us must be created if the southeastern flank of NATO is to remain intact and

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GREECE

An End to Medieval Darkness

Greece's first civilian Cabinet in more than seven years moved confidently last week to consolidate its power. Despite the urgent demands of the Cyprus crisis, which has brought his country to the brink of war with Turkey, new Premier Constantine Caramanlis worked methodically to erase the remnants of repression by the military junta's iron-fisted rule—what one newspaper newly freed from censorship called the "days of medieval darkness."

He restored the Greek constitution of 1952, guaranteeing civil rights to all Greeks; the junta had abolished it in 1967. A Cabinet spokesman promised that a referendum would be held "in due time" to decide whether Greece would remain a republic or again become a monarchy. He pledged "the formation of a democracy in which all Greeks will have a voice." In the meantime, the Cabinet would legislate by decree. At Caramanlis' urging, the Cabinet fired all the military-appointed provincial prefects and all secretaries-general of the government ministries. Most of Greece's ambassadors and top officials of the national bank, the government-controlled radio and television network and the official Athens News Agency are expected to be removed next. Minister of Education Nicolaos Louros plans to revise school texts, poems and songs to rid them of their pro-junta slant.

Much of the country's political left has expressed satisfaction with the pace of Caramanlis' reforms. Charalambos Dracopoulos, the secretary of the relatively moderate "interior" wing of the outlawed Communist Party, declared that "this government is a great step forward." He demonstrated his confidence by meeting with a small group of foreign journalists—the first time in three decades that a Communist leader has dared to meet openly with the press. Student activists, who triggered last year's anti-junta demonstrations, also seem willing to give Caramanlis a chance. Said one student at Athens Polytechnic: "Caramanlis may not be our idea of the man of the future, but we have received him as a guarantor of democracy."

The left's confidence in the new Premier probably results mainly from his inclusion of left-of-center ministers in his largely center-right Cabinet. Heading the Ministry of Industry is Socialist Charalambos Protopappas, who tried in vain to build a social welfare movement in Greece. George Magakis, a liberal academic who was imprisoned by the junta, is Minister of Public Works, and Economist Ioannis Pesmatzoglou, a former deputy governor of the Bank of Greece and an advocate of social democratic policies, is Minister of Finance.

TEAM



GREEK PREMIER CARAMANLIS (RIGHT) WITH FOREIGN MINISTER MAVROS
Building democracy upon the ruins of military dictatorship.

Allaying Fears. The leftists vocally critical of Caramanlis are the "exterior" (pro-Moscow) wing of the Communist Party and Andreas Papandreou, the maverick radical who has lived in exile for six and a half years. Papandreou insists that the new government was a creation of the CIA and is still in the hands of the armed forces.

Papandreou's charge reflected some of the continuing concern in Greece over the military's potential influence [illegible] the government. Because the mem[illegible] of the junta voluntarily turned the g[illegible] ernment over to civilian rule after [illegible] Cyprus debacle, they may feel that t[illegible] have the right to take over again if t[illegible] think Caramanlis' reforms go too [illegible] They certainly have the power, since [illegible] members of the former regime still h[illegible] high positions in the armed forces.

To allay such fears, Caramanlis [illegible] vealed that he had agreed to beco[illegible] Premier only after being promised [illegible] "the armed forces would return to t[illegible] duties and not in any way interfere [illegible] the policymaking of my governme[illegible] He added: "I wish to declare that th[illegible] conditions are respected to the letter [illegible] that the government controls the s[illegible] ation and freely formulates its policy

As if to emphasize Caramanl[illegible] words, the Cabinet last week resto[illegible] to the civilians in the Ministry of D[illegible] fense complete authority over the ar[illegible] forces. The E.S.A., the hated milit[illegible] police, was deprived of its powers to [illegible] rest and interrogate civilians. It was [illegible] E.S.A. that Brigadier General Dimit[illegible] Ioannidis used to make himself [illegible] ta's strongman and terrorize the Gr[illegible] populace. Widely blamed for plann[illegible] the coup against Cyprus' President M[illegible] karios, which led to the Turkish in[illegible] sion, Ioannidis has not been seen pu[illegible] licly since the civilian government w[illegible] installed. He has been stripped of [illegible] power and placed on inactive service [illegible] the next six months.

No Purges. The lingering questi[illegible] Can Caramanlis make all this stick? [illegible] may currently be independent, but he [illegible] alizes that he must not completely al[illegible] ate the generals. His Minister of Pu[illegible] Order, Solon Ghikas, has already pro[illegible] ised that there would be no pur[illegible] among the National Security For[illegible] Last week's signing of a Cyprus cea[illegible] fire agreement may have angered s[illegible] ultra-nationalists but it may also h[illegible] relaxed some of the tensions betw[illegible] the new government and the milit[illegible] for the generals were no doubt pain[illegible] ly aware that it was the best that Gre[illegible] could get in the face of Turkey's su[illegible] rior military power. The Geneva d[illegible] laration was almost entirely in Turk[illegible] favor (*see story page 7*), but as one [illegible] servant in Athens observed: "The p[illegible] ple blame the junta for the whole p[illegible] and so they know that they have to [illegible] the price of an unfavorable bargain."

Beyond Cyprus and establishing [illegible] authority of his government, Caramanl[illegible] must take bold measures to strengt[illegible] Greece's shaky economy, which [illegible] been aggravated since the Cyprus c[illegible] began July 15—an estimated $400 [illegible] lion lost in tourism, foreign remittan[illegible] and shipping, and a 40% cut in in[illegible] trial production. So far, Caramanlis [illegible] demonstrated an impressive ability [illegible] make the most of a grim situation. [illegible] he still has a long way to go—politi[illegible] ly and economically—if he is to succ[illegible] in constructing a democracy on the

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PORTUGAL

End of the Last Empire

Some terrorists came to our camp and said that if we wanted a cease-fire to come into place they indicated. Our officers went as directed. The Frelimo crept up and surrounded us. I thought we had been tricked, but when they saw we had no guns they threw down their guns and embraced us and called us brothers. Now we are planning a soccer game.
—Letter from a Portuguese soldier in Mozambique

It had seemed inevitable and yet, when the moment finally arrived, it began with breathtaking impact: after nearly 500 years of colonialism, the last 13 of them mired in bloody guerrilla warfare, Portugal was leaving Africa. The first, and probably the last of the world's great modern colonial empires was ending. Portugal was "now ready to begin the process of transfer of power to the inhabitants of the overseas territories recognized as ready for it—namely Guinea, Angola and Mozambique."

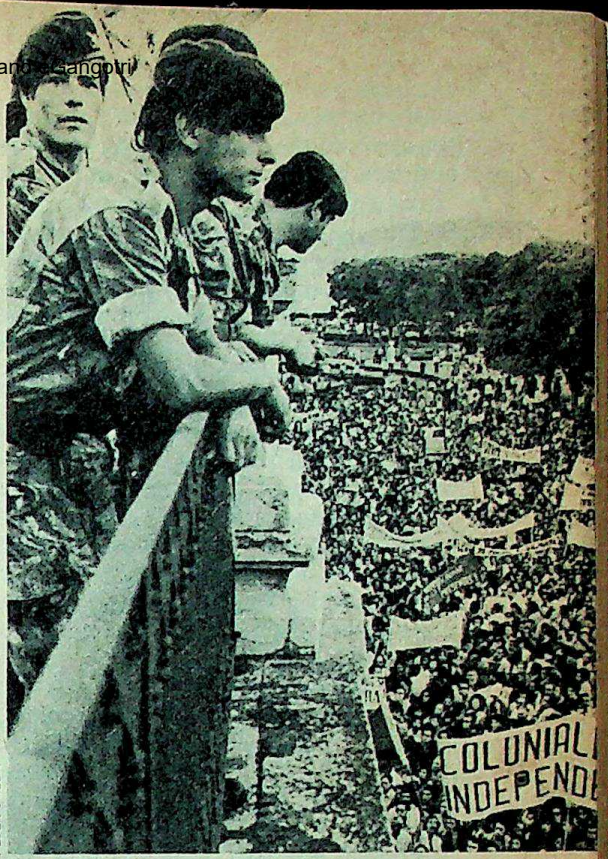
From the balmy streets of the Mozambique capital of Lourenço Marques on the Indian Ocean to the jungles of Guinea-Bissau on the Atlantic to the air-conditioned halls of Lisbon's presidential palace, the news announced last week by Portuguese President António de Spínola was for the most part greeted with shouts and demonstrations of joy.

Magical Transformations. Thousands of ecstatic blacks danced through the streets of Mozambique, shouting "Viva Spínola! Viva Spínola!" Out in the bush, where there had been bitter fighting only days before, guerrillas and Portuguese soldiers laid down their arms and shook hands in a spontaneous ceasefire. In the northern province of Tete, a longtime stronghold of the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] and scene of the area's worst civilian massacres, hatred seemed magically transformed into brotherhood. A rebel leader high on Portugal's "wanted" list exhorted a throng of blacks and whites "to live in harmony." Frelimo guerrillas were feted at a dinner party by army officers.

Not everyone was cheering. Even as Spínola was announcing Lisbon's new policy, the liner *Infante Dom Henrique* pulled out of Lourenço Marques with 1,200 tearful whites and their personal possessions. Airlines flying from Mozambique to Portugal were reported booked up until October. Those who were fleeing, either because they feared the uncertainties of the months ahead or retribution from a new black government, still represent less than 1% of the white population. But to many onlookers, the sailing of the *Dom Henrique* seemed a symbolic Portuguese retreat. Observed Joaquim Peres, a white businessman who will stay: "It is the end of one world

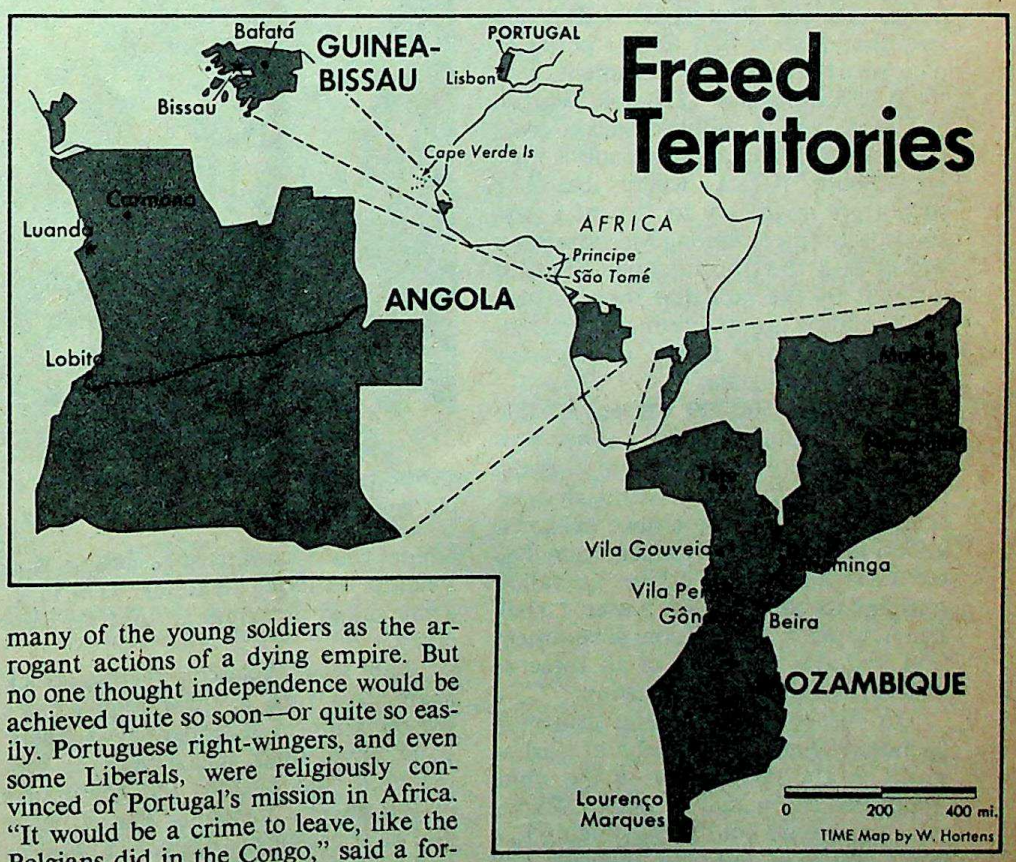
Others obviously unhappy were the big business concerns that came to be identified over the years with Portugal's colonialist policies. The Diamang Diamond Co. in Angola, for example, operated for decades like an empire within an empire with its own dreaded police force, which was said to have coerced blacks into forced labor. The tactics have changed since then, but when a high-ranking Portuguese minister was asked if such companies would be allowed to continue operating in the territories, he replied, "I think not."

Lisbon's decision to grant independence to its African colonies had been a much-discussed possibility ever since the April coup in which dissident army officers overthrew the right-wing dictatorship of Marcello Caetano. One of the officers' main goals was to stop the wars in the colonies, which consumed 40% of the Portuguese budget and struck



PETER COLLIS

THRONGS IN LISBON CHEERING INDEPENDENCE



many of the young soldiers as the arrogant actions of a dying empire. But no one thought independence would be achieved quite so soon—or quite so easily. Portuguese right-wingers, and even some Liberals, were religiously convinced of Portugal's mission in Africa. "It would be a crime to leave, like the Belgians did in the Congo," said a foreign ministry spokesman last March. "They would just kill and eat each other." Spínola himself had advocated a kind of federation that would give the overseas territories a wide measure of autonomy but keep them under the Portuguese flag.

It was only in recent months, when rebel attacks became increasingly strong and dispirited Portuguese troops in some cases refused to fight any longer, that Portugal recognized that the only solution was the granting of full independence. The government's decision was announced in an emotional address over

moment has come for our overseas territories to take their destinies into their own hands," he told his electrified audience. "This is the historic moment for which Portugal, the African territories and the world have been waiting: peace in Portuguese Africa, finally achieved in justice and freedom."

For Spínola, 64, the announcement climaxed a long struggle of conscience that began in 1968 when, as a brigadier general, he served in Guinea-Bissau as commander and military governor. After returning home to a hero's welcome

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Portugal and the Future, in which he argued that there was "no viable military solution" to the problem of the colonies and that continuation of the war would "irremediably compromise the survival" of Portugal. The book became an instant bestseller, and Spínola was fired as deputy chief of the armed forces. A few weeks later the young officers of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement toppled the Caetano regime and selected Spínola as the new President.

Ensuring a peaceful and just transition to local rule will be difficult, as Spínola observed. The biggest challenge will be keeping order while political factions and blacks and whites vie for power. The territories, moreover, have almost nothing in common, and will require separate settlements. The probable course in each:

▸ Guinea-Bissau (3,000 whites, 500,000 blacks) is the smallest problem. It will be the first territory to be given independence. The nationalist African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (P.A.I.G.C.) declared a republic last year, which is now recognized by 80 countries, including the Soviet Union. Portuguese authorities said that Lisbon will almost certainly recognize the existing government.

▸ Mozambique (220,000 whites, 60,000 Asians, 8 million blacks) could have trouble. It has close economic links with South Africa, where *apartheid* supporters might try to foment a separatist movement among Mozambique's whites. Still, the transition will be greatly eased by the fact that there is only one liberation group, Frelimo, which enjoys recognition in Lisbon as the voice of most Mozambicans.

▸ Angola (500,000 whites, 250,000 *mestiços*, 6 million blacks), a coffee-producing territory on the Atlantic, is the richest of the colonies. Although relations between the races have been relatively good, there were recent riots. The territory has three active liberation movements, all vying for power. Lisbon hopes to form a coalition government that includes members of all three as well as the European population.

In the end, a successful transition to independence will depend at least as much on the cooperation of the white minorities as on that of blacks. Right-wing extremists bent on sabotaging Lisbon's policy of self-determination still pose a threat.

But there were also hopeful signs last week. Angolan whites began working to bring about a multiracial government, the territory's hard-core white taxi drivers' union advertised for black drivers for the first time. Meanwhile, Laurenço Marques' liberal white Democratic Union came out in support of a Frelimo government. That organization mapped plans to stem the exodus of skilled whites. As Mozambican Samuel Ihanga put it: "At last Africans can run their own country. But we don't want the whites to go. We need everybody."

PERU

An Emerging *Caudillo*

"Some people may tremble when they hear what I will say," warned Peruvian President Juan Velasco Alvarado before delivering his independence day speech last week. No one in his audience was inclined to take the remark lightly. After six years of rule by Velasco's left-leaning military junta, Peruvians have learned that whatever the mercurial general says generally goes.

Recently, Velasco, 64, has shown signs of being too sensitive for words —the words of an independent press, that is. In June, he closed down Lima's most respected weekly magazine, *Caretas*, and drove its publisher into hiding. The reason: the magazine had taken issue with the government's view that a luncheon attended by several prominent editors was a subversive gathering. Said Velasco, justifying his action: "The magazine called us paranoid, said we were crazy."

Last week Velasco's regime struck again, this time expropriating Lima's five remaining independent newspapers. In predawn raids, police carrying submachine guns invaded the newsrooms of the papers, including Peru's oldest and most prestigious daily, *El Comercio*, and pulled the front and editorial pages off the presses. Then the government's own hand-picked editors, who had followed the police onto the premises, proceeded to pull freshly minted editorials from their pockets proclaiming the takeover as "a new day of freedom."

Peculiar Style. What many Peruvians fear is that Velasco will bring them even more of his emerging peculiar style of freedom and ruin the generally progressive advances made under his rule. The government does not enjoy wide popularity, but there is little question, even among diehard critics, that the junta has made impressive strides.

Its land-reform program, which redistributed 14 million acres of farm land might well become some of a model for other South Amer countries. More than 1 million of country's 15 million people rece their own plots of land or have be members of land-owning cooper under the plan. Unlike Salvador A de Gossens' ill-fated governmen Chile, Peru managed to nationalize petroleum and copper companies out incurring American sanctions country, moreover, has enjoyed eco ic progress under military rule, wi annual growth rate of 5%, alth countless Peruvian poor in the slums still subsist outside the econ Though some militant political pa are banned, Peruvians are allowed long to opposition parties and gen enjoy a wide range of civil liberties

For these freedoms and succ



GENERAL VELASCO AT INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION
No one was inclined to take him lightly.

most Peruvians concede, Velasco tainly deserves a measure of cred an enlisted soldier who worked his up through the ranks, he seems to have forgotten his own humble igins (his father was a small shop er), and his concern for Peru's seems genuine. But since coming fice in the coup that overthrew the stitutional government of Fernando laúnde Terry in 1968, Velasco become increasingly entranced wi fending his power. Says one diplo "He has a will of steel, he underst people, and he is ruthless."

Associates describe him as inc ingly dictatorial, perhaps because lieves that is the only way to su against his reactionary enemies a the rich and his liberal critics in navy. His cavalier actions could be fensive as they are offensive. Y mounting intolerance to criticism many Peruvians worried, causing Lima journalist to comment last "What you are seeing is the emerg

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A Tragic Trail's End for the Yankee Mules

"In Peru I bought 2 kilos [4.4 lbs.] of ke [cocaine] for $10,000. Four hours er I was on a flight to Mexico City. er landing, I breezed through pass- control. The customs officer cleared first bag without giving me any trou- and I thought I was free—on my way to the U.S. Then he drew out a mea- ring stick and found that the inside of second suitcase didn't correspond with outside. I was invited to a little room ere they ripped out the bottom of the cases and discovered my haul."

Those are the words of a slim, quiet- ken American who is an inmate of exico City's aging Lecumberri Prison. o years ago, he was a grad- e student (in international mmerce) at San Francisco te College. Now, at 25, he serving a seven-year term smuggling drugs.

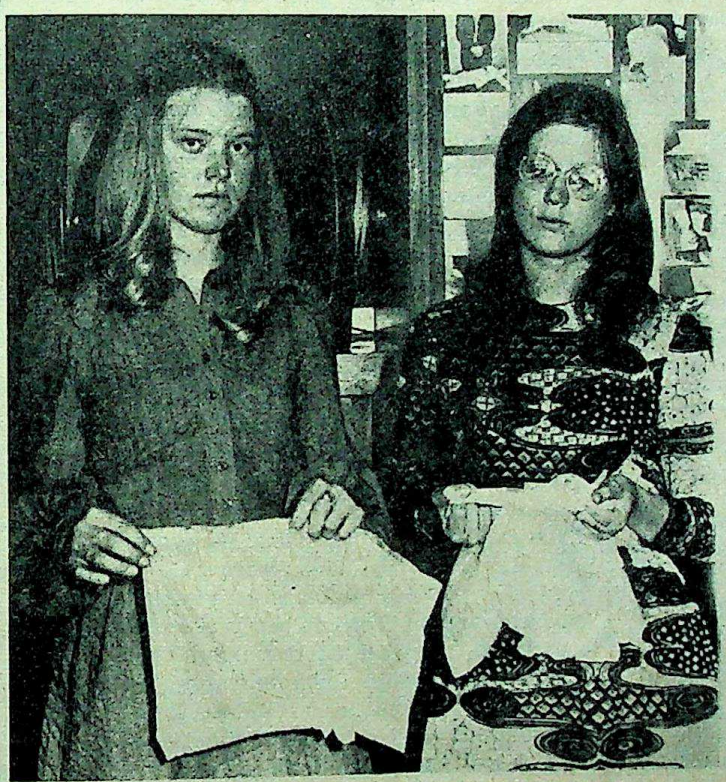
His fate is not unique. To- , reports TIME Corre- ident Bernard Diederich, re are 510 Americans in exican prisons, 425 of them drug smuggling or related mes and most of them ng, middle class and des- ately naive. They had ed to get rich quick by ying Latin American– n cocaine into the U.S. Mexico. Instead, they d themselves doomed to degradations of police in- rogation and prison.

Dwight James Worker, a San Francisco clothing nufacturer, tried to hide ke in a body cast and was iced when a sharp-eyed exican customs official ed that he had trouble embering which leg had limp. Charles Richard ms, 25, selected in a lottery by some his classmates at Franklin and Mar- all College in Lancaster, Pa., to smug- e coke through Mexico, was caught h 2.6 kilos concealed under his bell- om trousers. Katherine Lou Sim- s, 25, a Hollywood pianist, was ar- ed when officials discovered that her dly curved belly was not a sign of egnancy; she had strapped a mound coke to her lower abdomen.

Unlucky Amateurs. Others unsuc- fully attempted to hide their hauls the hollows of platform shoes, aero- l cans or bras. In June alone, Mex- an police arrested 33 Americans for ggling. Sentences are now running m 7 to 13½ years.

Cocaine, which comes mostly from ru, Ecuador, Bolivia and Colombia, often flown northward in light air- from Colombia to Caribbean coasts. After landing at a Caribbean island to "cool off," the cocaine is transported by boat or plane to Florida or flown to Canada from where it is smuggled southward into the U.S. It is the amateurs who try smuggling through Mexico and who increasingly are getting caught there.

Professionals derisively label the tyro smugglers "mules," but the amateurs could not care less: the potential profits are sizable—though not as big as the risks. One successful job can earn a mule $2,000 or $3,000. A junior high school teacher and his wife had joined a coke mule team for $5,000—a down payment, they hoped, on a farm.



ARRESTED AMERICANS IN MEXICO HOLDING BAGS OF COCAINE

Beatings in prison instead of huge profits.

The increase in the number of mules results from the importance the Latin American connection achieved after 1972, when Turkey prohibited its farmers from cultivating the poppy in return for $35.7 million in U.S. aid. Only last month Turkey lifted the ban, but while it was in effect it markedly reduced the flow of drugs from the Mediterranean, and many U.S. addicts switched from "Turkish White" (heroin) to cocaine from the Andes.

There are no reliable statistics, but U.S. narcotics officials estimate that each year several thousand mules make the trip. For the hundreds who get caught annually, the consequences are grim. Imprisoned American men are given the most degrading jobs, such as scrubbing toilets and scraping up excrement. Conditions are even worse for the 38 American women inmates at the Los Reyes Prison for women on the outskirts of Mexico City. One-third of them are under 21, and many were recruited by professionals who thought their good looks would help them get only cursory examinations by customs officials. Two, however, are considerably older. Jeanne McMichael, 60, of Buena Park, Calif., and Elizabeth Lankton, 55, of Oceanside, Calif., both grandmothers, were promised "bonuses" by big-time dealers that would let them retire comfortably if they would carry drugs back to the U.S.

Sensitive Areas. Some American women prisoners charge that when they were arrested, they were subjected to "severe beatings, broken bones, and electric shocks applied to the genitals and other sensitive areas of the body." They have not only been abused during interrogation, they have been attacked in prison by Mexican lesbians who resent the pale-skinned foreigners.

The American inmates accuse U.S. consular officials in Mexico of taking no interest in their plight. To prod the U.S. diplomats to do more for them, 73 American men at Lecumberri (joined by eight Canadians) and the 38 American women at Los Reyes went on a hunger strike last month. Although about half quit their fast in less than 24 hours, the others continued two weeks. Said one of the strikers, Joan Kay, 23, of Oakland, Calif.: "I'd rather die here than go on with all the injustices committed against me."

Though the hunger strike brought no relief for those already imprisoned, it at least spurred the U.S. embassy to take some action to help other mules before they are thrown into jail. The embassy complained that Mexico has been violating the U.S.-Mexican Consular Convention by not allowing U.S. diplomats to interview American citizens immediately after their arrest, a practice that now presumably will stop. The embassy asked Mexican courts to move more quickly on untried cases involving Americans, many of whom stay in jail for months before they are brought to trial.

Meanwhile, the mules keep coming. One U.S. sociologist who has just visited the prisons concludes: "If mules continue to pack coke at the same rate we have seen this year, then gringos and gringas could one day outnumber the Mexicans in these jails."

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CHILE

"Lawless Charades"

The trials dragged on for 3½ months with the pretense of being fair and objective proceedings. Foreign observers, including former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, were allowed into the courtroom, and all 65 defendants were permitted to have counsel. So anxious —at least outwardly—was Chile's eleven-month-old junta to demonstrate its system of justice that there was speculation that Supreme Head of State Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, an army general, would let the political prisoners off with relatively light sentences. Not so. Last week four of the men were condemned to death, two to life imprisonment and 56 to prison terms ranging from 300 days to 30 years.

Only three were acquitted by the court-martial, which consisted of seven air force officers. The sentences will be reviewed by the chief of the air force combat command, General José Berdichewsky, and finally by Pinochet; either man could reduce them.

Condemned to death were one civilian, Carlos Lazo, 46, former vice president of the Central Bank, and three air force officers, all on grounds of subversion and high treason. The main charge against Lazo was that he supposedly met with officers in an effort to ferret out air force men opposed to the leftist government of Salvador Allende Gossens.

Another prominent prisoner was ex-Senator Erich Schnake, 44, former chief of communications in Allende's Socialist Party, who was sentenced to 20 years. According to the court, Schnake, on Sept. 11—the day of the *coup*—broadcast an appeal to the Chilean people for support of the Allende government.

No Challenge. The harshness of the penalties handed down last week was underlined by the highhandedness of the proceedings. Clark, in hearings before a subcommittee of the House Foreign Relations Committee, labeled the trials "lawless charades." The prisoners were tried under martial rule, which is normally reserved for offenses committed during a "state of war," though nearly all of the alleged acts took place before the overthrow of the Allende government. A lawyer who dared question whether his client had been tortured was banned from the trial. At no time were defense attorneys permitted to challenge either the jurisdiction of the court or its procedures, nor were prosecution witnesses allowed to be cross-examined.

Whatever the outcome of Pinochet's review of the sentences, the results of the trials were hardly encouraging to the approximately 6,000 political prisoners still held by the junta. They include such high officials of the Allende government as Foreign Ministers Clodomiro Almeyda and Orlando Letelier, who await trial under the same judicial process.

MARKET WEEK

On a volume of 55,459,010 shares, the New York Stock Exchange Composite closed at 41.17, down 2.03 for the week ending Aug. 2. The Dow Jones 30 stock industrial average was 752.58, down 31.99; Standard & Poor's 500 stock index was 78.59, down 3.81. Among significant N.Y.S.E. stocks:

Stock	High	Low	Close	Net Chg
Allied Chem..	37½	35¼	35½	
Alum Co Am..	48¼	46⅛	47⅛	
Amer Airlines.	8⅜	7¼	7½	
Am Brands...	32⅞	29½	31⅜	
Am Can.....	25¾	25	25¼	
Am Motors...	5⅝	5¼	5⅜	
AT&T.....	42⅞	42	42	
Anac Cop....	24	23¼	23¾	
Avon Prod....	32½	28⅛	29¼	
Beth Steel....	31⅛	29½	30¼	
Boeing.....	17⅝	16⅝	17½	
Burling Ind...	19⅜	18¼	18½	
Burroughs....	93	89⅛	90	
Cater Trac...	55¼	52¼	52⅞	
Champ Intl...	16½	15⅞	15⅞	
Chrysler.....	15⅝	14⅜	14⅞	
Clark Equip...	33⅞	33¼	33⅝	
Control Data..	21⅞	19⅞	20¼	
Corn Gl Wks.	62	57¼	59¾	
Dow Chem...	64½	61	61⅝	
DuPont.....	152¼	148⅜	150	
Eastern Air...	5⅞	5½	5⅝	
East Kodak...	92⅞	85½	85⅝	
El Paso N G..	10⅝	10⅛	10¼	
Exxon.....	76⅝	74¾	76¼	
Ford Motor...	45⅜	43¼	44⅛	
Gen Dynam..	20½	18⅞	19¼	
Gen Elec.....	47⅛	42½	43½	
Gen Foods...	23½	22⅛	22⅛	
Gen Motors...	44⅛	40½	43¼	
Gen Tel & El..	20⅝	19½	20⅜	
Ga Pac.....	34½	32¾	33⅜	
Goodyear....	15¼	14⅝	15	
Great A & P..	10¾	10⅝	10¾	
Greyhound...	12⅝	11⅝	12¼	
Gulf Oil.....	20⅛	18⅞	19⅛	
IBM.....	207½	198⅝	200¾	
Int Harv.....	23⅛	22	22¼	
Int Nickel....	28¾	27	27⅜	
Int Paper....	47¼	46	46½	
Int Tel & Tel..	19⅛	18⅛	18⅝	
Johns Man....	17½	16⅝	16⅞	
Kraftco.....	39⅛	37	37⅛	
Kresge SS....	29⅞	27½	27⅝	
Litton Ind.....	6⅞	6¼	6¼	
Lockheed....	4¼	3⅞	3⅞	
LTV Corp....	10⅝	9⅝	9⅝	
McD Doug....	13⅝	11¾	12	
Merck Co....	70¼	65⅛	65½	
3M.....	67	64⅝	65⅛	
Mobil Oil....	41⅞	39⅞	40⅞	
NCR.....	30⅛	29	29¾	
Occid Pet....	9⅞	9⅛	9¼	
Owens Ill....	37	36	36	
Pac Gas & El.	22⅝	20⅞	21⅛	
Pan Am.....	3⅜	3	3⅛	
Penn Cen....	2	1⅝	1⅝	
Penney J.C...	66	60⅞	61⅜	
Philip Morris..	50¼	47¼	47½	
Polaroid.....	28¾	25¼	27⅛	
Proc Gam....	96½	90⅝	90¾	
RCA.....	13⅜	12¼	13¼	
Reyn Ind.....	44¼	42½	43⅜	
Rockwell Int...	26¼	25⅝	25⅝	
Sears Roe....	72½	63½	64½	
Shell Oil.....	42¾	41⅜	42⅛	
Sou Cal Ed...	18¾	17½	17⅝	
Std Oil Cal...	26¼	25⅛	26	
Tenneco.....	20¼	19⅛	19¼	
Texaco Inc...	26⅜	24½	24⅝	
Textron.....	17½	15¾	15⅞	
Time Inc.....	37¼	36¼	36⅜	
TWA.....	9⅛	8¼	8⅓	
UAL Inc.....	21	19¾	20¾	
Union Car....	40⅝	39⅝	40¼	
Utd Aircraft..	25⅝	23½	24⅜	
US Steel.....	46⅜	44½	45	
Westinghouse.	12⅞	12⅛	12⅜	
Woolworth...	13¾	12½	12⅝	
Xerox.....	99½	92½	93	

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EXPORT & IMPORT



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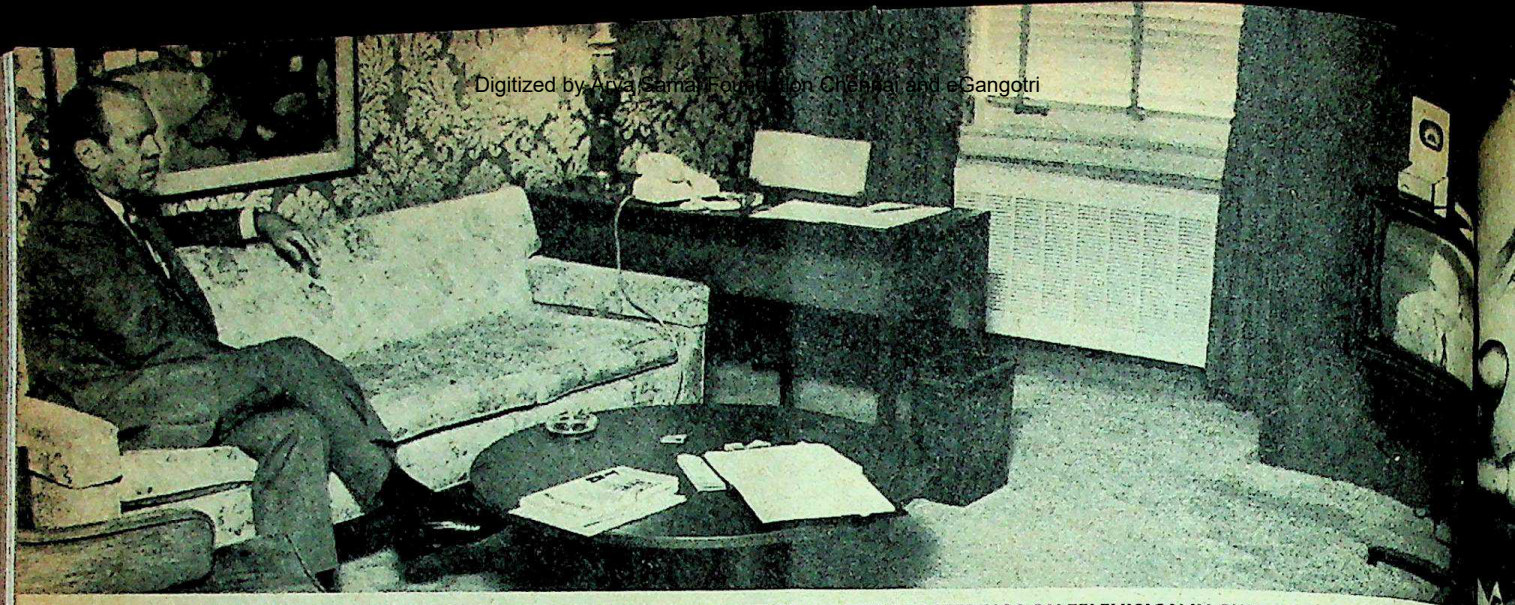
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VICE PRESIDENT GERALD FORD WATCHING THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE PROCEEDINGS ON TELEVISION IN CHICAGO

AMERICAN NOTES

A Counsel of Silence

The accelerating drive to impeach President Nixon poses an especially troubling problem for the man who may soon have to succeed him. For months, Gerald Ford has cautiously tried to walk what he called "a fine line." On the one hand, the Vice President has declared that the evidence was insufficient for impeachment; on the other, he has urged Nixon to turn over all subpoenaed tapes and documents. After the Judiciary Committee vote, however, Ford declared that the vote was "partisan," and insisted that "the President was right."

By instinct, Ford would like to continue speaking out in defense of Nixon. Indeed Ford discussed impeachment strategy with Chief of Staff Alexander M. Haig Jr. last week. The Vice President has declared that he will not lobby for Nixon in Congress. He explained: "I am not going out, as I used to when I was minority leader, and affirmatively and aggressively try to convince them they ought to vote this way or that." But in a gesture of sorts to his own conscience, he has insisted on reserving the right to give his opinion when asked.

Ford's closest advisers and friends in Congress have counseled him to go further, and not to involve himself any longer in the impeachment fight, that it is a time for his silence. They argue, with reason, that he should not squander in partisanship his potential for bringing the racked nation together again if Nixon is removed from office.

What If . . .

Whatever the outcome of the case lodged against him, the indictment of John Connally in the milk-fund scandal last week inspired a small shudder in Washington, a fear for what might have been. So much has happened in the past nine months that it is almost forgotten that Richard Nixon's first choice to succeed Spiro Agnew as his Vice President was not Gerald Ford but Connally. To contemplate the indictment of the Vice President, or even merely the suspicion of charges aired, in the same week that articles of impeachment were voted against the President is a scenario that almost shatters the mind. By the best accounts, Melvin Laird played a key role in persuading Nixon that Connally was too recently a Republican convert and too ambitious for the presidency to win Congress's approval as Vice President. From the vantage of hindsight, thanks, Mel. We didn't need that.

The Real Thing

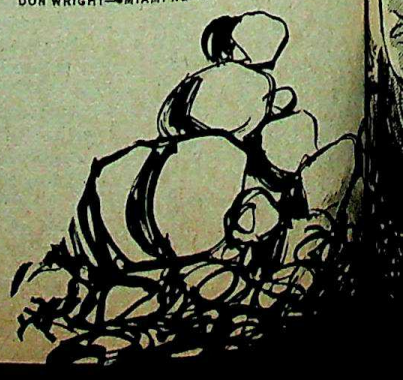
No branch of the negotiator's art is more demanding, delicate or deadly than nuclear diplomacy, and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is one of the few men in the world who can be said to have mastered it in both theory and felt-table practice. Recently, while escorting West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to San Clemente to meet with President Nixon, Kissinger stopped off en route to visit the nuclear-missile installation at Grand Forks Air Force Base, N. Dak. There, 150 Minuteman missiles stand at the ready beneath their giant manhole covers, and Kissinger, who as a negotiator handles Minuteman, Polaris and Poseidon missiles like poker chips, had a request: might he see one?

For the first time in his life, Kissinger descended into a 90-ft. silo and gazed at a 75,000-lb. Minuteman III, the newest and largest American ICBM (range: 7,000 miles). After watching a simulated firing in an underground command center, Kissinger emerged and remarked that the world of payloads, throw-weight and delivery systems had been largely an "abstraction" to him up until now. Coming face to face with the real thing had clearly been a sob experience for the onetime Harvar fessor who made his reputation w book entitled *Nuclear Weapons Foreign Policy*.

Overkill

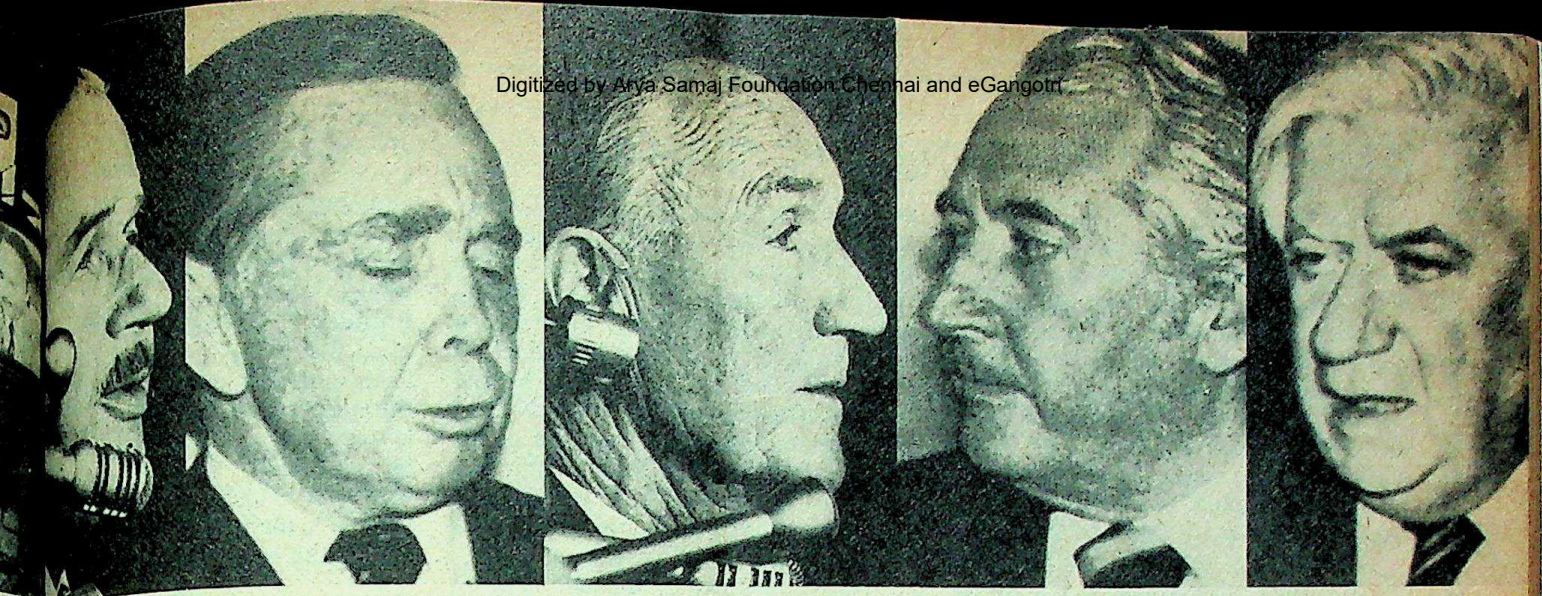
Against meteorological odds, rained in Waynesburg, Pa., every 29 for 85 of the last 95 years. Such fall regularity would come as wel relief to farmers in the parched west, now sweltering in its se drought in a generation (*see* Eco & BUSINESS). Rain Day has becom annual rite in Waynesburg (pop. in the years since 1879, and last the usual festivities, from square es to a town picnic, were on the da. Few townspeople elected to black snakeskins on their fences ferings to the rain gods as in days by. Instead, many chose such com place precipitators as cleaning win hanging out laundry or washing th ily car. They were duly rewarde 12:59 a.m. as a few droplets of fell, sending up New Year's Eve w all over town. The manifestation p to be merely an overture, howeve 5 in the afternoon, the tail end of a by tornado dumped a drenching inches of rain on Waynesburg 2½ hours. Observed one soaked ident: "We did need a few drop this was ridiculous."

DON WRIGHT—MIAMI NEWS



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CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS HUGH SCOTT, CARL ALBERT, MIKE MANSFIELD, PETER RODINO & THOMAS ("TIP") O'NEILL

IMPEACHMENT

Nixon: The Odds on Survival Shorten

"What's going on now has the im- of a tidal force." That was one se- presidential adviser's description of multiple and multiplying assaults on presidency of Richard Nixon last Each day brought bad news about fact and worse rumors about im- ing defections in Congress of the and women on whose verdict Nix- lease in office hangs. The White House staff seemed to have no strategy or ideas on how to stem the onslaught. As a result, the vote for Nixon's impeachment in the House, long certain, seemed on the verge of gathering into a tsunami that could also sweep the Senate to conviction—and Nixon from office. Among the week's developments:

▸ The House Judiciary Committee concluded its remarkably bipartisan, highly effective proceedings, voting two more articles of impeachment. One accused Nixon of abusing his presidential powers; the other charged him with willfully disobeying the committee's lawful subpoenas of tapes and other evidence.

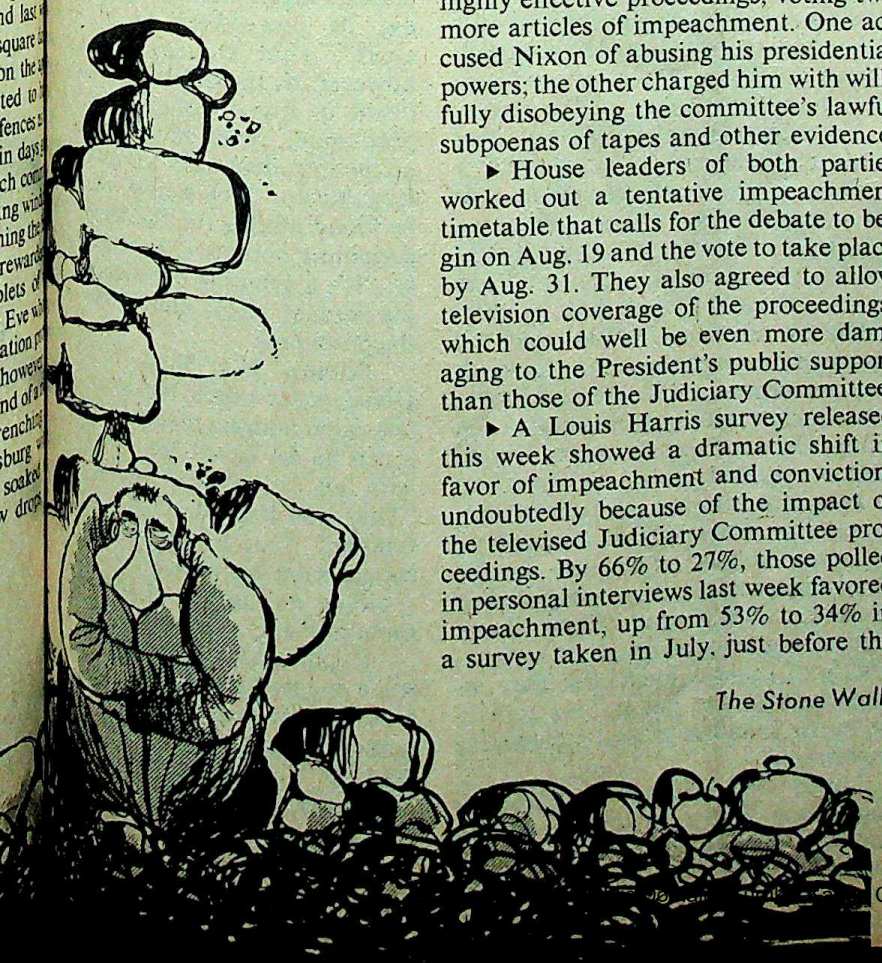
▸ House leaders of both parties worked out a tentative impeachment timetable that calls for the debate to begin on Aug. 19 and the vote to take place by Aug. 31. They also agreed to allow television coverage of the proceedings, which could well be even more damaging to the President's public support than those of the Judiciary Committee.

▸ A Louis Harris survey released this week showed a dramatic shift in favor of impeachment and conviction, undoubtedly because of the impact of the televised Judiciary Committee proceedings. By 66% to 27%, those polled in personal interviews last week favored impeachment, up from 53% to 34% in a survey taken in July, just before the public committee debate started. According to the poll, a majority (56% to 31%) now believe that Nixon should be ousted from office, up from 47% to 34% in the earlier sampling. In July, a Harris survey found that most people (55% to 27%) thought that Nixon would not be found guilty. Now 47% to 40% say that he will be found guilty.

▸ As the White House began complying with the Supreme Court's order to yield 64 tape recordings, Presidential Counsel James St. Clair disclosed another mysterious gap on one of the tapes. He reported to Federal Judge John J. Sirica that five minutes and twelve seconds was missing from a tape of a crucial April 17, 1973, meeting on Watergate involving Nixon and top assistants.

▸ A Washington grand jury indicted former Treasury Secretary John B. Connally, who was once a Nixon favorite and was the President's initial private choice to succeed Spiro Agnew as Vice President, on charges of accepting bribes, perjury and conspiring to obstruct justice. The indictment accused Connally of accepting $10,000 from a dairy cooperative in exchange for his urging the Administration to raise federal milk-price supports in March 1971 and of later lying about the deal.

▸ U.S. District Judge Gerhard A. Gesell sentenced former Domestic Affairs Adviser John Ehrlichman, once described by Nixon as one of "the finest public servants it has been my privilege to know," to a term of 20 months to five years in prison. Ehrlichman was convicted last month on conspiracy and perjury charges growing out of the burglary of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office in September 1971. (Ehrlichman will appeal the verdict.) The sentence was the stiffest yet received by a pres-



The Stone Wall

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Rhodes: Stanching the Blood

The agonizing within the House of Representatives over impeachment has not been limited to members of the Judiciary Committee or to rank-and-file members of both parties: it has most particularly borne down on the Republican leader of the House, Congressman John Rhodes of Arizona. Last week Rhodes let it be known that he had been struggling with the question of whether Richard Nixon should be impeached, and would announce his decision this week.

In ordinary times, it would be inconceivable that a Republican congressional leader could seriously be entertaining the idea of voting to impeach a Republican President. In the first place, it could prove disastrous to his own career. More significant, it could have a disproportionate effect on the whole impeachment fight, freeing Republican Congressmen to vote their conscience —or the politics of their districts—and unquestionably increasing the chance that the Senate would convict the President by a two-thirds vote and remove him from office.

■

Rhodes fully understands the potential impact of his decision on the President's fate, acknowledging that the Republican leader of the chamber constitutionally charged with the power of impeachment has a unique, if not altogether enviable position. The more prudent course might have been for him to remain silent for the moment, saying only that he would make his decision when necessary, on what he judged to be the merits of the case. But, as he told TIME Correspondent Neil MacNeil in an interview last week, because of his "unique position," he is more mindful than most Republicans of the fact that the impeachment crisis must not be allowed to tear the party to pieces.

As Rhodes sees it, impeachment by the House of Representatives is a certainty; the President, he says flatly, "is down the tube." Further, he fears that even if the Senate does not vote to convict the President, the vote will be so close to a two-thirds majority that the nation would be left without an effective President for the next two years.

Accepting all this as a foregone conclusion, Rhodes is examining the special obligations imposed upon him by the crisis: how to save as many Republican Congressmen as possible from defeat in November, and how to avoid party schism. Last week he described the situation as he saw it to his old friend Vice President Gerald Ford. "I thought he ought to know," Rhodes said. "I think he got the message." He telephoned his friend George Bush, the G.O.P. [illegible] al chairman, to ask: "You got any news?" Quipped Bush: "Yes, it's and nobody's been indicted." The core Nixonites in the House have furious at Rhodes' reticence the past weeks. "Why aren't you defending President?" demanded one. Rhodes plied that impeachment was not a tisan matter and that he would d the question in his best judgment lawyer, not as a Republican. "I h he continued, "that all members weigh the evidence objectively, and vote in a manner that they think and in the best interest of the co

■

The Administration has also to exert influence upon him. One W House official telephoned him to "John, it's time for a head count." Rhodes refused to order it becau was determined to avoid arm tw He feels a responsibility to counse 186 of his party colleagues in the H many of whom are being hurt by t traparty crossfire, and last week h to meet with them in groups of eig ten. His message to all: take special during the impeachment debate "t widen the division among Republi analyze the evidence in such a w not to hurt anybody else." He pro to campaign for all Republicans, re less of how they vote. He told one g "I can't put the umbrella over all o

idential intimate for crimes growing out of Watergate and related events.

▶ House Minority Leader John Rhodes announced that he would make a statement early this week on his position on impeachment. He carefully kept his own counsel on what he would say till the last moment, but he was known to be anguished over the evidence, and the mere possibility of so important a conservative Republican leader abandoning Nixon doubtless deeply alarmed the White House. Rhodes' support cannot save Nixon in the House, but his defection could very well seal his fate in the Senate.

The series of events, actual and possible, staggered the President's aides. Just after the Judiciary Committee voted the first article of impeachment, Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler flatly predicted that the full House would reject the articles of impeachment. As the week went on, however, the White House's show of public optimism evaporated. On Friday, Deputy Press Secretary Gerald Warren repeated the official line that the President believed the facts did not support the allegations of misconduct, but conceded that Nixon was "in the role of underdog." In the privacy of their offices, however, many White House aides were grimly resigned to the inevitability of impeachment. But they insisted that, as one put it, "his conviction in the Senate is at least a debatable proposition."

Nixon had scarcely returned to Washington from a 16-day stay at San Clemente before a search was on in the White House for a new strategy for survival. Until the Judiciary Committee vote, Nixon and his aides had attempt-

panel. Ziegler went so far as to d age its proceedings as a "kan court." That strategy was sha however, by the defection of six R licans in support of one article o peachment, seven in support of t er, the introduction of a third by a Republican. Now a new course h be found among the President's r dwindling options. Confessed one a er: "It's a grinding experience. Th puzzlement about how to take h the problem."

Saving His Shot. Some W House aides urged Nixon to deli television address rebutting the c much as he saved his political c with his "Checkers" speech in "That was hashed about," one a reported, "but it was decided th should save his shot for a later p —either during the House debat more probably, after the House vot

Republican Congressmen s some suggestions. Senator Jacob renewed his proposal that Nixon porarily turn over his duties as P dent to Vice President Gerald under the 25th Amendment unt impeachment trial is concluded. A ed in 1967, the amendment was ed to cover cases when a President temporarily incapacitated for m physical reasons, but Javits believ

UPI



NIXON AT THE WHITE HOUSE
"An uphill struggle"

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I can help to wipe away the rain
n the faces of those not under the
brella."

The Kansas-born son of a retail lum-
dealer, Rhodes moved to Arizona
r World War II and began to prac-
law. In 1952, at the same time his
nd Barry Goldwater was elected to
U.S. Senate, Rhodes became Ari-
's first Republican member of the
se of Representatives, and he has
n there ever since. He has held im-
tant posts on the Appropriations and
publican Policy Committees, and he
worked hard, as befits an Arizona
ngressman, to secure for his state a
er share of Colorado River water.
st summer the Rhodes clan—John
odes, his wife Betty, their daughter,
e sons and two grandchildren
athered to enjoy the river in a dif-
ent way: they floated through the
and Canyon on a raft.

Since last December, when he suc-
ded Jerry Ford as minority leader,
odes has believed that his principal
alty should lie with his Republican
leagues rather than his Republican
sident. But he traces his serious
ubts about Richard Nixon's presiden-
to his reading of the White House
nscripts last May. At that time,
odes suggested publicly that the Pres-
nt might well consider resigning if
was impeached by the House.

Privately, he continued his study. He read the pertinent parts of The Federalist papers, the debates at the Constitutional Convention and in the first House of Representatives and, most important, the massive volumes of evidence published by the Judiciary Committee. "The creation of the 'plumbers' unit has always bothered me, and what flowed from that act," he said last week. "The use of the IRS has also been bothersome to me."

Rhodes has made it fairly clear that if he were an ordinary Republican Congressman, he would vote against Articles I and III but support Article II, the charge that Richard Nixon abused his powers as President, broke his oath of office and misused federal agencies. But Rhodes is no ordinary Congressman, and this fact exerts a powerful influence on his decision. Already there has been open bitterness in the House ranks, much of it directed at Maryland Congressman Lawrence Hogan, the first Republican on the Judiciary Committee to announce that he would vote for impeachment. Hogan got a raspberry when he came onto the House floor after making his announcement. One Republican cried, "We're going to take up a collection to beat Hogan's ass!" Rhodes realizes that such anger could mortally damage the party, and he is doing everything he can to contain it. "I'm going to be a [Red Cross] corpsman," he says of his role in the weeks ahead, "and stanch the flow of blood."

BRACK—BLACK STAR



HOUSE MINORITY LEADER RHODES IN HIS WASHINGTON OFFICE
The process must not be allowed to tear the party to pieces.

Two pro-Nixon Republican Repre-
tatives, Sam Steiger of Arizona and
arles S. Gubser of California, suggest-
that the President ask for a *pro forma*
e for impeachment in the House and
peedy trial in the Senate. That would
able him to avoid a damaging tele-
ed debate in the House. It would also
ep House Republicans from having to
s judgment on their President.

Trial Balloon. It is a measure of the
pelessness of his position in the House
at Nixon mulled the idea over and di-
sted speechwriter Patrick J. Buchanan
loft it as a trial balloon at a breakfast
th newsmen. Buchanan obliged, but
thin hours both the Democratic and
epublican leaders in the House made
clear that they would not permit the
nstitutional proceedings to be short-
cuited. Before the end of the day, Bu-
anan punctured the proposal for good.
The only real advantage was to Re-
blican members of the House," he
d, "but they're going to have to walk
wn to the well of the House and fall
their swords."

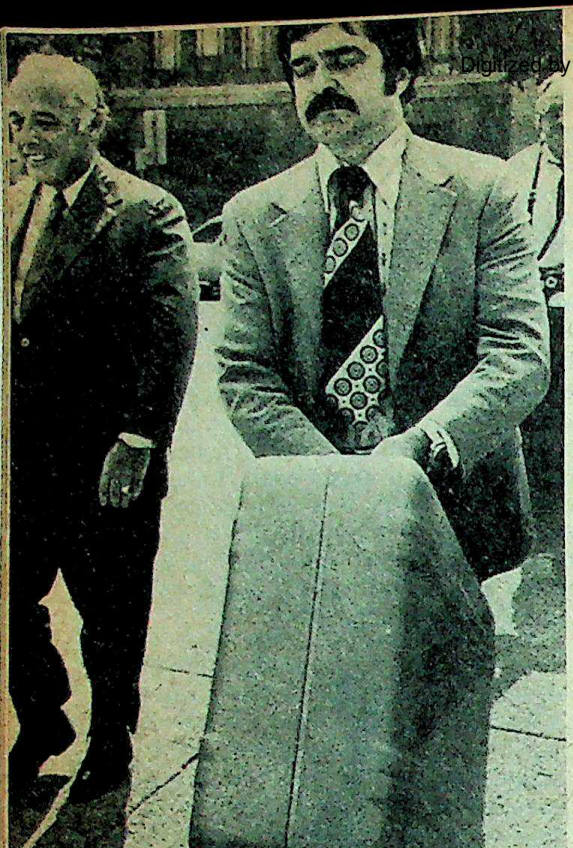
In the end, Nixon's perplexed and
ustrated strategists hit on no new
and strategy for fighting impeachment
the House. Publicly, White House
des refused to discuss the subject. Said
arren: "Our strategy will become clear
events unfold in maybe five days, ten
or 20 days." Added Communica-
tions Director Ken W. Clawson: "Did Eisenhower tell the Germans when he was going to invade Normandy?" Privately, aides planned a soft-sell campaign to discredit the charges by contending that they are too flimsy and general to be considered grounds for impeachment—the same arguments voiced by Nixon supporters on the Judiciary Committee. One White House political strategist declared: "During the Judiciary Committee debate, inference was king, innuendo was queen, and together they reigned triumphantly over the proceedings."

Nixon Aides William F. Timmons and Dean Burch will press that argument on wavering Republicans and other undecided members of the House in the coming weeks. At the same time they plan to shift the fight against impeachment to political grounds, trying to focus attention on Nixon's accomplishments, particularly in the area of foreign policy. Arm twisting will be taboo. Explained one Nixon supporter: "It's counterproductive." Other White House aides, notably Buchanan and Clawson, will attempt to communicate the same line to the public, while Presidential Aide William J. Baroody Jr. will work with pro-Nixon organizations like Rabbi Baruch Korff's National Citizens' Committee for Fairness to the Presidency Inc. Said Warren: "We face an uphill struggle, but in a political struggle you have a chance to win." At best, however, the White House strategists hope to narrow the margin for impeachment and make it less bipartisan; they have no hope of carrying the House.

Before the Judiciary Committee

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ST. CLAIR & AGENT DELIVERING TAPES

vote, House leaders believed that no more than 39 Republicans (out of 187) would desert Nixon and come out for impeachment. The bipartisan nature of the Judiciary Committee debate and vote caused that number to grow sharply last week. Estimates ranged from 50 to 80, the figure predicted by California G.O.P. Representative John H. Rousselot. The Washington *Post* surveyed the House and reported that only 14 Republicans were willing to say that they opposed impeachment of Nixon, while 116 said that they were undecided. Moreover, Representative Joe D. Waggonner Jr. of Louisiana, a fervent Nixon backer, has told leaders that fewer than 30 Southerners (out of 121) plan to vote against impeachment.

Nixon's position has also deteriorated in the Senate. A few months ago his supporters thought that they had up to 50 votes against conviction. Now key Republican Senators believe that there may be as many as 60 potential votes for conviction, including up to 15 Republicans.

Knuckle Rap. House leaders of both parties met to discuss procedures for the impeachment debate and vote, and Judiciary Committee Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr. huddled with Majority Leader Thomas P. ("Tip") O'Neill Jr. on the committee's final report, due next week. The leaders agreed to open the proceedings with 55 hours of general debate, with Judiciary Committee members limited to 15 minutes and all other Representatives to five minutes. That discussion will be followed by 21 hours of debate on motions on the articles. The Representatives will be allowed to propose amendments to eliminate an article or particular paragraphs of articles but will be prohibited from introducing new articles or amending any article with new language.

As a last-ditch alternative to impeachment, some Republican Representatives, with concurrence of G... Ford, proposed that the House ce... the President. In lieu of impeach... the motion would merely chastise ... on for "moral insensitivity, negli... and maladministration"—a fe... weight rap on the knuckles. The m... was so strongly opposed by the D... ocratic leadership that it was give... tle chance of even reaching the floor.

With the impeachment drive g... ering momentum, Nixon conveyed ... impression of beleaguered isolation. ... tergate left him time for only one ... pointment: a session to review Tre... Secretary William E. Simon's recen... to the Middle East. Afterward, Si... said: "I have never seen the Pres... in a more positive and affirmative ... of mind." The few White House ... who saw Nixon recently also ins... that he was in good spirits. One ... "I've never admired him more. He ... can take all of this I don't know ... you can be with him and never k... anything is wrong. He's like a ge... who has lost the war but still stand... the command post, directing ... troops."

Nixon spent most of his wor... time secluded in the Lincoln Si... Room of the White House or in his ... away in the Executive Office Bui... listening to the tapes that the Supre... Court directed him to turn over to J... Sirica. The judge will decide which ... of the tapes may be used in the ... scheduled to begin Sept. 9, of six ... mer Nixon aides charged with co... ipating in the Watergate cover-up. ... listening to each tape, Nixon turn...

The Senate Prepares to Judge

Even before the Judiciary Committee had voted on the second and third articles of impeachment, the Democratic and Republican leaders of the Senate met in Majority Leader Mike Mansfield's office. After the meeting, Mansfield, together with Minority Leader Hugh Scott and Democratic and Republican Whips Robert Byrd and Robert Griffin, announced that the Senate Rules Committee would review existing impeachment trial rules.

Mansfield then unveiled a total revision and updating of the Senate's impeachment rules, which were written in 1868 for the trial of Andrew Johnson. One of the 13 proposed rules, allowing television coverage of the Senate trial, is almost certain to be approved. However, Mansfield's proposals met argument in several important areas, including:

THE STANDARD OF PROOF. Mansfield's rules would enable the Senate to uphold the House's articles of impeachment if they found the evidence against the President to be "clear and convincing." This standard falls between the difficult one of "beyond a reasonable doubt" used in criminal trials and the easier "preponderance of the evidence" standard established for civil cases. It was applied by the House Judiciary Committee after, ironically enough, being proposed by Presidential Counsel James St. Clair. But Republicans, led by Minority Leader Scott, favored "beyond a reasonable doubt," feeling that "clear and convincing" was too lax.

ADMISSIBILITY OF EVIDENCE. Mansfield would allow into the impeachment trial any evidence that would be admissible in federal or state courts, no matter what the nature of the case. This would permit information produced in congressional hearings as well as substantial hearsay evidence to be introduced. This was also opposed by Republicans as far too permissive and aimed at bolstering what they consider a technically weak case against the President.

THE POWERS OF THE CHIEF JUSTICE. Mansfield's rules would take away the Chief Justice's authority to issue subpoenas and writs, to charge the Senators, or to cast tie-breaking votes as he ... sides over the impeachment trial. M... field argued that both precedent and ... 1868 rules have compromised the ... ate's "sole power to try" the Presid... giving too much power to the Chief ... tice. Some Republicans countered ... this rule expressed a Democratic ... that Chief Justice Warren Burger ... wield a pro-Nixon gavel.

Still another potential controver... looming: what to do in case the ... not completed before the new 94th ... gress is convened next Jan. 3. Mans... who is planning a six-day-a-... seven-hour-a-day schedule for the ... in the hope of getting it through ... Christmas, wants the new Senate to ... ry on where the old one left off. ... Senate is a continuing body, and ... wouldn't have to start the trial ... again," he argues. He plans to pr... seats in the chamber for new Se... elected in November so that they ... hear the evidence before they take ... Republicans doubt whether that ... be fair or legal; they would probably ... a new trial if the current 93rd Con... does not finish the job—an ... prospect for the Senate and the ...

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Voting 2 More Ayes, 2 Nays

"It is not the presidency that is in jeopardy from us. We would strive to strengthen and protect the presidency. But if there be no accountability, another President will feel free to do as he chooses. But the next time, there may be no watchman in the night."

Typified by the understated eloquence of South Carolina's gentle James Mann, the remarkable House Judiciary Committee last week completed its unwanted task of bringing Richard Nixon to public account for grave violations of his oath of office and injury to the U.S. Constitution. Through two more days of largely decorous televised debate on impeachment, the committee's fragile bipartisan coalition strongly approved a second article of impeachment and narrowly approved a third. By large margins, the committee then rejected two other charges against the President.

Much of the painful pressure on Chairman Peter Rodino's committee had eased after it had irrevocably cast the die of impeachment on July 27 by approving Article I, which charged Nixon with obstruction of justice in the Watergate cover-up. Yet there were spirited exchanges last week as the committee's deliberations resumed. The bipartisanship reached its peak as seven Republicans joined all 21 Democrats to approve Article II, which accused Nixon of abusing the powers of his office and failing to take care that the laws be faithfully executed. Illinois Republican, adding his name to the six other Republicans who had also turned against their party's President on the first article (Illinois' Tom Railsback, New York's Hamilton Fish Jr., Maryland's Lawrence Hogan, Virginia's M. Caldwell Butler, Maine's William Cohen and Wisconsin's Harold Froehlich). The vote on the abuse of powers article was thus 28 to 10.

McClory, an anguished former Nixon supporter who had wept when he learned about the Watergate-related criminal conviction of John Ehrlichman, then successfully sponsored a third article of impeachment of his own. It charged Nixon with deliberately disobeying lawful subpoenas from the Judiciary Committee for White House tape recordings and documents. Only two Republicans (McClory and Hogan) supported this article and only two Democrats (Mann and Alabama's Walter Flowers) opposed it. Defeated by identical margins of 26 to 12 were proposed articles based on Nixon's secret orders to bomb Cambodia, and his "attempt to willfully evade" federal income taxes and use public funds for improvement of his private properties at Key Biscayne and San Clemente.

Throughout its six days of decision in July, spread over two weeks, the Rodino committee maintained a spirit of compromise. The reputedly hotheaded liberals, such as Michigan's John Conyers, California's Jerome Waldie and Massachusetts' Father Robert Drinan,



Lawrence Hogan R-Md.

M. Caldwell Butler R-Va.

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straint. The Democratic majority allowed the language of the charges against Nixon to be softened or limited in order to appeal to impeachment-leaning Republicans. The articles on Cambodia and Nixon's finances gave defecting Republicans and Southern Democrats a chance to alleviate some of their home-district distress by casting a vote or two for the President.

Although thoroughly outnumbered, Nixon's all-out defenders on the committee were never squelched. Such astute debaters as California's Charles Wiggins, Indiana's David Dennis and Iowa's Wiley Mayne, in fact, presented a far more coherent and reasoned defense than had either the President or his various spokesmen throughout the two-year-old Watergate scandal.

Controlled Attack. Whether delivered with the sardonic light touch of Missouri's William Hungate, the biting thrusts of Ohio's John Seiberling or the measured coolness of Maryland's Paul Sarbanes, the attack on Nixon's actions was controlled, yet incisive. When such troubled Republicans as Maine's semi-lyrical Cohen, Maryland's hard-hitting Hogan and the earnest McClory joined the assault, the impact was powerful.

Introduced by Hungate, the abuse of powers article embraced five areas of presidential activity: 1) attempted abuse of IRS information and audits; 2) use of wiretaps for purposes other than national security; 3) creation of the White House squad of secret investigators, the "plumbers"; 4) failure to prevent subordinates from impeding such investigations as those into the Watergate and Ellsberg burglaries; 5) interfering with the FBI, CIA, Watergate special prosecutor. The article was assailed by Wiggins as citing no violation of law, while his position was challenged by California Democrat George Danielson.

WIGGINS: Just what is abusive conduct? What does it mean? I suggest that that is an empty phrase, having meaning in terms of what we pour into it . . . We have no right to impose our notions of morality and propriety upon others and make it their legal duty to comply therewith.

DANIELSON: The offenses charged against the President in this article are uniquely presidential offenses. No one else can commit them. You or I, the most lowly citizen can violate any of the statutes in our criminal code. But only the President can violate the oath of office of the President. Only the President can abuse the powers of the office of the President . . . They are crimes or offenses against the very structure of the state.

Missouri's Hungate stressed that the article was based on a pattern of presidential misconduct rather than on isolated acts. Conceding that "men are human; humans are frail," he said there is "a consistent disregard of the law" involved. Typically, Hungate gave a homespun example of the difference if a man is driving in his car and he crosses the center line, that is not grounds for a whole lot of punishment . . . but if he crosses the center line 15 times in every mile he drives or if he insists on straddling the center line all the time then I think . . . action has to be taken.

Republican McClory, too, rejected the argument that an abuse of power must also violate a law before it is impeachable. "I think we can agree that the President should not commit crimes," he argued. But the impeachment process is not akin to "a district courthouse to hold the President accountable for statutory violations."

Violation of His Constitutional Oa

The text of the final two articles of impeachment approved last week by House Judiciary Committee:

ARTICLE II

Using the powers of the office of President of the United States, Richard Nixon, in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in disregard of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has repeatedly engaged in conduct violating the constitutional rights of citizens, impairing the due and proper administration of justice and the conduct of lawful inquiries, or contravening the laws governing agencies of the executive branch and the purposes of these agencies.

This conduct has included one or more of the following:

1

He has, acting personally and through his subordinates and agents, endeavored to obtain from the Internal Revenue Service, in violation of the constitutional rights of citizens, confidential information contained in income tax returns for purposes not authorized by law, and to cause, in violation of the constitutional rights of citizens, income tax audits or other income tax investigations to be initiated or conducted in a discriminatory manner.

2

He misused the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Secret Service, and other executive personnel, in violation or disregard of the constitutional rights of citizens, by directing or authorizing such agencies or personnel to conduct or continue electronic surveillance or other investigations for purposes unrelated to national security, the enforcement of laws, or any other lawful function of his office; he did direct, authorize, or permit the use of information obtained thereby for purposes unrelated to national security, the enforcement of laws, or any other lawful function of his office; and he did direct the concealment of certain records made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of electronic surveillance.

3

He has, acting personally and through his subordinates and agents, in violation or disregard of the constitutional rights of citizens, authorized and permitted to be maintained a secret investigative unit within the office of the President, financed in part with money derived from campaign contributions, which unlawfully utilized the resources of the Central Intelligence Agency, engaged in covert and unlawful activities, and attempted to prejudice the constitutional right of an accused to a fair trial.

4

He has failed to take care that the laws were faithfully executed by failing to act when he knew or had reason to know that his close subordinates endeavored to impede and frustrate lawful inquiries by duly constituted

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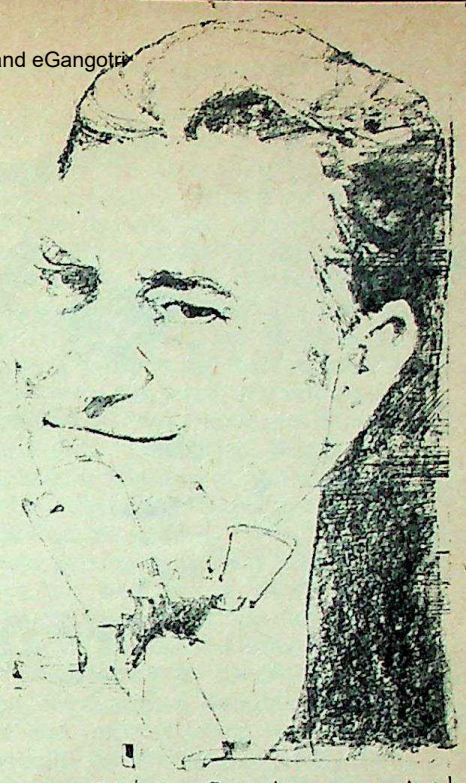
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inal law." It is meant to set a high-
standard "in constitutional terms."
ded McClory: "There is a clear vi-
ion of the President's responsibility
en he permits multiple acts of wrong-
g by large numbers of those who sur-
nd him."

Wiggins and Dennis protested that
President must have personal knowl-
e of such wrongdoing by his aides if
is to be held accountable for them.
Danielson scoffed at the idea that
xon would be advised in advance of
y improper act. Citing the dirty
mpaign tricks of Donald Segretti,
nielson asked: "Do you suppose that
called the President and said, 'Mr.
sident, I am now about to order 400
es for Mr. Muskie's fund-raiser'?
at is unrealistic." It is enough, Dan-
n contended, to show that an act
s set in motion by general presiden-
direction or policy.

Massachusetts Democrat Drinan cited, for example, such a "blanket authorization" as Nixon's orders to the plumbers: "I want these leaks to be stopped. I don't want to be told why it cannot be done . . . I want results." To Republican Cohen, any act later "ratified" by the President, if only by failing to reprimand his aides, also made him responsible. Alabama's Flowers stressed that the Constitution's "take care" clause carries an "affirmative duty" to see that laws are enforced and charged that Nixon had "failed to resist even the transgressions of these laws before his eyes and ears." Republican Fish noted that this clause also implies "policing your lieutenants."

Even Wiggins conceded that attempts by John Dean to get the IRS to audit 575 supporters of Presidential Candidate George McGovern in 1972 were "absolutely indefensible." Nixon Defender Mayne similarly admitted that the plumbers had been "caught in a mis-



Rep. Charles Sandman R-N.J.
Washington 74

erable crime" when they sought files from Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist. But in both instances, the loyalists insisted, there was no evidence that Nixon had approved the acts. Moreover, since the political audits never were carried out, New Jersey's Charles Sandman declared that to impeach Nixon for that would be to be punish him "for a thought, not a deed."

Others took a far less benign view of such Nixonian negligence. "I ask every doctor and lawyer and every insurance agent and accountant in the country, what kind of a land would you be living in if a group of hired hands have the power to come into your office in the dead of night in order to get one of your files?" protested Democrat Sarbanes. "Why was not the FBI brought into this matter if it was a legitimate matter for governmental actions? Because the plumbers were doing illegal things that the FBI refused to do."

Rattle of Chains. Argued Republican Cohen: "When the Chief Executive of the country starts to investigate private citizens who criticize his policies or authorizes his subordinates to do such things, then I think the rattle of the chains that would bind up our constitutional freedoms can be heard and it is against this rattle that we should awake and say no."

Painting a broader perspective, Conservative Republican Hogan recalled the days of antiwar protest when bombs were erupting on college campuses and draft-board offices were burglarized. Most of those protesters, he said, "felt that because their cause was just . . . they were above the law. They had long hair and beards and dressed as nonconformists and desecrated the flag. Inside the White House at the same time, there was another group of men who wore

---

icial, and legislative entities concerning the unlawful entry into the head-
rters of the Democratic National Committee, and the cover-up thereof, and
cerning other unlawful activities including those relating to the confirma-
of Richard Kleindienst as Attorney General of the United States, the elec-
ic surveillance of private citizens, the break-in into the offices of Dr. Lewis
lding, and the campaign financing practices of the Committee to Re-elect
President.

In disregard of the rule of law, he knowingly misused the executive power
nterfering with agencies of the executive branch, including the Federal Bu-
of Investigation, the Criminal Division, and the Office of Watergate Spe-
Prosecution Force, of the Department of Justice, and the Central Intel-
ce Agency, in violation of his duty to take care that the laws be faithfully
cuted.

In all of this, Richard M. Nixon has acted in a manner contrary to his trust
President and subversive of constitutional government, to the great prejudice
the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the Unit-
States.

Wherefore Richard M. Nixon, by such conduct, warrants impeachment
trial, and removal from office.

RTICLE III

In his conduct of the office of President of the United States, Richard M.
on, contrary to his oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the
ed States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Con-
tion of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take
that the laws be faithfully executed, has failed without lawful cause or ex-
to produce papers and things as directed by duly authorized subpoenas is-
by the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives on
il 11, 1974, May 15, 1974, May 30, 1974, and June 24, 1974, and willfully dis-
ed such subpoenas. The subpoenaed papers and things were deemed nec-
ry by the Committee in order to resolve by direct evidence fundamental,
ial questions relating to Presidential direction, knowledge or approval of ac-
s demonstrated by other evidence to be substantial grounds for impeach-
of the President. In refusing to produce these papers and things Richard
Nixon, substituting his judgment as to what materials were necessary for
inquiry, interposed the powers of the Presidency against the lawful sub-
as of the House of Representatives, thereby assuming to himself functions
judgments necessary to the exercise of the sole power of impeachment vest-
by the Constitution in the House of Representatives.

In all of this, Richard M. Nixon has acted in a manner contrary to his trust
President and subversive of constitutional government, to the great prejudice
the cause of law and justice, and to the manifest injury of the people of the Unit-
States.

Wherefore, Richard M. Nixon, by such conduct, warrants impeachment
rial, and removal from office.

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well-tailored business suits, close-cropped hair, no beards and wore flag pins in their lapels . . . They believed that the Viet Nam War was justified . . . They felt that because their cause was just they, too, were above the law . . . Now, obviously, both of those groups of people were wrong. Both should be held accountable for the violations of the law."

In closing general debate on the article, Utah Democrat Wayne Owens warned that "the history of liberty in the world is very short, the history of tyranny is very long, and the principal source of oppression has always been the unrestrained power of the state." When South Carolina's Mann observed that the U.S. political system looks out for "the underdog" and protects the "individual from the power of his government," Mississippi Republican Trent Lott had a question.

LOTT: I would ask my colleague from South Carolina, who is the underdog now?

MANN: I am fully aware that many American people consider that the President is being attacked by sinister forces in this country, by the left-wing press or by the Democrats, and I can assure this gentleman that it matters not to me his party or his position. He is subject to the rule of law and to justice, and in my role under my oath, he will get it, be he President or be he pauper.

On the roll-call vote on the abuse of powers article, only ten Republicans stood with the President—their loneliest position throughout the committee's days of voting. When Article III, citing Nixon for his failure to comply with eight subpoenas covering 147 taped conversations, was voted on, five Republicans rejoined the solid ten in opposing it. Originally proposed as one of the abuses of power under the second article, this charge was separated by committee Democrats largely in deference to Republican McClory, who felt strongly about it and whose vote the Democrats wanted on Article II.

To McClory, Nixon's defiance of the subpoenas was an outright infringement of the Constitution, which accords the House of Representatives the sole power of impeachment. "Now, if you ever saw an example of stonewalling," said McClory, "the prime example is right there." Democrat Seiberling declared that "without the power to investigate, the impeachment power is meaningless." Several other Democrats noted that since the Supreme Court had struck down Nixon's claim of absolute Executive privilege to withhold tapes from Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski, he had no valid claim to keep them from the Judiciary Committee.

Opponents of the article, however, countered that the committee had failed to contest Nixon's claim in court, as Jaworski had, and had also failed to seek a contempt citation from the full House against him. "We have not elevated this to the level of an impeachable offense by either going to the House floor or going to the courts," contended Democrat Flowers. Insisted Dennis: "The right to impeach . . . does not make us the sole arbitrator of the Constitution." The article carried by the narrow and largely partisan margin of 21 to 17.

Although doomed to failure, the articles on the bombing of Cambodia and the President's personal finances were debated sharply and at length. On the Cambodia article, the basic facts were not challenged. The U.S. made more than 3,600 B-52 sorties and dropped 100,000 tons of bombs on that nation at a time when Nixon was publicly proclaiming that its neutrality was being respected. The Administration later contended that the secrecy was necessary to maintain Cambodian Prince Sihanouk's tacit approval of the action, which was aimed at Communist troops in border mountains, not at civilians. The arguments were carried most effectively by New York Democrat Elizabeth Holtzman and Alabama's Flowers.

HOLTZMAN: But Prince Sihanouk was deposed on March 18, 1970, and there are three years thereafter that this Administration, including the President, lied to the Congress and lied to the American people without any justification . . . Congress may very well have approved it. But . . . it was the right of Congress to have known . . . Deceit and deception over issues as grave as . . . waging war cannot be tolerated in a constitutional democracy.

FLOWERS: This is a bad rap for President Nixon. We might as well resurrect President Johnson and impeach

Views & Revie

There was no doubting the e... ness of the Judiciary Committee's vised performance. The latest Harr... shows overwhelming approval of the... mittee's conduct, with 65% of the... approving the way it went about i... and only 29% opposing. This is a ... turnabout from the previous poll... showed a disapproval rate of 48%... Even in the South the new readings... 59% of the people in support of the... mittee. That performance inevitab... fluenced how Americans feel abo... verdict the committee reached. O... ris measure was that people who... for Nixon in the last election now... impeachment by 49% to 43%. To... the committee's impact directly... most sensitive terrain, TIME cor... dents visited the districts of some... Judiciary Committee's swing-vote... gressmen—six Republicans and a... ocrat who voted for impeachment a... resent strongly pro-Nixon constitu... The findings, and how they affect... litical futures of the seven Congre...

MARYLAND'S LAWRENCE HO... as the only Republican to vote ... all three accepted articles of imp... ment, drew more heat from his c... uents than anybody else on the ... ciary Committee. His mail, which ... point ran almost ten times the n... flow, was often angry and bitter. ... stituents called him "Brutus," "... and "Benedict Arnold"; represen... of 100 American Legion posts sa... were afraid he would come out ... favor of amnesty for draft evade... deserters (Hogan is an outspoken ... nent of amnesty); there were even ... telephoned threats on his life.

Still, the overall damage may ... too severe. The three-term Con... man is running, not for the Hou... November but for the governo... Even with his impeachment vote ... favored to get his party's nomi... and as before he remains an un... against Incumbent Marvin Mand... state where 69% of the voters are ... ocrats. But instant fame as a result ... diciary Committee publicity ma... his cause. He still has the supp... Maryland's U.S. Senators—both ... licans—and his pro-impeachme... will enable him to pick up a lo... dependent and Democratic votes ...

MAINE'S WILLIAM COHEN ... his political stature with his im... ment vote. His own district, w... cludes the potato fields of Ar... County, the timberland country ... and western Maine and the state ... ond and third largest cities—De... ic Lewiston and waveringly Re... Bangor—produced some bitter ... cluding: "May a thousand camels ... themselves in your drinking wa...

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om the Folks Back Home

ally his constituents seem to have won over by his pro-impeachment ents. Leon Smith, a Jonesport lob- dealer, used to say that he would pport Cohen if he voted for im- chment. Like many Mainers, how- he softened his view—"He's quite m, I think"—after a local TV ap- nce by Cohen following his vote. youthful, handsome Cohen has im- ed his prospects as a future candi- for Governor or Senator.

LINOIS' TOM RAILSBACK, from the 's 19th District, got enough flak his Republican constituents to sur- aides working on his re-election paign. Most of the criticism has not surprisingly, from old-line rvatives, businessmen and farmers feel that Railsback has betrayed as well as the Republican Party. never seen the people so upset," de- honor of Railsback, Hewitt announced that he would give financial support to the Congressman's campaign. Hewitt also noted that in the past, he had always given money to Nixon. Another supporter sent Railsback two red roses "for courage." Thus Railsback, who ran unopposed in 1972, is unlikely to lose his congressional seat because of his impeachment stand.

WISCONSIN'S HAROLD FROEHLICH may have helped himself in his state's east-central constituency by his pro-impeachment vote. The freshman Republican Congressman won by a narrow 1% of the vote in 1972, and may be in for a tight race against Jesuit Priest Robert Cornell this year. But the committee's proceedings enhanced the widespread feeling among his district's weary voters that impeachment is now the only way to clear the political atmosphere.



Rep. Thomas Railsback R-Ill. 74

Clarence Neff, Henderson Coun- airman.

most feel that Railsback has not wounded fatally by his impeach- vote. His Democratic opponent in ember, James Gende, is widely re- d as a lackluster liberal, and most e key G.O.P. regulars, while angry, cking by Railsback. Many of them at there is enough time before No- er for him to win back some of his ated friends. And there are un- n thousands, constituting perhaps back's Silent Majority, who respect for what he did.

ne important Republican constit- William Hewitt, board chairman ere & Co., last week indicated that d been converted to Railsback's peachment view. At a Moline ber of Commerce lunch held in That is essentially the line that county chairmen in rural G.O.P. bastions like Waupaca County are arguing to assuage angry constituents. "The thing has gone so far," declares Waupaca's William Kinsman. "The question [of Nixon's guilt] will always be up in the air unless we put it to trial." In the larger cities, like Green Bay and Appleton, there has been a defection of voters from the Nixon camp that will probably help Froehlich. "I don't know how many dyed-in-the-wool Republicans are left," observes Appleton Stockbroker Thomas A. Tollette. "People have been so disgusted with the whole thing that this probably hasn't hurt him."

ILLINOIS' ROBERT McCLORY'S 13th District is a mélange of wealthy Chicago suburbs and new industrial centers. His constituents seem to have largely rallied behind him. While some in the G.O.P.'s right wing are outraged by his vote, the six-term Congressman may pick up support among an estimated 40% in the district who are independents. Many Nixon loyalists were mollified and moved by the fact that McClory seemed to search his conscience before his two aye votes. McClory is a respected figure in the district, something of a party patriarch; his impeachment vote surely swayed some pro-Nixon conservatives. "People feel things have to be bad for McClory to vote for impeachment," says State Representative Donald Deuster, adding: "Two-thirds of the party is being quiet. But they're saying, 'It's too bad, but it must be done.' They're resigned to the fact that Bob had to do a distasteful thing."

VIRGINIA'S M. CALDWELL BUTLER, the lone Southern Republican who voted for impeachment, should survive handily. No matter how angry diehard Nixon supporters may be in his Sixth District, they have no place else to go. Butler's Democratic opponent, Roanoke Sheriff Paul Puckett, has been attacking the G.O.P. Congressman for foot dragging on impeachment. The Roanoke *Times* reports that letters are running about 3 to 2 against Butler, but the mail flow is very light. Most important, Butler had the foresight to prepare his constituents for the impeachment process. Says Charles McDowell, Washington correspondent and columnist for the Richmond *Times-Dispatch:* "He's spent a lot of time teaching his district the majesty of the thing and bringing his people along." Though political observers feel that disenchanted Nixonites will stay at home in November, nobody thinks he is in real trouble.

ALABAMA'S WALTER FLOWERS, who first came to office in 1968 as a follower of George Wallace, is in some trouble. His constituency, which includes everything from Ku Klux Klansmen to liberal black college professors, went 66% for Nixon in 1972. As District Representative Andy Dearman said in Flowers' Tuscaloosa office: "No one has expressed outright anger at the vote, but many have expressed displeasure." Of the 353 letters received by Democrat Flowers' office since the vote, almost two-thirds have condemned his position.

But the obvious agony of decision that Flowers showed at the Judiciary Committee debates has led many to express respect for his pro-impeachment stand. "I don't think his vote reflects the sentiment of his constituency," says Selma mayor Joe Smitherman, "[but] I do understand how he came to the conclusion to vote the way he did." The feeling that he did what he thought was right, combined with his overall popularity, will probably enable him to survive in the coming congressional election. For the moment, in fact, Flowers has no opposition for re-election.

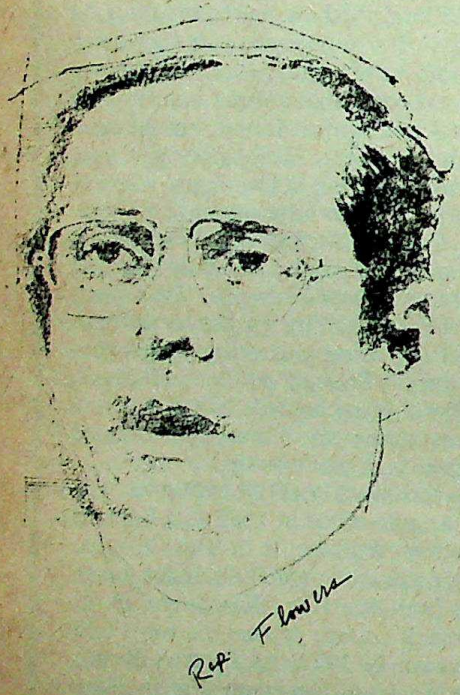
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him posthumously for Viet Nam and Laos as impeach President Nixon for Cambodia. We might as well resurrect the memory of John Kennedy for the Bay of Pigs. President Truman in Korea.

The debate revealed that at least eight hawkish members of Congress had been advised confidentially of the bombing. "How foolish we would be to impeach this President for that particular incident when the whole South Vietnamese involvement was one series of mistakes, one right after the other," declared Republican Railsback.

The President was especially raked in the argument over his failure to pay $420,000 in income taxes until public revelations forced an investigation. No one defended Nixon's tax deduction for his vice-presidential papers valued at $576,000—especially since that deduction was found to be based on a backdated deed. Even all-out Defender Delbert Latta said that Nixon had been guilty of "bad judgment and gross neg-



ligence." Mayne called it "a very sorry example . . . of American citizenship."

Democrats lashed out more bitingly. Scoffing at the notion that Nixon might have made "an honest mistake" in not checking to see if his gift of papers had really been in order, Iowa Democrat Edward Mezvinsky, who introduced the article, asked whether the committee could really believe that Nixon "did not know the truth about a gift of over one-half of a million dollars—the largest gift he has ever given in his life?"

Yet the dominant feeling apparently was that no proof of Nixon's culpability could be offered. Special Prosecutor Jaworski's office is still pursuing its investigation of how Nixon's tax returns were prepared, however, and several opponents of the article said that they would consider an added impeachment charge if new evidence becomes available.

THE PRESIDENCY/HUGH SIDEY

The Loneliness of Richard Nixon

They check the tapes out of the locked and guarded room of the Executive fice Building next door to the White House. Then Stephen Bull, special assistan the President, sorts them out by number and date, as designated in the subpoena

It is not all that easy to find the exact conversations that the prosecutors w While the tape reels from the Oval Office have only one day's conversation o on them, the reels from the President's hideaway in the E.O.B. may have as m as a week's conversation, depending on how frequently he secluded himself in office. The recordings from the bugged phones in the Oval Office, the Lincol ting Room and the E.O.B. may have as much as two or three weeks of con sation on them.

Tension and concern now run so high in the White House over the tapes the future of Richard Nixon that Bull and others have instituted a kind of F Safe system to help guard the integrity of the tapes, or whatever of it remains will not handle the original reels. He gets only duplicates. He carefully takes ea in. reel and puts it on a small Sony tape recorder whose erase mechanism has immobilized by White House technicians. Then he clamps earphones on his and begins to track down the specified conversations that the court has ordere be turned over.

When Bull finds the right conversation he stops the machine. Then everyt is taken into the President—the Sony with its defunct erasure button, the reel place ready to go. The President does his listening either in the Lincoln Sit Room, which is on the second floor of the mansion in the southeast corner, o his E.O.B. office. Both places are secluded and relatively quiet. Yet the sound Washington still intrude, and earphones are provided to assure the highest qua listening. When Nixon is in the Lincoln Sitting Room, the Sony is placed on small desk that is in front of the south window. Nixon puts the earphones on, tles himself into the armchair covered in brown velvet, a favorite brought from New York apartment. The President puts his feet up on the ottoman and uses of his yellow legal pads to make notes as the tape unwinds. The hours slip by as he lives history in this melancholy loneliness.

■

No President has ever been in a similar position. The impeachment of Andr Johnson was political, a controversy about public acts of Johnson. Secrecy and structions to subordinates in the shadowy recesses of the White House were not issue.

Nixon's world has shrunk almost to himself, his family and a handful of Cabinet officers and agency heads are allowed in when business demands ex But there is no camaraderie. In the old days somebody like John Connally co roar and swear at the enemies and tell a few stories to perk up the President. nally has his own problems now. There was no meeting with the congressional ership last week. A session with the economic advisers was postponed, then celed. The bulletin board on which the President's and Mrs. Nixon's schedules posted each day was empty most of the week. Those brief encounters with the lic that were allowed, such as being photographed with Treasury Secretary liam Simon, were brittle, posed affairs. The President smiled too much for com

Cabinet members came around Wednesday morning for a 15-minute s show on the achievements of the Administration in improving the design of eral buildings. Alexander Haig, the White House staff chief, went to the meet to give a pep talk. The President did not attend.

■

Many Presidents have lamented the loneliness of their position. That dese tion was never quite accurate. They alone had to make decisions, but those cisions were on policy issues on which they had counsel and support before after. Even when Harry Truman fired General Douglas MacArthur, a move outraged millions of Americans, Truman had the solid backing of men like Ge Marshall. Nixon has few such believing men.

He moves now from cubicle to cubicle, more protected than ever by the Se Service and the few aides allowed in contact with him. His few public encou are with "sanitized" audiences, as they are now called, those like the Southern ifornia business friends Roy Ash assembled for dinner in Los Angeles. Even audiences, while still sympathetic to a friend, are riddled with people who see reasons for impeachment. Nixon keeps these people, too, far from true intimacy.

The official White House photographers have been ordered not to take tures of Nixon unless he is in his office and only with his express permission his cruises down the Potomac on the *Sequoia* are more secluded than ever. Navy cannot seal off the entire river, but it has constructed an 8-ft. fence the entrance to the dock and down an adjoining pier; now no one can see the ident get on or off his boat.

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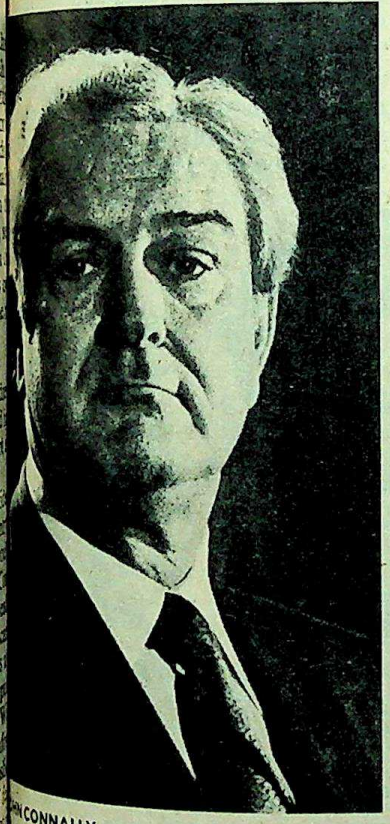
INVESTIGATIONS

Big John Indicted

It was always assumed that John Connally was the greatest living practitioner of fast-on-the-draw, sleight-of-hand Texas politics, and much too smart ever to be caught on the wrong side of the law. That theory was shaken last week when Connally was indicted on seven counts of accepting an illegal gratuity, perjury and obstruction of justice in his role in the White House milk scandal. If convicted on all counts, he could face up to 19 years in prison and $35,000 in fines.

Connally's alleged $10,000 bribe was actually only a small piece of the milk producers' action. The milk producers had offered $2 million to President Nixon's 1972 campaign at the same time that they

LAFFONT—SYGMA



JOHN CONNALLY
Nixon's biggest tree so far.

were lobbying for a boost in the price support of milk. Eventually, to forestall a still even higher increase threatened by the Democratic Congress, Nixon has intended, the price was raised enough to give the producers an extra $300 million a year in income. Acting as a middleman in the producers' dealings with the White House in 1971, Connally, the indictment charges, was personally rewarded with two contributions of $5,000 each, which were brought to him by Old friend Jake Jacobsen, a Texas attorney who was representing the milkmen.

When the scandal began to be uncovered in 1973, Connally, according to the indictment, decided to cook up an alibi with Jacobsen: the pair agreed to testify under oath that although Jacobthe Treasury chief had refused to take it. Whereupon, the story went, Jacobsen put the cash in a safe-deposit box in a bank in Austin. To make the alibi stick, the prosecution believes, Connally gave Jacobsen $10,000 out of his own pocket to place in the box.

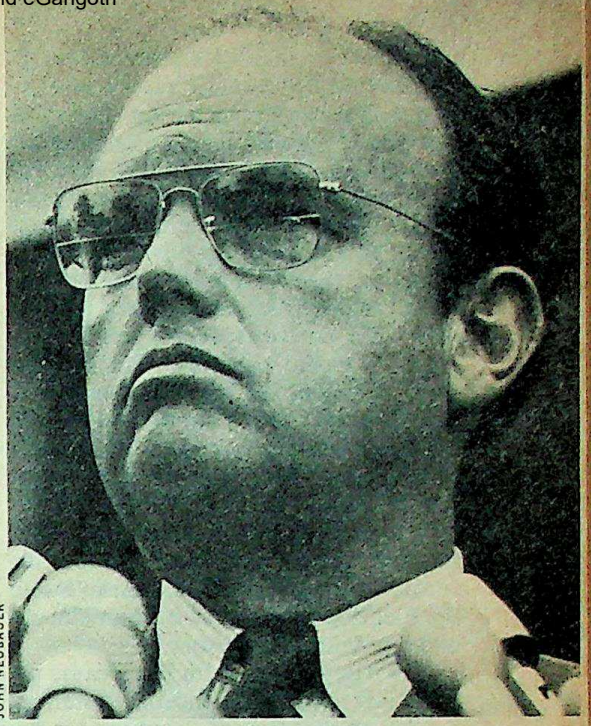
If the indictment is correct, the Secretary of the Treasury did not show much familiarity with his own bills. Belatedly realizing that the cash in the box had been issued by the U.S. Treasury after the deposit had supposedly been made, Connally is believed to have hastily replaced it with another batch of bills. Once again, he apparently slipped up. Though these bills were dated prior to the deposit, some of them had not been put into circulation until several months later. Thus investigators concluded that Connally and Jacobsen were lying. Confronted with the evidence, Jacobsen pleaded guilty to one count of perjury and started talking.

The case against Connally, however, does not rest on Jacobsen's testimony alone. Other witnesses have been lined up. Last week Harold Nelson, former general manager of Associated Milk Producers, Inc., the nation's largest milk cooperative, pleaded guilty to a charge that he had conspired to bribe Connally. In the information filed against Nelson, several other officials of milk cooperatives were named as unindicted coconspirators. Some are likely to testify against Connally under immunity.

Legal Fee. In a related action last week, Associated Milk Producers, Inc. was fined a maximum $35,000 in federal court in Washington after pleading guilty to making illegal campaign contributions to Democratic and Republican candidates in 1968, 1970 and 1972, including Hubert Humphrey, Edmund Muskie, South Dakota Senator James Abourezk and Arkansas Representative Wilbur Mills.

In addition, Norman Sherman, former press secretary to Humphrey, was named last week in a criminal information filed in federal court by the special prosecutor. Sherman is charged with the misdemeanor of accepting illegal funds from the Associated Milk Producers, Inc. to pay for computerized mailing lists. And Humphrey's onetime campaign manager, Jack Chestnut, was accused in a sworn statement by another Humphrey aide of sending $12,000 in campaign bills to the milk co-op, which then paid them.

Connally has hired Defense Attorney Edward Bennett Williams, who can help him beat the charges if anyone can. Why Connally allowed himself to get into this scrape is another question. Though a "poor millionaire" (less than $10 million in assets) by inflated Texas standards, he hardly needed to risk his reputation and presidential ambitions for $10,000. Says a Washington politician: "John would think of that as legal fee to which he was entitled. He



JOHN NEUBAUER

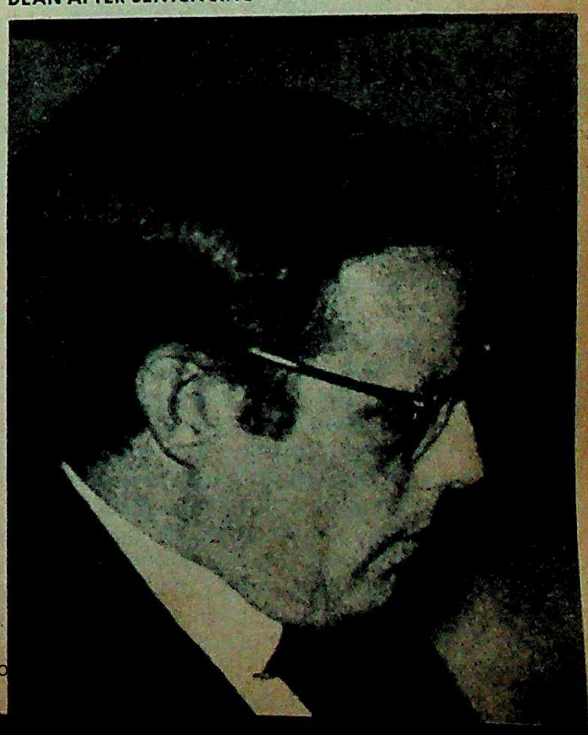
EHRLICHMAN AFTER SENTENCING

WATERGATE

Stiff Sentences

After he heard his sentence read from the bench last week by U.S. District Judge Gerhard Gesell, John Ehrlichman momentarily lost his usual steely grip on himself. Standing glumly erect as he listened to the judge's words, Ehrlichman returned silently to the witness table when Gesell finished, reached out to steady himself on the back of his chair, then slowly sank down into his seat. Gesell had just sentenced the former White House domestic adviser to three concurrent prison terms of 20 months to five years each—for one count of conspiracy in authorizing the bur-

DEAN AFTER SENTENCING



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glary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist, Dr. Lewis Fielding, and two counts of perjury in testifying before federal grand juries. Ehrlichman will not be eligible for parole until he has served 20 months. He is appealing the verdict.

It was the harshest sentence yet meted out to a former top Nixon aide convicted in the Watergate scandal. But, Gesell told Ehrlichman, except for "the many affirmative aspects of your life, the sentence would have been far more severe." Ehrlichman had told Gesell earlier: "I believe that I am the only one in this room who really knows if I am guilty or not guilty. Your Honor, I am innocent of each and every one of the charges in this case." Unmoved, Gesell snapped back: "The court accepts the verdict of the jury." Gesell characterized the Fielding break-in as a "shameful episode in American history."

Two days later, John Dean came before Judge John Sirica to be sentenced for the single count of conspiracy in the Watergate cover-up that he pleaded guilty to last October. Accompanied by his attorney, Charles Shaffer, and Shaffer's wife Susan (Maureen Dean was at home in Los Angeles), Dean placed himself at the mercy of the court: "The only thing I would ask for is your compassion and understanding. I realize to say I am sorry is not enough." After denying Shaffer's request to postpone sentencing until the newly released Watergate tapes could shed more light on Dean's role in the conspiracy, Sirica handed down a stiff one- to four-year sentence. Noting the current serious illness of Dean's mother-in-law, Sirica allowed Dean until September 3 to arrange for her care before entering prison. It will be at least one year before he will be eligible for parole, though he is likely to spend a fair amount of his sentence outside as a witness in court or before the U.S. Senate sitting in trial of Richard Nixon.

AP



LIBRARIAN JUDY STANDLEY; CONVICT FRED CARRASCO; TEACHER ELIZABETH BESEDA
A sacrificial offer leads to an inner circle—and death.

PRISONS

Blood Hostages

Precisely at the moment when the 1 p.m. prison whistle sounded, a convict limped into the third-floor library brandishing a .38-cal. pistol. "Get out of here," he shouted at other prisoners, as he ordered them down the ramp from the library. When two guards tried to come up the ramp, the convict fired at them, hitting one in the foot. Both fled. Two other convicts, also carrying pistols, joined the first, and they slammed shut the double glass doors of the library. Trapped within were 15 people—ten employees of the Texas State Penitentiary at Huntsville, including seven women, and four prisoners who were not involved in the breakout attempt. Thus began, on July 24, the longest seizure of hostages in the agitated history of U.S. prisons.

As officials, relatives of hostages and newsmen gathered in the yard below the library, the convicts staged a grim spectacle. One by one, like mannequins in a display window, the hostages were periodically pressed against the library's glass doors. In the event of an attack, they would be directly in the line of fire. Their captors, in fact, were no strangers to killing. They were all serving time for murder or assault to murder. Their leader, Fred Gomez Carrasco, 34, who had been injured in a shootout with police, was a lifer suspected of killing dozens of people in Texas and Mexico. Ignacio Cuevas, 42, was serving a 45-year stretch. Rudolfo Dominguez, 27, had been sentenced to 15 years. Death was very much on their minds—their hostages' death, their own, anybody's. Repeatedly, they threatened to shoot their captives outright, with the pistols they had somehow smuggled into the prison, or blow them up, with bombs fashioned from chemistry sets in the library.

Speaking over the telephone, the terrified hostages begged Huntsville officials to comply with the convicts' demands. At first the requests were sartorial: three tailored suits, three pairs of Nunn-Bush shoes, shirts, ties, cologne and toothbrushes. These were promptly provided. Next, the convicts asked for walkie-talkies and bulletproof helmets. These, too, were delivered. But the helmets were not acceptable. Shouting that he could tell the difference between "a toy" and a genuine helmet, Carrasco fired several shots past Bob Heard, 27, a prison guard who had been designated first of the hostages to die. His voice cracking with emotion, Heard implored over the phone: "Give them whatever they want, and at least we'll know we tried, that we didn't die cooped up in here like a slaughterhouse—and that's what it will be."

After a grueling 80 hours, the convicts got around to asking for guns and an armored car to use for their getaway. tages; they would take three women a the Rev. Joseph O'Brien, the pri chaplain, with them in their escape hicle, and let them go later. Carra said that their intention was to fl Cuba and take their problem to Fi "If Castro decides to shoot me, he'll doing me a favor," said Carrasco. D inguez declared that he too was prep to die. Cuevas, who does not speak E lish, asked a Spanish-speaking ne woman to kiss his wife for him "for last time."

Acting on the instructions of Te Governor Dolph Briscoe, prison offic agreed only to provide an armored The car was rolled into the prison co yard and another tense wait began.

The impasse was finally broken S urday night when the convicts tried carry out their escape plan—a futile for freedom that ended tragically for of the women hostages and two of convicts. Moving out of the library toward the waiting vehicle, the conv forced eight of the hostages to for shield around them. They taped books to portable blackboards as a s ondary line of protection. With them side that barrier were four other h tages, including the two women.

Prison guards and Texas Rang also had a plan. They suddenly blas the entire group with water from pressure hoses, effectively separating outer hostages from the rest. But a ruptured, giving the convicts a cha to open fire with their pistols. The ficers returned the fire and a one-s gun battle broke out.

When it was over, Convicts Carr co and Dominguez lay dead. Fa O'Brien, who had voluntarily joined group, was wounded, but apparently seriously. The two women, Eliza Beseda, 57, a prison school teacher, Judy Standley, 43, a librarian, killed. The two women had volunte to accompany the convicts as hos in the armored car—a sacrificial that had placed them in that fatal

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Must Nixon's Hard Core Supporters Be Satisfied?

No matter how much damaging evidence is unearthed against Richard Nixon, no matter how many of his key associates are convicted and imprisoned, a steady one-quarter of all Americans continue to support the President. The persistence with which this hard core holds to its opinion through a succession of testimony, transcripts and trials that have disturbed almost everybody else says something about true believing, and about the ability to ignore or reject evidence to the contrary. And it raises the question, as the House debate on impeachment draws near, of whether this sizable segment of opinion represents a danger to the public tranquillity if its views do not prevail.

The President's highest point of popularity, 68% in the Gallup poll, was first reached after the Viet Nam peace settlement in January 1973. Fourteen months later, in the wreckage of Watergate, the number of Americans who thought the President was doing a good job had dropped to 25%, and there it has hovered ever since. Can many in the 25% even be following the news?

The real question in recent months has not been whether the President has been guilty of low conduct in office; that point has been well established. Among those who once greatly admired Nixon but no longer think he is doing a good job, the question now is whether the bad of his Administration outweighs the good and whether impeachment would be more unsettling than letting a wounded President serve out his term.

■

But among the bedrock 25%, such questions do not seem to matter; their view of Nixon remains immovable. Some in this group take their cue from the Administration and consider Watergate a "blip" that has been overblown by a hostile press. Others are more cynical (though they would probably describe their attitude as realistic) and describe their opponents as hypocrites. To them, politics is always dirty, and Nixon's conduct in office only slightly worse than usual, if that. Furthermore, many Nixon backers consider him a man who cares and understands their interests, particularly in areas like school busing, welfare programs and defense spending.

More interesting, though harder to get at, are those who are anything but cynical in supporting the President. Pollsters identify them generally as people who are older, less well-schooled, conservative and more than likely Southern. The question is whether many of them are for the President or for the presidency—like monarchists, identifying the ruler with the country. Charles manipulating, quoted a pollster's theory that "50% of the American people at least will always believe what any President tells them because they want to believe what any President tells them." The percentage who do today has shrunk in half. But can it be that Nixon's most recent low of 24% suggests a permanent core of people who believe in "my President, right or wrong"?

This can be a reasoned conclusion, but often it is a more elemental, emotional response. It is to be found among many men and women for whom life is a hard and marginal struggle, who care little about current events. They are not to be despised; their loyalty and sense of duty is such that they faithfully serve, or send their sons off to fight in wars they do not necessarily understand. Such unthinking patriotism is generally considered a right-wing manifestation, though right-wing is too political a term for so apolitical an attitude. Still, the passive patriot when aroused is a person to be feared: in troubled times—having earlier ignored the flow of political argument—he stirs to the noisy rhetoric of demagogues. Joe McCarthy and George Wallace have known how to rouse him.

Few politicians are more keenly aware of the existence of this category of Americans than Richard Nixon. During the long Viet Nam negotiations, Henry Kissinger, in his private explanations of Nixon's policy, always stressed the President's fear of a future backlash among such voters if they came to believe that the peace settlement was dishonorable. Many Republican politicians similarly fear that if Nixon's guilt is not firmly established, he will become a martyr (with disastrous political consequences for years to come). Nixon may hope to achieve such martyrdom by resigning after the House vote, sparing the country and himself a Senate trial. But some Congressmen argue that if a condition of his leaving office is that he publicly acknowledge —and not contest—the case against him, Nixon will disappear from the scene as thoroughly as has Spiro Agnew.

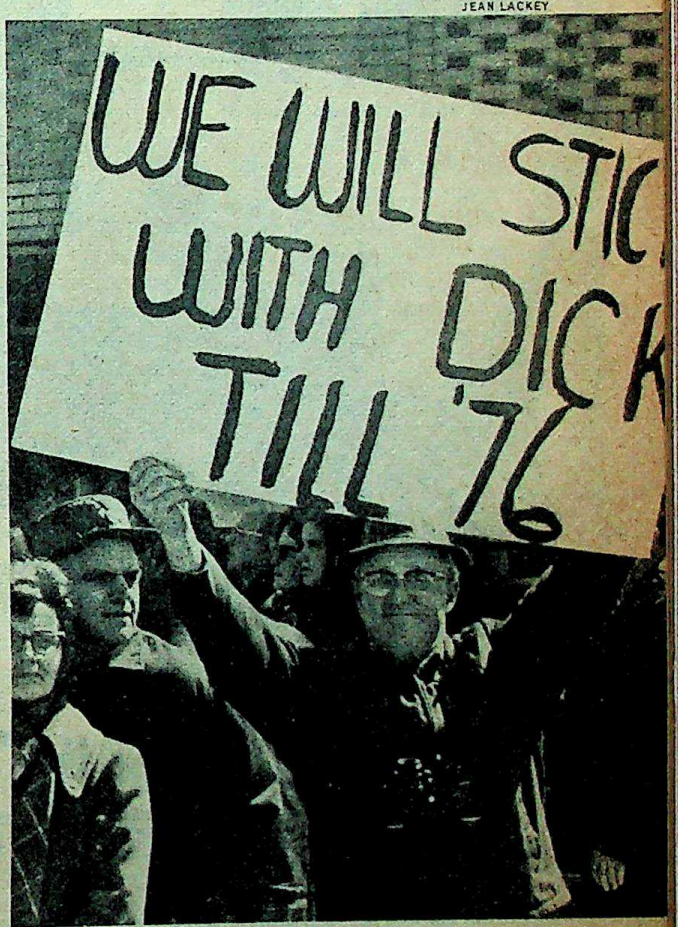
But how much attention must be paid to fears of backlash or martyrdom? For the sake of the public temper, how universally approved must any major political decision be? The questions matter because the well-being of society depends on more than democracy's numbers.

The democratic idea of the rule of the majority, though practiced for a time in ancient Athens, has gained wide acceptance only relatively late in the day. In medieval times, whether in the great council of the church or in secular parliament, the assent of everybody was esteemed as the ideal. "Unanimity was sought," wrote J. Roland Pennock in the *American Political Science Review*, "even if it could be obtained only by the process of wearing down and shouting down the dissenters—or by resort to threats or physical force."

Gradually the notion of majority rule developed, and got its philosophical sanction from John Locke, who greatly influenced the founding fathers. Alexander Hamilton warned that if "a pertinacious minority can control the opinion of a majority ... the sense of the smaller number will overrule that of the greater." Though Thomas Jefferson could proclaim in his first Inaugural Address that "the minority possess their equal rights," he called it a "sacred principle" that "the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail." That being so, what is so equal about minority rights?

Cobden put the argument at its sunniest: "If the minority are discontented with the existing state of things, let them set to work and exert themselves until

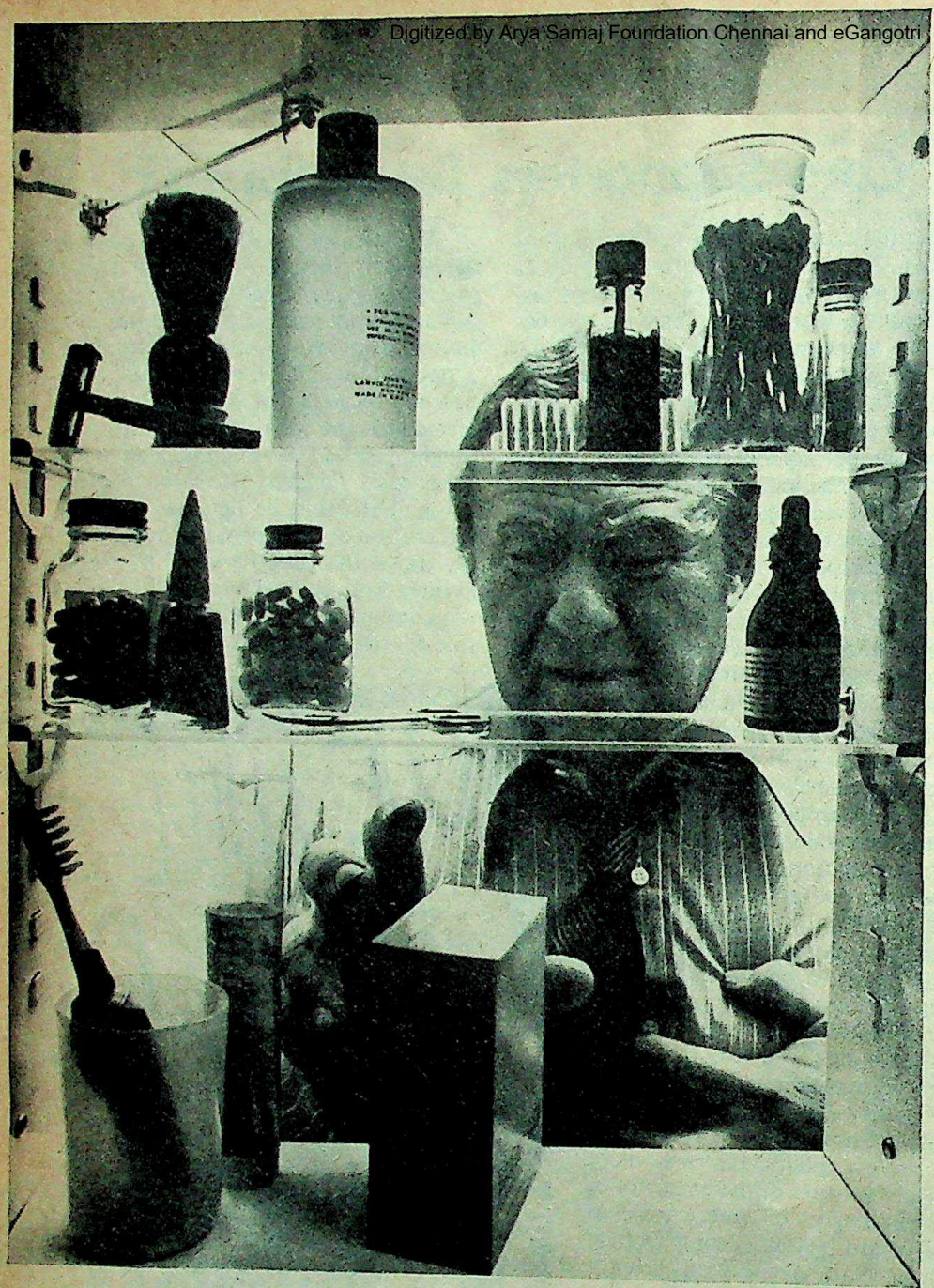
JEAN LACKEY



NIXON SUPPORTER IN MICHIGAN

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You may think it's "heartburn" ...but you could be dead wrong

If you have these symptoms, you may be having a heart attack.

1. Prolonged, heavy pressure or squeezing pain in the center of the chest, behind the breastbone.
2. Pain may radiate to the shoulder, arm, neck or jaw.
3. The pain or discomfort is often accompanied by sweating
4. Nausea, vomiting and shortness of breath may also occur.
5. Sometimes these symptoms subside and then return.

Don't wait. Call your doctor immediately and tell him your symptoms. If he isn't available, get to a hospital emergency room at once.

they become the majority." Fine, but a minority is of a different race, religion or culture, and has no hope of becoming a majority. Then there must either be continual friction, as in Northern Ireland or Cyprus, or else a guarantee of protected minority rights that a majority cannot overturn. John C. Calhoun believed the South to be such a permanent minority in need of protection. So he argued for a "concurrent majority" by which Government regards interests as well as numbers, takes "the sense of each," and arrives at a solution acceptable to all. This process involved a kind of minority veto that led first to nullification and then to the tragedy of secession and civil war. In fact, the South is not a permanent minority; it has understood how to coalesce with other groups and, using seniority in Congress, to frustrate the will of the majority.

■

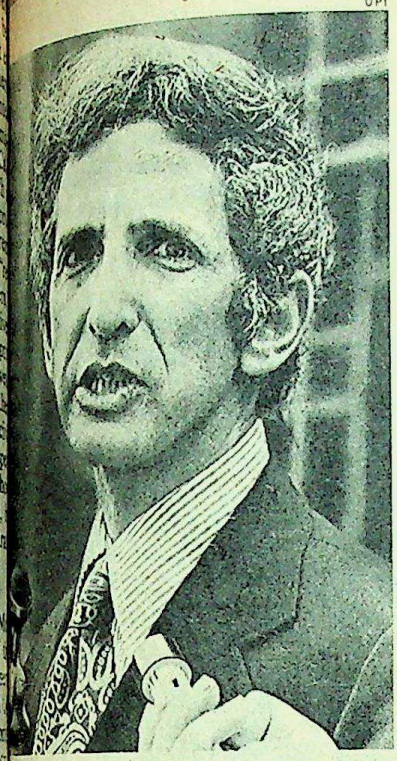
Those who fear the rule of King Mob often complain of "the tyranny of the majority" and even romantically assert, as did one of Ibsen's characters in *An Enemy of the People*, that "the minority is always in the right." Lone voices crying in the wilderness often do speak good sense, and majorities can of course be wrong, or infuriatingly slow to come around to a view that is later seen to be right. But after examining all the arguments for the assumed tyranny of the majority, Ferdinand A. Hermens, professor emeritus of the University of Cologne, concluded that "whenever real tyranny exists it is exercised by a minority." The men of Philadelphia greatly feared gusts of passion in momentary majorities and embedded all kinds of checks and balances in the Constitution to avert them. In as grave a matter as convicting an impeached President, they required a two-thirds Senate majority. Beyond that, how far can a democracy go in conciliating a minority view without rendering itself impotent?

Politicians instinctively recoil from alienating any sizable segment of opinion, which is one reason—apart from the dilatory tactics of the White House—why Watergate and impeachment have taken so long to come to resolution. The arguments of the hard-core Nixonites have been heard and debated at great length. That is the true right of a minority, and it is being fully satisfied. There is no denying that if the minority loses once the issue is put to the test, it will still find the decision hard to accept. But the rights of a minority do not include having others defer to them out of a fear of backlash from their displeasure; backlash is not an argument to be met, but only a conjecture, a question and a threat. The majority, too, has rights and if, after all the debating and deciding, the trial and the defense, the majority's own sense of the rightness of its case were to be frustrated, that would lead to an even greater backlash and

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UPI



PROFILE SUBJECT ELLSBERG

Secondhand Shrinking

Daniel Ellsberg is a man prone to apparently sudden and extreme shifts in loyalty and enthusiasm." Always wrestling with a submissive side of his personality that he dislikes, he has plunged into "blatant sexual activities with a wide variety of women (Swedish to East Indian)," perhaps to prove "he was his own man." He also harbors feelings of rage against authority figures ranging from his father to the President.

So reads a CIA psychiatric profile of Ellsberg pieced together by doctors from news clips and FBI and other Government reports. The CIA doctors never so much as met Ellsberg. Their analysis, the second of two requested in 1971 by White House Plumbers, was released recently by the House Judiciary Committee. More detailed than the initial CIA profile revealed last summer, it also reaches a startlingly different conclusion. According to the first profile, Ellsberg probably leaked the Pentagon papers out of a need for recognition as well as what "he deemed to be a higher order of patriotism." But according to the second profile, "to an important degree, the leaking of the papers was an act of aggression at his analyst, as well as at the President and at his father."

That two such clashing conclusions from the same source could be reached about Ellsberg suggests the trouble with behavioral profiles. Some news commentators feel the studies were ordered as part of a White House "smear" campaign against Ellsberg. In fact, the first profile, which turned out to be reasonably judged unsatisfactory by the White House, and the CIA was sent back to crank out another.

The authors slapped the information together in a hurry and under pressure. They say in the second report: "The overall result must necessarily be highly impressionistic ... further investigations might support other (and contrary) conclusions." Moreover, Dr. Bernard Malloy, an assistant professor of psychiatry at Georgetown University and a consultant to the CIA's Division of Psychiatric Services, informed the Senate Watergate Committee that CIA doctors had reservations about the project from the start, fearing that it could be "misinterpreted and mistakenly considered to have been derived from the doctor-patient relationship."

Active-Negative. Psychiatrists are outraged by such remote-control analysis. Protests Harvard's Dr. Robert Coles: "This is the most blatant kind of psychiatric reductionism. It's hard enough to interpret a person's motives or reasons even firsthand." Dr. Jacob Swartz of Boston, spokesman for the American Psychoanalytic Association, says: "To form a valid opinion, one should see the patient."

Still, there are supporters of behavioral profiles, often called "psychohistories." Retired Harvard Historian William Langer, former chief of research at the OSS, says that secondhand material can sometimes tell more about a person than his own words when he knows he is under analysis.

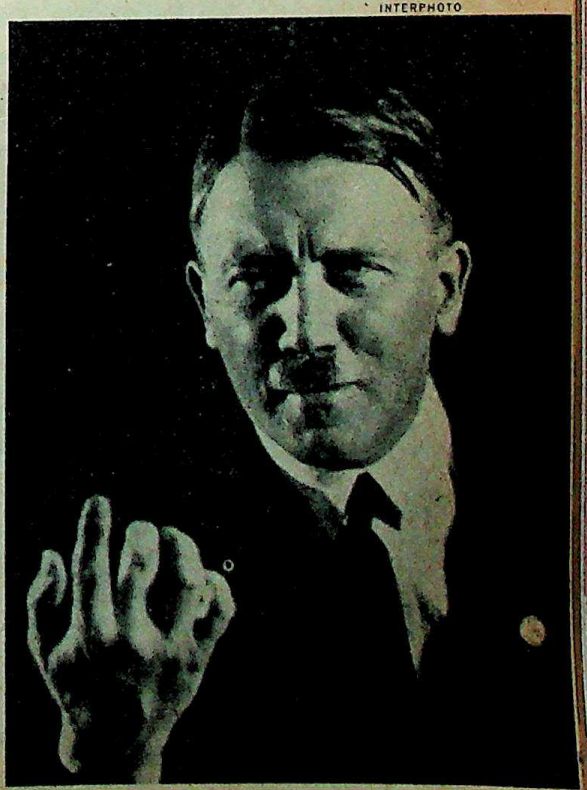
Psychohistory, in fact, is nothing new. Numerous widely respected behavioral analyses have been done on world figures, notably Psychoanalyst Erik Erikson's profiles of Martin Luther and Gandhi, and Duke Political Scientist James David Barber's *The Presidential Character,* which contends that "active-negative" Presidents like Nixon face crises by "riding the tiger to the end." M.I.T. History Professor Bruce Mazlish adds in his 1972 psychohistory, *In Search of Nixon,* that because two of the President's brothers died in their youth, he continually struggles with "death fears"; to confront these, he may subconsciously seek out crises.

Perhaps the most famous behavioral analysis was the Hitler study done by Dr. Walter Langer, William's brother, for the U.S. Government during World War II. Declassified in 1972 and published as *The Mind of Adolph Hitler,* Langer's work proved uncannily accurate; he not only predicted Hitler's suicide, but also that "each defeat will shake his confidence and ... he will probably try to compensate for his vulnerability by stressing his brutality." In fact, Hitler began ordering mass slaughters of the Jews as his military position crumbled. But even Langer calls psychiatric profiles "90% guesswork."

Encouraged by Langer's accuracy, the Government has been using psychiatric profiles as a tool ever since. Though Ellsberg was the first U.S. civilian to get the treatment, intelligence experts regularly do analyses of world leaders, including Chairman Mao, Indira Gandhi, Archbishop Makarios, as well as Soviet Party Boss Leonid Brezhnev, Defense Minister Andrei Grechko and Military Theorist A.A. Sidorenko. Says one official: "Everything a person has written, what he reads, who influences him, his sex life, ailments and prognosis—everything goes into the making of a profile." Many diplomatic sources consider these reports invaluable in negotiating with a foreign leader. Says one: "The profiles provide pertinent and practical guidance in sizing up a guy."

Industry too has experimented with psychiatric profiles, requesting them on likely executive talent. In recent years, however, the business has slumped. Alfred Marrow, president of the National Academy of Professional Psychologists, explains that "the profiles turned out to be useless" because there was little relationship between their conclusions and an executive's performance on the job. James Clovis of Handy Assoc., an executive-recruitment firm, reports that companies are now more interested in their own personal evaluation of a job candidate and his performance records than what psychologists might say. Perhaps most important, many firms have an understandable fear: that behavioral analyses will break the laws guaranteeing a citizen's right to privacy.

INTERPHOTO



PROFILE SUBJECT HITLER
Remote-control analysis.

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In an idle moment on the *Today* show, Critic **Gene Shalit** said he would like to be a conductor. Immediately, the Long Island Rail Road offered him a job. Then the Orchestral Society of Westchester came up with something better: it asked Shalit to lead a concert last week in the garden of Lyndhurst, Financier Jay Gould's old estate on the Hudson River. Shalit, an amateur bassoonist, accepted with pleasure. As a child, he had taken piano lessons: "You know the kind of thing, the music teacher kisses your fingers to see if you're a genius." Waving his baton, Shalit said he rehearsed William Boyce's *Fifth Symphony* and Haydn's *"Farewell" Symphony* "like fury. I didn't even stop when the record turned off."

■

When **David Viscount Linley,** 12, and **Lady Sarah Armstrong-Jones,** 10, accompanied their mother **Princess Margaret** on a visit to the Royal Navy at Portland Naval Base, Britain's Senior Service put on a good show. There was a helicopter flypast, and a fire drill with asbestos-clad sailors putting out a fire. David got an extra treat. He took the wheel of one of the navy's high-powered training boats, then joined the Royal Marines in an assault on a nearby beach. Later he clapped a sailor hat on his head and was heard to pronounce the whole thing "absolutely wizard."

■

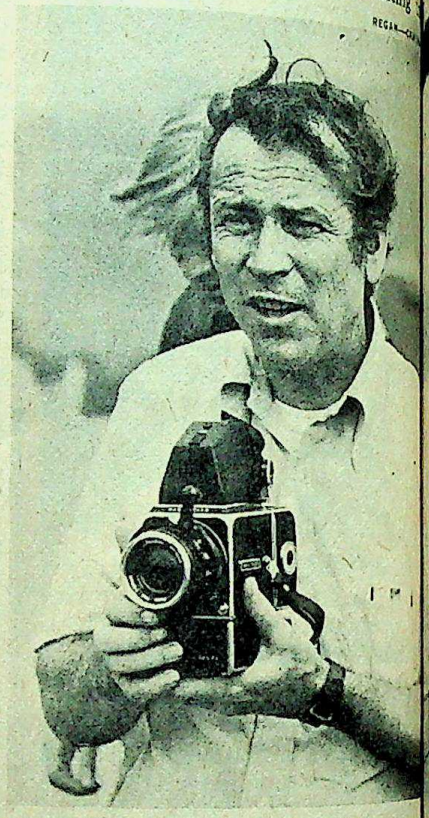
Senators and Congressmen will get a chance to judge a fellow legislator this week—on photography skills. Some 50 color photographs by Tennessee Senator **Howard H. Baker Jr.,** 48, will go on show at a Capitol Hill gallery. Signed by the Senator, the most effective pictures are stark, almost monochromatic hill country landscapes. "Sometimes my wife thinks my photography is more an obsession than a hobby," Baker says. It seems that the wife of South Dakota's junior Senator may soon be feeling the same way; **James Abourezk** has caught the bug. "Jim already has a sackful of cameras and a darkroom in his house," said Baker sheepishly. "I have to take some responsibility for that."

■

Vice President **Gerald Ford** and his wife **Betty** are definitely planning to move. But for the time being they will simply exchange their four-bedroom house in Alexandria, Va., for a larger Victorian estate on the grounds of Washington's Naval Observatory, which has been appropriated by Congress as the vice-presidential residence. Jerry Ford, however, has a grouse: nice as the place is, it has no pool. Last week the Fords enjoyed a rare quiet day round their old pool at the house in Alexandria. Betty does not want her husband to be President, but she says, "I do understand that Jerry can't always control what happens to him." She then pushed the Veep into the pool for his daily 40 laps.

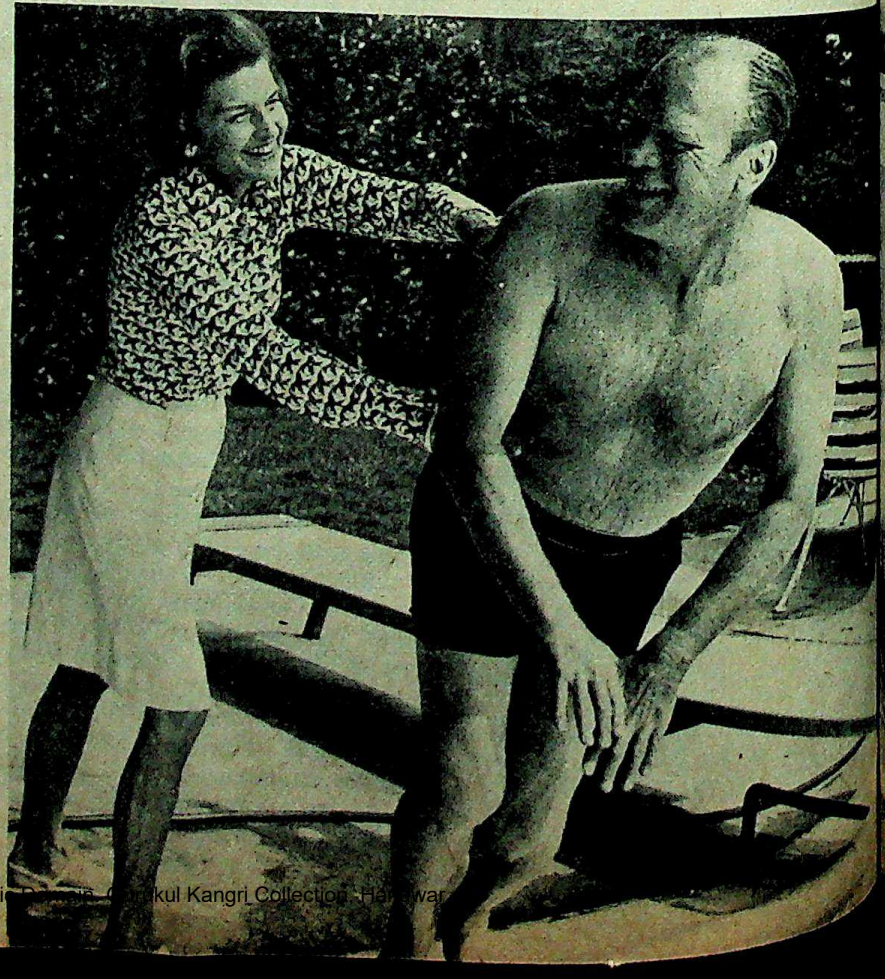
"He likes to see cricket and fo... matches," said Joe Jagger of his so... Rolling Stone. Then he added, "I d... want to spoil the idea his fans m... have." Joe, a lecturer in the philos... and psychology of physical educatio... London University, was visiting ...

REGA...



LENSMAN HOWARD BAKER & CAMERA

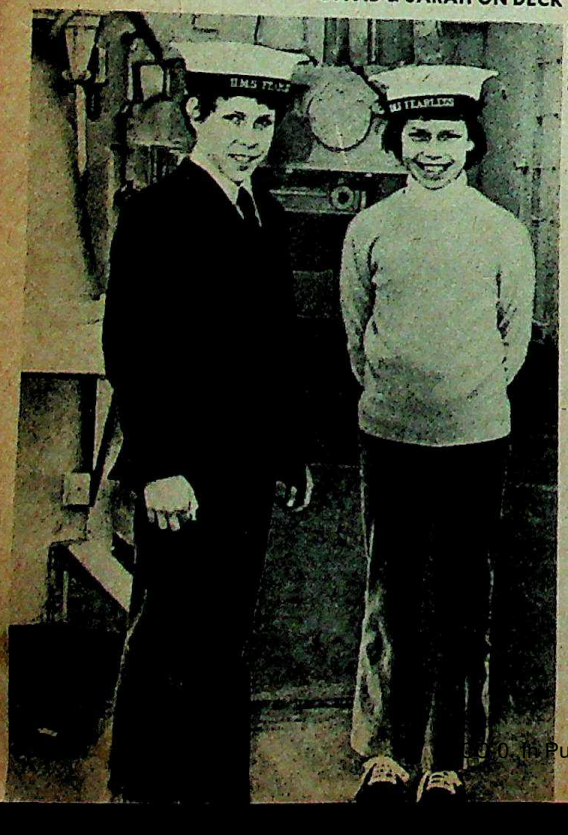
MARK SENNET



BETTY GIVES JERRY A PUSH

DAVID & SARAH ON DECK

KEYSTONE



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WOMEN'S WEAR DAILY



E JAGGERS *EN FÊTE*

U.S., unaware that **Mick** was already changing his image. In London, he threw a Lucullan feast on his 30th birthday for some 200 friends, including **Debbie Reynolds, Britt Eklund** and **Peter Townshend** of The Who, and sported a new and different look: short back and sides hairdo and a zoot suit. Does this portend a new career? Journalist Tony Scaduto's recent biography, *Mick Jagger: Everybody's Lucifer,* implies this could be so. Mick is quoted as saying, "I'm thinking about entering politics, but I haven't got the right wife." Indeed, **Bianca,** partying in a Zandra Rhodes gown, looked more like mad Ophelia than an M.P.'s consort.

■

What's it like to have **Katie Hepburn** in bed with you? "I have ambivalent feelings about what she did," said Actor **Lewis J. Stadlen** of the Broadway musical *Candide.* Ten minutes before the show began one day last week, Stadlen, who plays Dr. Pangloss, had climbed into the bed that dominates the open set surrounded on all sides by the audience. To his delight, Hepburn was sitting out front. Next thing he knew, "She just sidled into bed with me," said the startled actor. Hepburn stayed a mere 15 seconds under the covers, then murmured, "Excuse me," and returned to her seat. Said Stadlen: "She looked great, especially her body. It was as trim and athletic as in *Pat and Mike* [1952]."

■

It was Serge Koussevitzky Centennial Day at Tanglewood in Lenox, Mass., and the Boston Symphony Orchestra staged a celebration in honor of its late great conductor. Participants included Koussevitzky's most famous pupil, **Leonard Bernstein,** 55, who on doctors' orders conducted only two programs. Just three weeks before Lenny had been hospitalized in Bridgeport, Conn., suffering from a shortness of breath; no diagnosis of his illness has been made public. One music lover who stopped by at Tanglewood to give him a big hug: **Joan Kennedy,** recently returned from a rest and therapy session at Connecticut's Silver Hill Foundation.

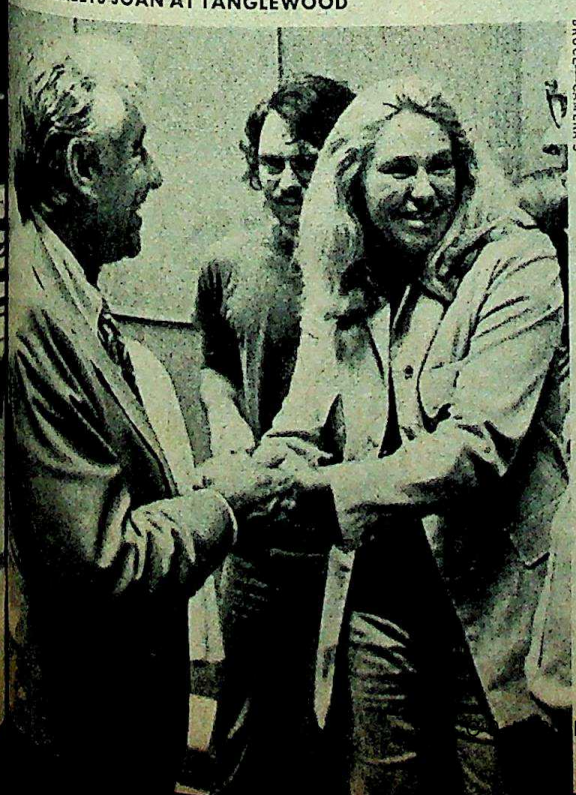
■

The fate of British Actor **Robert Shaw** is not pleasant. He will shortly be chewed to death by a mechanical shark called Bruce, even as his salary is chewed up by the IRS. On location in Martha's Vineyard for the movie *Jaws,* Shaw is impatient with the delays that have put the film two months behind schedule; if he works more than 90 days in the U.S. he will be taxed. "We've got at least another month to go," he groaned in the *longueurs* between takes. "Universal might as well pay my salary straight into the IRS." Shaw feels even worse about Bruce. The 25-foot polyurethane shark with hydraulic guts has been programmed to nip him to death —gently. But recently says Shaw, who plays the obsessed shark killer Quint, he was chasing Bruce in a fishing boat when the automated man-eater turned on his pursuers and tore a hole in the boat's underside. "My ship almost sank under me," said Shaw, adding: "What worries me is who's going to keep those mechanical teeth from sinking in too deep?"

■

Richard Burton arrived in London, his heart still broken five weeks after his divorce from **Elizabeth Taylor.** "I'm still very much in love with her," he told the London *Sun.* Still, Burton was comforted by the presence of **Sophia Loren,** 39, his co-star in the TV movie *Brief Encounter.* Only four months ago, they worked together in De Sica's *The Voyage,* an experience preserved by Richard in the *Ladies Home Journal.* He described her "as beautiful as erotic dreams." They also had had a few heart-to-heart talks. "A bit of a governess," Burton noted. "Tends to lecture now and then, to wag her finger. Delightfully."

LENNY GREETS JOAN AT TANGLEWOOD



BRUCE—CAMERA 5

RICHARD BURTON CONFIDES IN SOPHIA LOREN



GUNTHER—CAMERA 5

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JULIAN WASSER

Nicholson diving.

COVER STORY

The Star with the Killer Smile

Lining up a free throw against the Lakers, Walt Frazier is weighing the basketball in his hands, letting things simmer just a minute. He is about to let go and he hears a voice, loud and gleeful, come right out of the stands clear across to him: "Hey, man—you're the fourth-best guard in the league right now, and you ain't movin' up 'till somebody dies!" Frazier blows the shot right there.

The deep-dish whammy comes from a Lakers fanatic, bravura bench jockey and this year's monster movie star, Jack Nicholson. He is letting off a little steam by putting on the kind of pressure he gets and cultivates almost every day. Nicholson is a past master at the Hollywood psych, a vocational tool for professional survival he employs with a street fighter's energy and a gamesman's cunning. On this occasion, he is just taking it out for a little airing on behalf of Hollywood's favorite team.

For maximum effectiveness, the psych requires a jugular instinct for a rival's weakness—his most intimate ambition, an insubstantial boast or a small, fresh scar—and a sure knowledge that except on certain social or sporting occasions, the only boy on the home team is yourself. Jack Nicholson has been rattling and roughing up the competition since he started acting out in Hollywood in the late '50s—at first with very little luck. Then came a gradual success that right now is soaring.

But besides infighting, Nicholson has through the years mastered the craft of acting with such thoroughness and skill that each role seems founded on some spontaneous intuition. It is his talent and pleasure never to let all the preparation and all the work he does for each role show. Nicholson shares that knack for apparently effortless deception with the very best screen actors. As Humphrey Bogart once said of Spencer Tracy, "He is so good because you don't see the mechanism working."

In the kinetic performance in *Easy Rider,* the shrewd observation of the frantic womanizer in Mike Nichols' *Carnal Knowledge* and the unflappable incarnation of J.J. Gittes, the private eye on the make in *Chinatown,* Nicholson has built up one of the most impressive actor's portfolios in Hollywood. His are the kind of credentials Hollywood likes best. The recent movies Nicholson stars in are generally well received, and he

himself invariably is. His presence in a starring role seems to guarantee both prestige and a profit. That makes Nicholson the man most in demand, the closest form of collateral when it comes to banking a picture.

Mike Nichols, who has just started directing Nicholson again in a comedy called *Fortune,* says flatly that Nicholson is destined to become "one of the giant film stars of all time." Tony Richardson, who hopes to snag him for a new film, gushes that "we are entering the era of Jack Nicholson." It is not necessary to have a vested interest, however, to see that Nicholson right now is on top. A look at *Chinatown's* week's top-ten placing on *Variety* charts is one kind of proof, Jack's current $750,000 asking price (plus a good hunk of the picture's profits) is another.

Though established as a star, Nicholson is in the first flush of excitement at being a household word right now, and he is handling it with the respectable guile and half (but only that) the mocking humor of a sort of cutup prince regent. He is talking to Stanley Kubrick about playing Napoleon, to Bernardo Bertolucci about being the Continental Op in a film of Dashiell Hammett's *Red Harvest,* Miloš Forman is waiting for him to finish *Fortune,* so he can start playing Murphy in an adaptation of Ken Kesey's *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest.* At no time since the burnished '30s has Hollywood been so big-name conscious. "The system is geared toward overworking the stars," Nicholson points out. "There aren't that many stars around to haul the freight."

In *Easy Rider* (1969) and in the fewer, more personal films that flowed from its success, Nicholson became a kind of figurehead for a loose group of actors and film makers who were trying to expand the commercial genre. Nicholson, Actors Peter Fonda and Dennis Hopper, Writer-Directors Bob Rafelson, Monte Hellman, Carol and Charles Eastman—none of them then well known—all cheered and boosted each other. Their work was almost always full of aggressive invention (Rafelson's *Five Easy Pieces,* Hopper's *The Last Movie,* Nicholson's own *Drive, He Said),* but as the new Hollywood passed, the victim of erratic returns at the box office.

Nicholson passed along with it, not out of sight, as happened with many of his fraternity, but on to other things. He worked into the mainstream that he had been trying to divert, and started running with the high rollers. He now counts as two of his buddies Paramount Production Chief Robert Evans and Warren Beatty, his co-star in *Fortune.* Nicholson, along with his real gifts,

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the heat. He has done it so well that now he is the heat.

He knew he had it knocked after he saw a rough cut of *Chinatown*. "Mogul," he said to Evans, who produced the movie, "we got that hot one. Get those checks ready—we're on our way." He also made a point to phone up Actor Bruce Dern, a pal since they both scuffled through a bunch of low budget bike pictures, for a little needling: "Hey, Dernsie, I think you better retire, babe. I got it all covered you know what I mean?" Nicholson has called Dern "my only real competition —you and the guy on the hill" (referring to Marlon Brando, whose home off Los Angeles' Mulholland Drive is directly above Nicholson's).

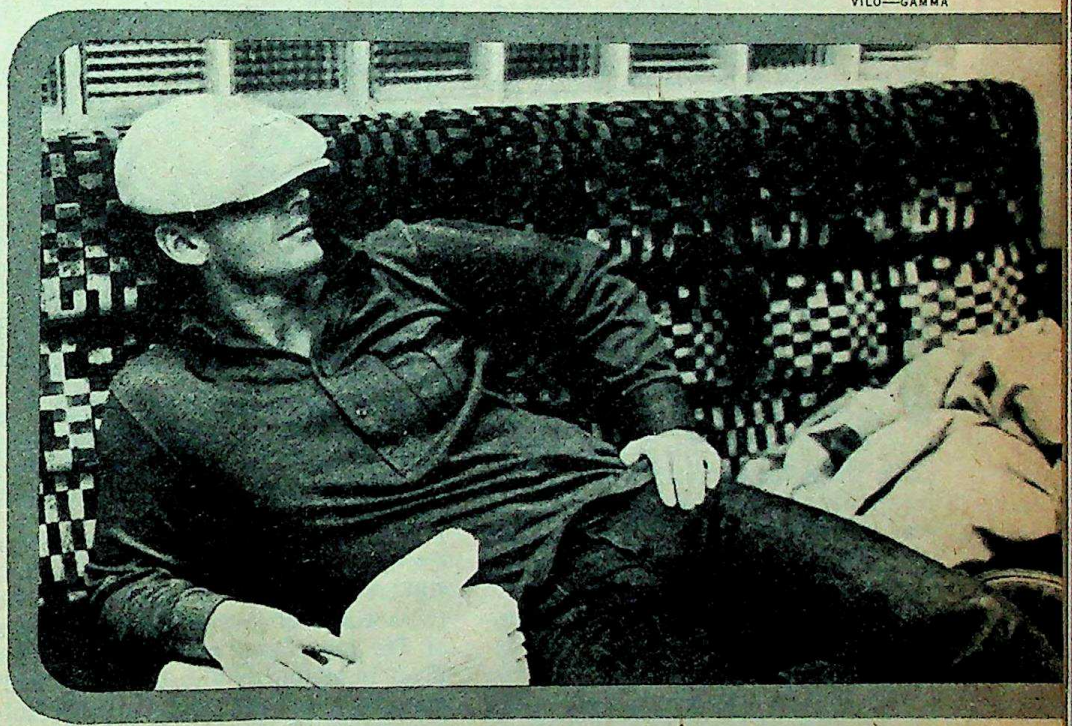
All the double-edged kidding and up-front aggressiveness stand in some contrast to the cool, measured and often affectless characters Nicholson has played so well on the screen. He looks, when he is not trying, like an all-night coach passenger who is just beginning to realize he has slept through his stop. But his features have great plasticity. His friend Candice Bergen speaks of his "cobra eyes." His energy level can vary with the most careful calibration. His two best roles—as Bobby Dupea, the thwarted concert pianist in *Five Easy Pieces* (1970) and David Staebler, the self-consumed and self-deceived radio monologist in *The King of Marvin Gardens* (1972)—are shaded with anxiety, shaped with a muted force.

Bobby Dupea, strangled by a sense of his own failed talent, allowed Nicholson not only to turn on his own bursting temper, but to flash the charm that has its greatest single emblem in his smile, which seems to be cordially unsettling and made mostly of radium. David Staebler, on the other hand, required Nicholson to master a more dour, slippery confessional mode, to hide his character's feelings from himself under a barrage of autobiographical patchwork. Nicholson was equal to the task. It is his most daring performance, and one of his favorites.

Marvin Gardens, however, was a movie that asked audiences to reach out almost as far as Nicholson, and it flopped. *Chinatown,* a smooth, period private-eye yarn that works hard to hark back to the '30s and '40s, comes much more easily to hand. In it, Nicholson makes a shrewd choice to play persona rather than character—a commodity in rather short supply in the script. His J.J. Gittes is cool, ironic, sympathetically small-time, a guy who stumbles on something a little bigger than he expected, or can manage. He also gets the chance to smile a lot. "That smile of his is simply a killer," says Nicholson's friend Diana Vreeland, former editor of *Vogue,* who ought to know a little something about smiles. "Jack must know it's devastating, because he uses it very

warming charm to get himself through a bumpy scene or an insufficient part, but he is usually a careful and thorough craftsman. "He simply doesn't care about the way he looks," says Director Roman Polanski. "I put a bandage on his nose during half of *Chinatown,* and he didn't object. With Jack, it's only the result that counts." Indeed, for *Fortune* he gets a weekly permanent to keep his hair Art Garfunkel–style kinky.

Nicholson's patience and zeal are exceptional. When he works over a script, not only are key phrases underlined and notes made, but almost every word is assigned a number, which signifies beats and pauses. "I'm at least 75% of every character I play," Nicholson says. "For the rest, I try to find a character's positive philosophy about himself. You have to search out and adopt



VILO—GAMMA

Relaxing off-screen during the filming of "Chinatown"

the character's own justifications and rationalizations."

Nicholson also likes to get going on every movie set a kind of group feeling, turning a crew into a junior-varsity team. "I've never seen any other actor do it," says Mike Nichols. "Usually everyone has their own cliques—the camera crew, the electricians, and so on —but when Jack's around, that feeling disappears." Occasionally, Nicholson's competitiveness gets in the way of the general bonhomie. Bob Rafelson recalls that during the shooting of *The King of Marvin Gardens,* all of Nicholson's bottled-up energies would come out in a series of demon Ping Pong games with the crew. Says Rafelson: "He demolished everyone who dared to take him on." Nicholson is smart enough to know when to call off rivalries. He avoided Ping Pong competition with Michelangelo Antonioni, who directed him in the upcoming *The Passenger,* fearing shaky times if the film maker lost.

He is not above asserting himself to

quence in *Five Easy Pieces* in which Bobby Dupea must break down in front of his paralyzed father. Nicholson did not want to do it, and Director Rafelson wrangled all night with him. "Jack said Dupea was crying out of self-pity —something Jack strongly opposed in himself and in others," Rafelson remembers. "I argued that Dupea was crying out of an agony of displeasure over the life he was leading, and that this displeasure had to be revealed. Finally, I said, 'Jack, this is all bullshit. You don't want to do it because you can't.' " The next morning, Rafelson cleared the set and Nicholson did the scene in one take.

The scene does not fully work because Nicholson still has himself in check. There seems to be a point both for actor and character beyond which a sudden self-awareness cannot trespass, a hard and untouchable reserve. Nicholson, however, is proud of the scene, and comments, "I've been asked dozens of times whether I was really thinking of my own father and his tragedy during that scene. The answer is, of course I was." Perhaps what Nicholson reveals as the root of the scene is also, in an inadvertent irony, what was wrong with it.

Jack's father, John, whose forebears came from County Cork, was a part-time window dresser, a sometime sign painter. He was also an alcoholic who had moved out of the house in Neptune, N.J., shortly after his only son was born in 1937. He drifted in and out after that, dwelling somewhere just on the edge of Nicholson's consciousness, like a phantom who could tell a secret, if you could only catch him.

Jack's mother, Ethel May, raised in

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in the bedroom of their Neptune home to support Jack and his two much-older sisters. The business thrived, and the family moved to a bigger place. His sister June left home when Nicholson was four to be an Earl Carroll showgirl in Miami. Jack, bright and funny in school, skipped a grade. He made his unofficial show-biz debut at ten on the stage of Roosevelt Grammar School singing *Managua Nicaragua*.

"It was really a very comfortable middle-class existence," Nicholson says, adding that though he was stubborn and scrappy, his mother gave him room to romp. "You're on your own," she told him. "All I expect is that if you get into trouble, you'll tell me about it." Nicholson early inaugurated his lifetime habit of giving people nicknames. His sister Lorraine was "Rain," her husband George "Shorty." Nicholson referred to his father, however, as "Jack." He called his mother "Mud." He was reticent about his home life. Recalls George Anderson, a high school pal, now a salesman: "I knew his father was an alcoholic, but the only time Jack mentioned it was one day when he said, 'I saw my father yesterday. The poor old guy, I feel sorry for him because he can't help it.' "

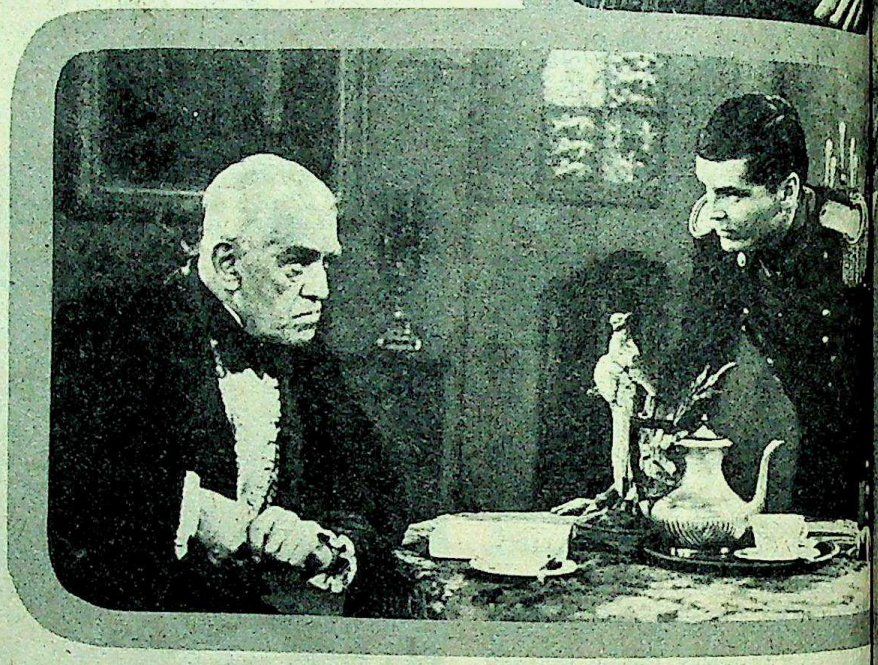
In high school, Mud's boy was younger and brighter than just about anyone else. "His smile was terrific," recalls Anderson. "He made plenty of friends who spanned several classes. Jack wasn't one of the heroes, but he made them his friends." He managed the varsity basketball team his freshman year. On one occasion he thought that the opposing team was playing dirty. After the game, Nicholson went back into the gym and trashed the electrical equipment on the rival's scoreboard. He confessed his crime, got suspended from school, and took a part-time job to pay for the damage. That was Nicholson's first moment of notoriety.

He scored high on his college entrance exams ("Top 2%, nationally," he still remembers). He thought briefly of going to the University of Delaware, but despite his academic potential, he says, "I just hated school." His sister June had wound up in Los Angeles, and Jack decided to spend a little time out there with her. After just a few weeks, he decided to stay.

He landed a $30-a-week job as a mail clerk at MGM, and kept his ambition in fighting trim by calling all the executives by their first names. "Hiya, Joe," he grinned at Producer Joe Pasternak, who stopped for a moment, then threw out the classic line: "Hey, kid —how'd ya like to be in pictures?" Pasternak gave Nicholson a script, and told him where to show up for the screen test. Nicholson looked the script over but did not realize that he was supposed to memorize his lines. The test was a disaster, and Nicholson was back on the mail run. "Hiya, Joe," he greeted Pasternak, who stopped for a moment, mulling something over. Then he spoke: "Hey—how'd ya like to be in pictures?"

This little object lesson in stomped hopes and lapsed memories must have appealed to Nicholson's sense of irony, and worked as well on his aggressive sense of pride. He enrolled in a beginner's acting course run by Actor Jeff Corey. Other pupils included James Coburn, Sally Kellerman, Producer Roger Corman, Writers Carol Eastman and Robert Towne. Nicholson and Towne (who was later to write the screenplays of *The Last Detail* and *Chinatown*) hit it off immediately and shared a small apartment on the hungry fringes of Hollywood. Both of them had crushes on every actress in the class, Towne remembers. "But we never had a chance —they weren't interested in nobodies."





A gallery of Nicholson roles: right, love scene from his screen debut in "The Cry Baby Killer" (1958); below, as a French army officer with Boris Karloff in "The Terror" (1963).

At least one was—Sally Kellerman, 30 pounds overweight then and always unhappy in love. "I would sit on Jack's lap and pour out my heart to him," she says. For sustenance they would go to the supermarket for some "sweeties and souries"—ice cream and potato chips—and gorge between traumas. "Jack was the funniest man in the world," Kellerman recalls, "and always available when I needed him—a true friend."

When not working in class, bolstering Kellerman, living the bachelor life with Towne, scuffling for the odd acting job in low-budget melodramas like *The Little Shop of Horrors* or TV shows like *Divorce Court* ("I was the most unabashed corespondent in town"), Nicholson found time to court Actress Sandra Knight. The couple got married in I took the vows totally at ease," Nicholson says, confessing at the same time to a "secret inner pressure about matrimony." A year later, his only child Jennifer was born.

Sandra Knight surrendered her career to marriage, but Nicholson persisted in his. When a doubtful Corey admonished him to "show me some poetry," Jack's reply snapped back in a second: "Maybe, Jeff, you just don't see the poetry I'm showing you."

He began to pick up more or less steady, but decidedly unglamorous work in such Roger Corman quickies as *The Terror*, starring Boris Karloff, and *The Raven*, in which Jack played Peter Lorre's son. The only real satisfaction Nicholson was to get from any of these films, besides a salary, was the chance to insert a little underhanded humor. He once had the smallest running part in *The St. Valentine's Day Massacre*—a chauffeur. Nicholson ad-libbed a single line of dialogue to steal a scene. When a hoodlum rubs some foreign substance on the ammunition, Nicholson explains: "It's garlic. The bullets don't kill ya... die of blood poisoning."

Frustrated with his progress as an actor, Nicholson would periodically try other aspects of the business. He wrote a few scripts and co-produced two low-budget westerns, *The Shooting*

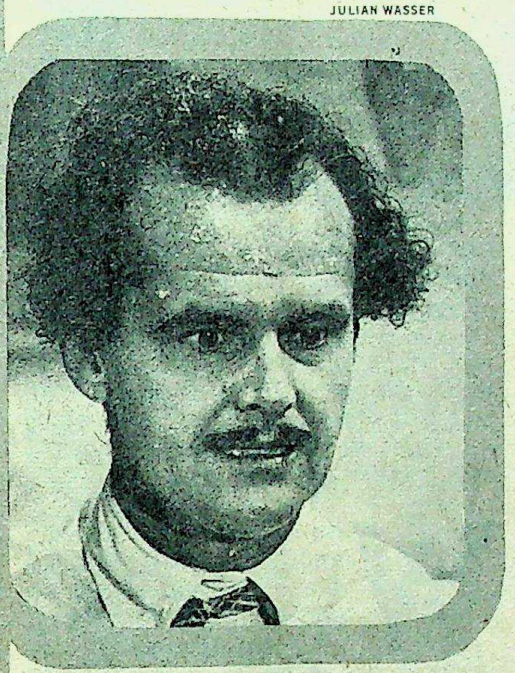
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JULIAN WASSER



Top left, Nicholson as Bobby Dupea in "Five Easy Pieces" (1970); left, as David Staebler in "The King of Marvin Gardens," with Bruce Dern (1972); above, in Mike Nichols' upcoming "Fortune."

bad acid experience and was spooked by the subject—and when Nicholson finished the assignment, they decided to split up for good.

Soon after, Bob Rafelson was involved with Peter Fonda and Dennis Hopper in preparing a motorcycle movie. Rafelson thought there was a good part for Nicholson, but Hopper wanted Rip Torn. Nicholson was dispatched to the set as a sort of production watchdog. He quickly became the right man at the right time. Torn dropped out of the movie, Nicholson moved in. *Easy Rider* wound up making $35 million. It also got Nicholson an Oscar nomination. All the scuffling was finally starting to pay off.

Nicholson is honest enough to concede that there have been certain disadvantages. "There are two ways up the ladder—hand over hand or scratching and clawing. It's sure been tough on my nails." It has also been taxing on his social energies. After *Easy Rider*, Pal Harry Gittes (after whom *Chinatown's* shamus was named) remembers Nicholson buttonholing people if he got a look of even tentative recognition, "introducing himself and making himself unforgettable, one person at a time." Last year at Cannes he was observed doing similar gladhanding because he wanted to win the best-actor award for *The Last Detail*. He did.

All the good work and the unembarrassed politicking have paid off handsomely. Now, from a vantage point at the top of that ladder, Nicholson can settle in. Los Angeles is home base, where he lives with Anjelica Huston, daughter of Director John Huston (a co-star in *Chinatown*). From there, he and Anjelica, whom he calls Tootman, make frequent lavish forays to New York and Paris, where there are good shops, restaurants and many friends, and to Switzerland, where he likes to ski.

Like many suddenly rich people, Jack's attitude toward money swivels wildly. Anjelica just got a Mercedes for her 23rd birthday. According to Mike Nichols, Nicholson always has "several thousand bucks out" to help friends over some rough spots. But Roman Polanski says that at other times Nicholson is "stingier than W.C. Fields." Once at Maxim's, Nicholson fought for and won the $600 check. When he found that one of his dinner companions could have taken care of the bill as a business expense, he was miserable.

Ever careful of possessions, he once called Anjelica in London from Rome to ask: "I can't find my comb. Did you pack it?" She found it and, much relieved, he responded long-distance, "O.K., take care of it for me." He is sometimes subject to gusty emotions. Friends say he has cried when seeing them off at airports. He calls back home to Rain every Christmas to get the traditional family recipes.

Nicholson has never taken any pains to conceal two of his greatest pleasures—women and dope—from public view, perhaps partly because he knows they will add a little darkening to his deliberately scuffed, slightly sinister popular image. He has been a cannabis *aficionado* for the past 15 years, sampled LSD, and taken some snorts of cocaine. None of that is very unusual, especially in high-living Hollywood circles. Jack evidently can handle it; several friends speak of his basically controlled, "non-addictive personality." His long-standing romantic relationships (with Model Mimi Machu, with Singer Michelle Phillips) ended stormily, with Nicholson torn for weeks between fury and depression. But the serious love affairs were also punctuated by bursts of inconstancy, and he likes to boast about them. "Jesus," he said to one friend about a high-paid fashion model who was flying in for an assignation, "she's coming 10,000 miles for a weekend."

"I like skunks," Nicholson admits. He is referring to women who are alluring but unreachable—"ball busters," as his character in *Carnal Knowledge* called them. Although Nicholson disclaims specific identification with the hung-up hero of that film, an occasional recreation of his and Warren Beatty's is riding around town, skunk spotting on the street. "I know some of my friends think I'm self-destructive or masochistic," he says. "I know damn well what lies in store, but I choose to go after it anyway. I'm courageous." Says Brother-in-Law Shorty: "I think Jack hates women."

There are at least two women, however, whom Nicholson counts among his closest friends, and who come as near to having his number as any-

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Top, Nicholson relaxes at home in Los Angeles with Anjelica Huston; left, Jack at age four on a New Jersey beach.

one can. One is the reclusive Carol Eastman, who witnessed a Nicholson temper outburst vented against a snooty waitress in a restaurant. "You say one word," Nicholson warned the waitress, "and I'll kick in your pastry cart." Eastman remembered the scene and adapted it years later in her *Five Easy Pieces* screenplay, in which Nicholson throws a famous fit over an order of wheat toast.

The other woman is Helena Kallianiotes, who played a schizy hitchhiker in *Five Easy Pieces*. She was making a living as a belly dancer and recovering from two bad marriages when Nicholson took her home with him one night, said, "Pick yourself a bedroom," and welcomed her simply as a friend. Now she lives next door, and has run Jack's household through the romances with Mimi, Michelle and Anjelica. "Jack once said to me, 'Helena, look, I have very aristocratic feet.' So I say of him he has the feet of an aristocrat and the body of a peasant. He has traveled with kings and knaves, and sees no difference between them."

With Anjelica, who is serene and apparently not a skunk, Nicholson seems content. Their life, however, is hardly quiet. There are three phone lines in the house, and they are usually ringing. If Nicholson is not around to take the call, he is firm about returning each one personally. The front door is left open, and friends wander in. Nicholson will often come back from work with a few pals in tow, a group that might include Mike Nichols (whom Nicholson calls "Big Nick"), Candice Bergen ("Bug"), Art Garfunkel ("Art the Garf") or Warren Beatty ("Master B"). The house itself is raffish and eclectic, featuring a collection of pig effigies: stuffed toy pigs, carved wooden pigs, a pig matchholder and a needle point showing two pigs coupling. "When pigs became the symbol of evil," Nicholson explains, "I adopted them."

In Nicholson's upstairs office are stacked airmail editions of his favorite paper, the international *Herald Tribune* —he plans to read every issue this year in a single sitting someday. Sundays are the province of his daughter Jennifer, 10, who visits, although her father says that he is "very tentative about infringing on Jenny's life. I want to be invited to enter her world, to be admitted gracefully."

Though he likes to have people around, Nicholson can still be remote. Anjelica admits that "Jack doesn't tip his hand very much." Instead of trying to explain him, she suggests mistily, one must "sense his essences." Indeed, anyone looking for something any more substantial than that from Nicholson may have applied to the wrong departme

A couple of the old gang wonde Robert Towne says, "We haven't had heart-to-heart talk in a long time." S ly Kellerman recalls that she and Nic olson used to share a funny code w which they used as a whispered gree ing, "as our private signal that we st love each other. But I haven't t 'Boobs' to Jack in a couple of years."

What revelation there is likely to b from Nicholson will come from t screen. When Nicholson first began make real progress in acting class, Jef Corey noted that he excelled at an ex ercise called "abandonment," where the stops are pulled out and only r emotional truth—or the impression of —remains. This is a difficult exercise f actors because they tend to take it too l erally and lose control. There must some calculation always working, sc closed-off part that remains unmov For the same reason Nicholson's scen of anger (particularly in *Five Ea Pieces)* have such great power. He ne er does let everything go. There is a ways something that cannot be reache

The acting style he has extrapolat for himself out of his own memory a his great talent is a reserved, tentati thing that depends on his stores of r trospection and secret turmoil. New actors, younger ones, are already doi something a little different. Robert D Niro (in *Mean Streets),* Richard Dre fuss (in *The Apprenticeship of Du Kravitz)* are working in a broader, lar er style—no more daring than Nich son's but more aggressive and open.

Nicholson knows the jungle rules Hollywood and acknowledges the when he says, "Once they want you, y can be certain the day will come wh they won't any more." Now he can s vor the effervescence of his new celeb rity and know too that for him that d will probably not come. He is w enough established so that the work w be there for him, maybe not always qu so prime, but always available.

So it is simple enough to slip awa there is not so much worry in comi back again. At night, after work, wh there is no company, Nicholson w light a joint, put on some rock musi loud, so it seals off every other sou Then he will start dancing, in front of long glass door looking down over a can yon below, pleased, easy, alone.

Made in Hong Kong

GOLDEN NEEDLES
Directed by ROBERT CLOUSE
Screenplay by S. LEE POGOSTIN
and SYLVIA SCHNEBLE

There is a golden statue—isn't there always?—that many men, and a coup of women, desire. Its origin is Chines not Maltese, and it has needles inserte in its body to indicate strategic point to be used in the ancient and trendy s ence of acupuncture. Why these

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...not illustrated in some acupuncture...
...manual and why they should drive
...en into quite such acute frenzies of
...eed are matters that the film makers
...ve chosen to keep pretty much to
...emselves. Giddy fun, usually provided
...such matinee fodder, is also in short
...pply. The star is Joe Don Baker, a
...rt of upright Francis the Talking
...le, who appeared in *Walking Tall*
...lding a baseball bat and busting
...ads. Here, as a Hong Kong soldier-of-
...fortune, he betrays an enthusiasm for
...aking glass, either by shattering
...indshields with a two-by-four or hurl-
...g people through skylights. He performs all these feats with a great deal
...f gusto, but no finesse. He is fortunate-
...not called upon to perform acupunc-
...ure, or to receive it. ■ J.C.

ussyfooting

E NINE LIVES OF FRITZ THE CAT
rected by ROBERT TAYLOR
reenplay by ROBERT TAYLOR, FRED
ALIDAY and ERIC MONTE

The exhibit now under consideration represents something of a curious ...a rip-off of a rip-off. It will be remembered that the original cartoon feature *Fritz the Cat*—largely the work of the animator Ralph Bakshi—so enraged Fritz's creator, the underground comic artist R. Crumb, that he disowned the whole movie. Crumb, a stringent satirist, had conjured up Fritz as a way to mock the poses of the pseudo hipster and to lay waste the giddy excess of the culture from which he sprang. Bakshi picked Fritz up, cooled him out, and turned him into the perfect creature of everything Crumb had put down.

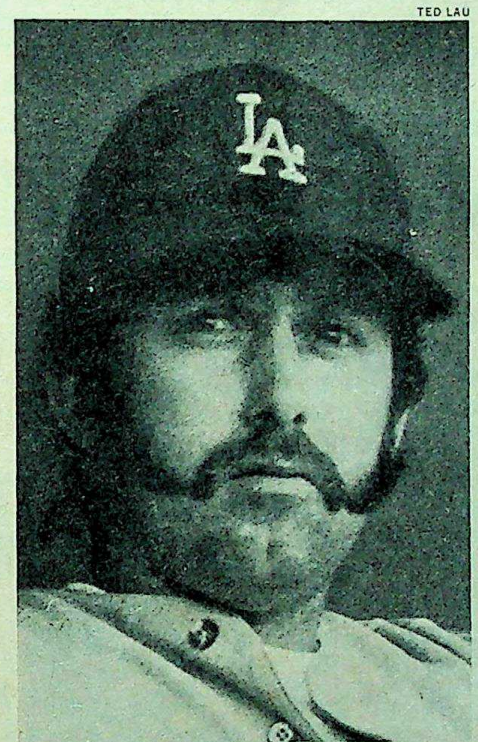
Now along comes Steve Krantz, producer of *Fritz* and likewise of this sequel as squalid and witless an assembly of animation as could be imagined. By comparison, the Bakshi version looks like *Fantasia*. To escape the shrill accusations of his wife, Fritz drifts off into cannabis reveries where his libido can run unchecked and where his paranoia eventually assumes control. He idles back to the high-stepping 1930s, then works his way up to the present and a bout with a Bowery bum, whom he accidentally immolates. In the film's most elaborate episode, he eases himself off into the future.

Here Kissinger is President and blacks have separated from the rest of the country and live in New Africa (formerly New Jersey). Fritz is appointed a messenger between Washington and the residents. His trip through New Africa is an eerie nightscape full of rubble and obsessive violence. The whole state resembles every honky's worst idea of what those niggers would get up to if left on their own. The movie tries to be kinky, but it is far too calculated. It looks altogether about as hip as one of those blacklite posters in a penny

The Bullpen Brain

Though it earns him $80,000 a year and a considerable amount of psychic satisfaction, baseball to Mike Marshall is a mere "diversion." Thus the Los Angeles Dodgers' star relief pitcher skipped three weeks of spring training this year to continue working on his doctorate in physiological psychology at Michigan State. Instead of resting his valuable right arm, he often catches for fellow pitchers before games; normally he spends less than a minute warming up when the Dodgers call on him. Moreover, he bucks a basic law of pitching,

TED LAU



DODGER RELIEF ARTIST MIKE MARSHALL
Making longitudinal investigations.

even relief pitching, by playing in four or five games a week.

As of last week, Marshall had won eleven games—only seven short of the single-season record held by former Pirate Reliever Elroy Face—made 14 saves, and recorded a respectable ERA of 2.19. He compiled those statistics by pitching in 71 of the Dodgers' first 106 games. In one iron-arm stint, he set a major league record by working in 13 consecutive games. In the process, Marshall, who was traded to L.A. by Montreal last winter in exchange for Veteran Outfielder Willie Davis, has helped give the Dodgers a 5½-game lead in the National League's Western Division.

Michael Grant Marshall, 31, has become the best relief artist in baseball largely on the strength of his screwball. Actually, he throws several variations on the basic screwball, a pitch that breaks away from left-handed batters and often sinks as well. To keep hitters ball and a decent curve. Two weeks ago, in the All-Star game, he put his repertory to good use, retiring the last six American League batters to preserve the National League's 7-2 victory.

Pitching out of trouble consistently, though, requires more than good stuff. "An effective relief pitcher has to have ice water in his veins," says Dodger Manager Walter Alston. "Mike does." Despite his seeming nonchalance, Marshall is a serious student of baseball. He keeps his own personal "book" on every hitter in the league and reviews every pitch he throws during the season, noting its type and how well the batter handled it. Unlike most other relievers, who relax in the outfield bullpen during the early innings of a game, Marshall stays in the dugout where he can study opposing batters at close range.

First Love. With the Expos last season Marshall set a major league record by appearing in 92 games. Clearly the main reason he can pitch so often is that he is blessed with an unusually strong arm. Marshall, though, has a scholar's explanation. It is all related to kinesiology, says the budding professor, "the study of the principles of mechanics and anatomy in relation to human movement." Dropping names like Daniel Bernoulli (the Swiss mathematician and physicist who developed a key principle of hydrodynamics) and Hans Selye (a leading expert on stress), Marshall goes on to explain: "The secret of pitching every day is proper training. The key to that is specificity, which means understanding structural and mechanical analysis, physiology and baseball well enough to integrate them." Marshall's own structure is a compact 5 ft. 10 in. and 185 lbs. He conditions it with a personal regimen that includes weight lifting and jogging but not the usual training-camp routine of calisthenics and wind sprints.

"There is nothing in sport like the head-to-head combat between pitcher and batter," he says. Nonetheless, if Marshall had his way, he would not be in baseball at all. "I wish I could get the great hitters of today—Joe Torre, Willie McCovey, Hank Aaron—to drop by Michigan State so I could pitch against them on weekends," says Marshall. That way he could concentrate on his first love: education. While learning how to pitch in the minor leagues, Marshall managed to complete the requirements for a master's degree in physical education at Michigan State. His thesis was entitled "An Investigation into Associations Between Sexual Maturation, Physical Growth and Motor Proficiency in Males." What about his doctoral dissertation? Somewhat mysteriously, he describes it as "a longitudinal investigation" into the "same phenomena" treated in his master's thesis.

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The Women's Rebellion

The altar of Philadelphia's Episcopal Church of the Advocate was bannered with the words of the Apostle Paul: "In Christ there is neither male nor female." The crowd, some 1,500 people who had packed the church to witness the ordination of eleven new Episcopal priests, jubilantly sang and prayed. But a few in the throng were anything but joyous. When Bishop Daniel Corrigan asked if there was "any impediment" to the ordinations, five Episcopal priests took the microphone to reply.

The ceremony was "unlawful and schismatical," charged one. Shouted another: "God sees you trying to make stones into bread! You can only offer

VIOLA—PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER



FIVE EPISCOPAL WOMEN GIVE COMMUNION AFTER THEIR ORDINATION AS PRIESTS
Admittedly irregular, but was it also valid and right?

up the smell and sight and sound of perversion." The protests were just the beginnings of a gale that buffeted the U.S. Episcopal Church last week. The reason: all eleven persons ordained as priests were women.

Women still cannot legally become priests in the U.S. Episcopal Church.* Like other churches that do not ordain women—Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Missouri Synod Lutheran—the Episcopal Church has refused to do so basically because Jesus and all of his apostles were men. Most other U.S. Protestant bodies reject that reasoning and ordain women.

The idea of women priests is gaining force among U.S. Episcopalians. At the church's 1973 convention, the House of Bishops was known to favor it, and a majority of clergy and laity in the House of Deputies apparently voted for it, but because split delegations were counted as negative votes, the measure failed.

Episcopal women have been moving up toward priestly rank since 1970, when the church first allowed them to become full-fledged deacons: members of the lower clergy authorized to perform baptism, marriages and other liturgical acts, but not to consecrate the Eucharist or pronounce absolution of sins, which only priests can do. There are now some 120 women deacons.

The eleven women ordained are all deacons, most of them seminary graduates, whose backgrounds vary widely. The oldest, Jeannette Piccard, 79, piloted many of the stratospheric flights of her late husband, Balloonist Jean Piccard. Marie Moorefield, 30, a graduate of Vanderbilt Divinity School and a chaplain trainee at Topeka State Hospital in Kansas, grew up as a Southern Baptist and became an Episcopalian just five years ago. Nancy Hatch Wittig, 28, who is slated to take up duties at a Morristown, N.J., parish this month, is married to a Methodist pastor.

Each of the eleven now risks suspension as a deacon for participating in the ordination. Presiding Bishop John M. Allin, who just took over administration of the 3.1 million-member church in June and was not even officially informed of the ordination plans, declared that all bishops involved are bound to bar the women from exercising priestly functions. He also [illegible] moned the House of Bishops to an emergency session in Chicago next week to discuss the rebellion. The saddened [illegible] lin told TIME "The question now bef[illegible] us is not orders, but order."

The women were clearly out of [illegible] der. In a joint letter to friends, they [illegible] mitted that the ordinations were "irr[illegible] ular," even while contending they [illegible] "valid and right." None of the ele[illegible] had the required approval of her bish[illegible] and diocesan standing committee [illegible] clergy and laity. Moreover, the quo[illegible] of bishops who ordained them lac[illegible] authority on other grounds as well. T[illegible] Rt. Rev. Robert L. De Witt, 58, the [illegible] signed Bishop of Pennsylvania; the [illegible] Rev. Edward Randolph Welles II, [illegible] the retired Bishop of West Missouri; [illegible] the Rt. Rev. Daniel Corrigan, 73, the [illegible] tired bishop who had headed dome[illegible] missions, all apparently ignored a ca[illegible] on that forbids retired bishops to p[illegible] form "episcopal acts" unless so reque[illegible] ed by the local bishop. There was [illegible] such request. The fourth participant, [illegible] Rt. Rev. José Antonio Ramos, 37, [illegible] Costa Rica, was acting out of his ju[illegible] diction. The four could be suspended [illegible] deposed by a church trial court.

Just who began the 1974 Philade[illegible] phia revolution is unclear. One impo[illegible] tant influence was the Rev. Edward [illegible] Harris, co-dean of the Episcopal The[illegible] logical School in Cambridge, Mass., w[illegible] issued an impassioned call in June f[illegible] the immediate ordination of wome[illegible] Another major backer, who deliver[illegible] the sermon at the ordination, was Ha[illegible] vard Professor Charles V. Willie, a la[illegible] man and a black who is vice presid[illegible] of the church's House of Deputies.

In his sermon, Willie likened t[illegible] eleven ordained rebels to the blacks [illegible] the '50s who refused to go on sitting [illegible] the rear of the bus. Many of the wom[illegible] struck a similar note of exhausted p[illegible] tience, arguing that only action wou[illegible] finally move the church. "God has be[illegible] calling me all my life," said Katri[illegible] Swanson, 39, whose father, Bish[illegible] Welles, ordained her. "The time [illegible] right." With the Episcopal Church n[illegible] in a gathering storm over the issue, so[illegible] of the women's staunchest sympathiz[illegible] are questioning whether it was.

Money Mystery

Just like other Americans, [illegible] churchmen have been shaken by t[illegible] twin terrors of inflation and stock m[illegible] ket losses. But the losses are rarely as c[illegible] lamitous as those sustained by t[illegible] Roman Catholic Diocese of Reno a[illegible] the Massachusetts-based province of [illegible] Missionaries of Our Lady of La Sa[illegible]

So far, a thick murk of confus[illegible] conjecture and reticence has obsc[illegible]

*Or anywhere else in the Anglican Communion except Hong Kong, which took advantage of the Anglican Consultative Council's 1971 endorsement of ordaining women if a national church body so wills.

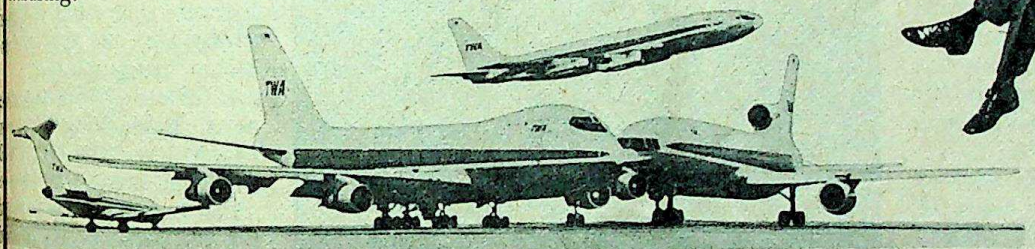
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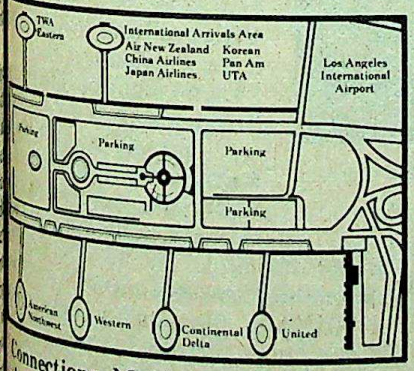
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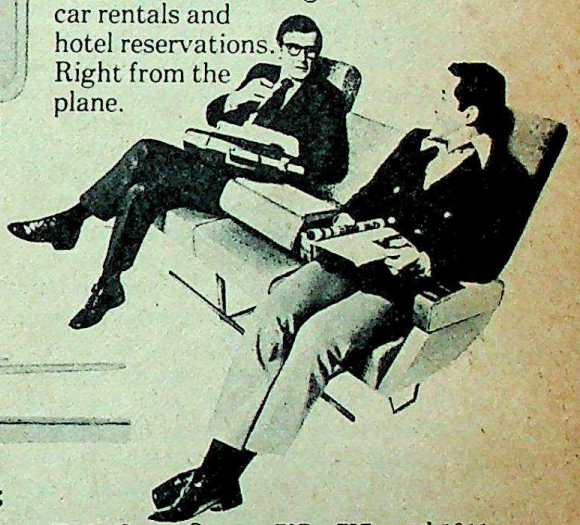
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the Reno–La Salette financial disaster. According to the *National Catholic Reporter*, the progressive lay weekly that broke the story last week, the Reno diocese and the La Salette fathers both faced bankruptcy after losing as much as $15 million—the exact amount is not known—in a $25 million investment operation called the St. Joseph Trust Fund. Other investors, including an unidentified Canadian diocese and a Canadian women's religious order, may have lost another $6 million or more.

The fund was apparently started as an investment scheme for religious organizations about five years ago by Father René Sauvé, a La Salette priest with a good reputation as a money manager. Father Sauvé has refused to talk about the fund, but it seems to have been a commonplace investment operation: church groups would raise money by borrowing or selling bonds, expecting that the return on the invested proceeds would be high enough to leave a profit over and above the costs of interest and amortization. Bishop Joseph Green of Reno saw the plan as a way for his poor diocese to meet rising expenses. He raised $3.5 million through the sale of bonds, some $800,000 of which went to diocesan expenses, $200,000 to pay for underwriting costs and $2.5 million to the St. Joseph Trust. The La Salette fathers, who have thus far been silent, are thought to have raised as much as $15 million through bonds and private loans for investment in the fund.

Glamour Issues. Sauvé worked with the Chicago brokerage house of McMahon and Hoban in setting up and operating the fund. But just what the St. Joseph Trust invested in remains a secret, though one story indicates a heavy purchase of glamour electronics issues. The Securities and Exchange Commission reportedly found illegalities in some of the investment activities, but no evidence of fraudulent intent.

Whatever the investments of the St. Joseph Trust, they began to go awry about two years ago, but no one will say how or just why. After the situation became serious, a church official from Rome is said to have put a freeze on the fund, which reportedly sank to less than a tenth of its original worth.

For Reno and the La Salettes, the story seems to be winding down to an unexpectedly happy ending. The Archdiocese of San Francisco came to Reno's aid, issuing a call for help from other U.S. dioceses that brought good tidings: about $1 million in outright gifts and long-term, low- or no-interest loans in amounts ranging from $25,000 to $1 million. Similarly, the Conference of Major Superiors of Men, an umbrella organization for U.S. male religious orders, has organized an effort to bail out the La Salettes. Still, that leaves a number of investors whose fate is still unknown, and whose traffic with Mammon may well have left a much more bitter legacy of lost hope, faith and money.

Bravo, Baryshnikov!

In a curious gliding step that seemed to send his feet on ahead of him, Mikhail Baryshnikov skimmed across the stage of Lincoln Center's State Theater and leaped high in the air like an uncoiled spring. The audience gasped as he bounded higher and higher, the perfect picture of a desperate Prince trying to dance all night before the cruel Queen of the Willis and save his soul. When the curtain finally came down on the American Ballet Theater's production of *Giselle* last week, the Manhattan audience threw flowers at the latest runaway genius from Leningrad's Kirov Ballet. For 25 semihysterical minutes, Baryshnikov and his partner, Natalya Makarova, who defected from the Kirov herself four years ago, were dragged back again and again for curtain calls.

MARTHA SWOPE



MIKHAIL BARYSHNIKOV IN *GISELLE*
Runaway genius.

It was the 26-year-old Russian dancer's first appearance since he slipped away in Toronto during a guest tour with the Bolshoi company and asked Canada for refuge. His performance as Albrecht proved that Baryshnikov is ultimately a *premier danseur noble*—and a star likely to outsoar the shadow of cold war night that made his debut a faintly political occasion.

Thirteen years ago, Rudolf Nureyev, the first Kirov refugee, astonished Western audiences with his heroic bursts of explosive movement, animal magnetism and sheer showmanship, not to say showboatery. Baryshnikov is a dancer of equal authority but far different style. He is short and slight, his slightly chunky body seems to belong to a superb athlete as well as an artist. He floated Makarova overhead as though she had no more substance than a chiffon gown. His phenomenal double turns in air and grand *jetés* were done with a breathtaking ease that did not call attention to itself. Yet he conveyed an almost electric impression of great power and speed, held in check by inner devotion to music and the needs of the drama.

Characteristically, Baryshnikov worried about whether his greatest technical feat, the show-stopping, leg-beating skitter across the stage called a *brise*, was dramatically justified. "Do you think it made a bad impression?" he asked after the show. "The interpretation is mine, but the step is in the ballet. It's the last gasp of a soul."

Baryshnikov has repeatedly asserted that if the Kirov had allowed him to dance for extended periods outside Russia, or if the Soviet Union had invited foreign choreographers to Leningrad, he would not have defected. His decision to leave, he told TIME, "was not political. Everybody knows the very interesting choreography is in the United States." He wants to do modern ballets—by Martha Graham, Balanchine, Robbins, MacMillan. "It's difficult not to be at home," he admits. "You have a choice between art and personal well-being."

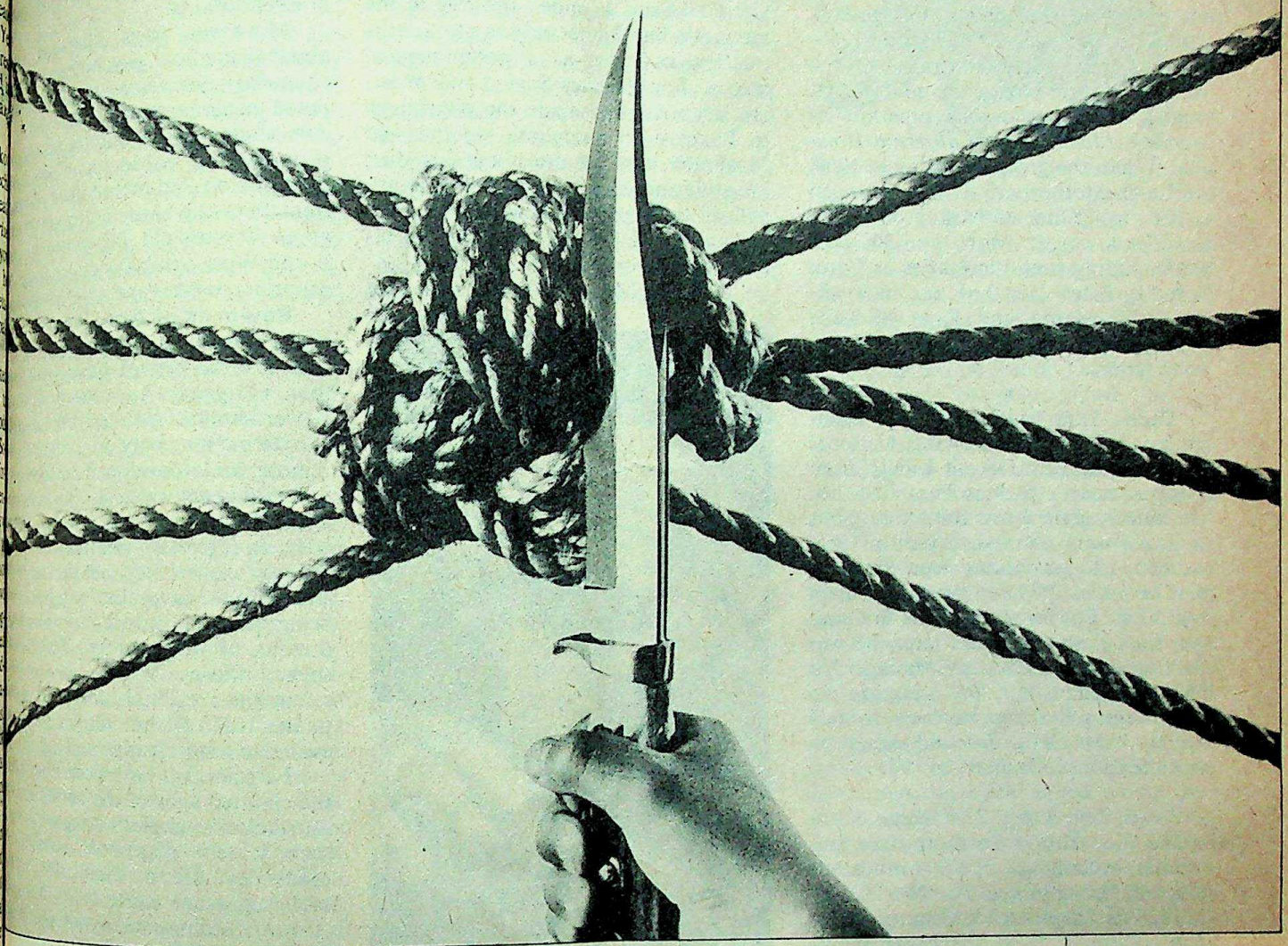
His childhood dream in Riga was to be a pianist. But his mother enrolled him at twelve in the Latvian Opera Ballet school. "I didn't take it very seriously," he recalls. "Then I really bit into the forbidden fruit and I couldn't tear myself away." From Riga he went to Leningrad, where, like Nureyev, he studied with Ballet Master Alexander Pushkin. At 18, Baryshnikov joined the Kirov as a soloist.

Offstage, Baryshnikov flusters easily. Walking to his seat to see another ballet performance, he blushed deeply at the ripple of applause that acknowledged his presence. In the first days after defecting he was subject to spells of weeping. Friends say that he is uneasy in crowds because he fears being plucked away by the Russian secret police. Despite many offers, he will not join any one company. Instead he hopes to work the American Ballet Theater as his U.S. base while leaving himself free to dance elsewhere. (Guest fees for international stars range from $1,000 to $10,000 for a single performance. As a resident principal with a ballet company, he would earn about $750 a week.) "I want to dance a lot," says Baryshnikov. What he

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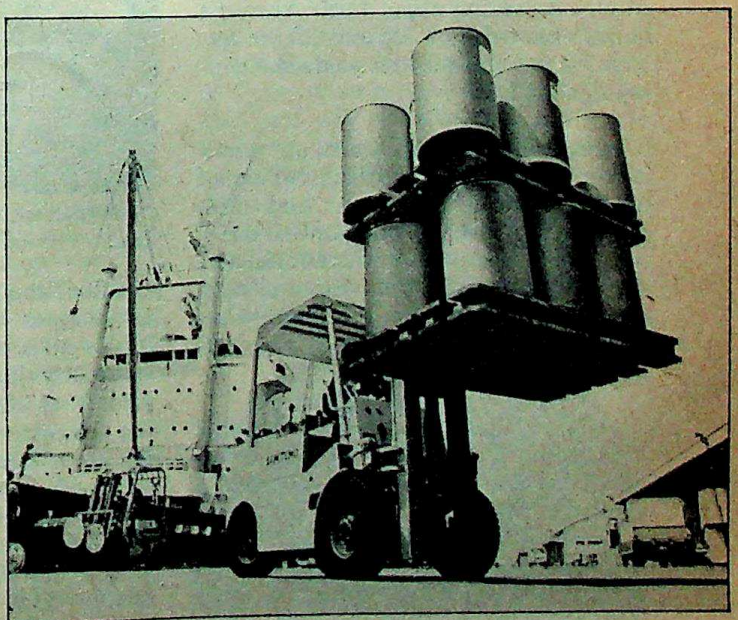
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Died. "Mama" Cass Elliot, 33, gargantuan, silvery-voiced pop-rock singer; after choking on a ham sandwich; in London. Born Ellen Naomi Cohen in Baltimore, Mama Cass sang with a few unmemorable Greenwich Village folk groups in the early 1960s before contributing her gutsy contralto to the Mamas and the Papas, the quartet that created such euphonious superhits as *Monday, Monday* and *California Dreamin'*. When the group broke up in 1968, the Earth Motherly (5 ft. 5 in., as much as 250 lbs.) Elliot embarked on a successful solo career. More than 300 people, including such luminaries as Carol Burnett, Peter Lawford and now divorced ex-Mama and Papa Michelle and John Phillips, attended the Hollywood funeral.

■

Died. Don McCafferty, 53, even-tempered head coach of the National Football League's Detroit Lions; of an apparent heart attack; in Pontiac, Mich. McCafferty joined the Baltimore Colts as an assistant offensive coach in 1959, succeeded tough-talking Don Shula as head coach in 1970 and guided the team to a Super Bowl victory in his first season. Less than two years later, he was dismissed by Colts General Manager Joe Thomas—ostensibly for refusing to bench Aging Star Quarterback Johnny Unitas (TIME, Aug. 5)—and signed on with the Lions in January of 1973.

■

Died. Lois Long, 73, fashion editor of *The New Yorker* for more than four decades; in Saratoga, N.Y. A minister's daughter, Long joined *The New Yorker* in 1925 as "Lipstick," its chatty night-club columnist. Soon she began pointedly commenting about Fifth Avenue's ladies-wear trade in "On and Off the Avenue," a column that for years she simply signed "L.L."

■

Died. Ildebrando Cardinal Antoniutti, 75, longtime Vatican diplomat, official of the Roman Curia and, most recently, camerlengo, or chamberlain, of the church, the prelate who administers the Holy See and supervises the election of a new Pope after the incumbent's death; in an automobile crash; near Bologna, Italy.

■

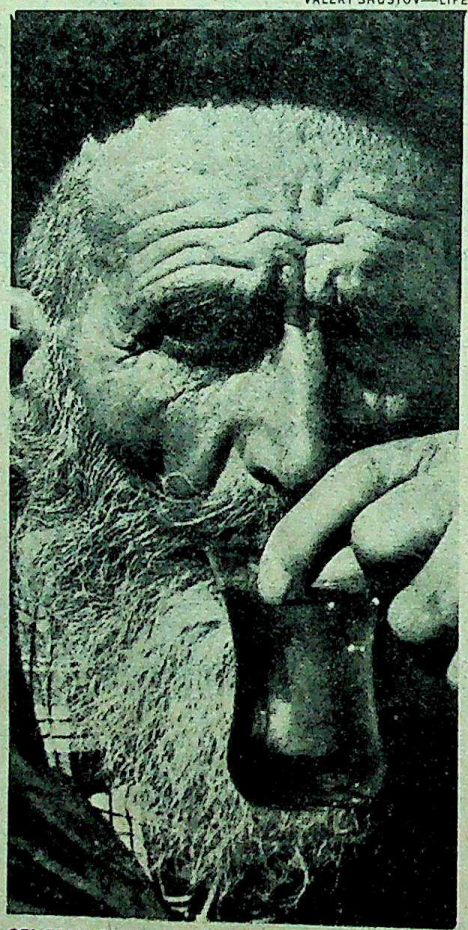
Died. Harry Manning, 77, retired Vice Admiral of the U.S. Maritime Service, a crackerjack seaman who executed the bone-chilling lifeboat rescue of the crew of the Italian freighter *Florida* in 1929, accompanied Amelia Earhart as navigator on her first attempt to fly around the globe, and skippered the passenger liner *United States* on her 1952 maiden voyage across the Atlantic and back in record time (6 days, 22 hours, 52 minutes); after a long illness; in Saddle River, N.J.

No Methuselahs

The death of Shirali Muslimov last year at the reported age of 168 was a blow to the village of Barzavu, in the Soviet Caucasus. It ended the role of the mountain hamlet not only as a tourist attraction but also as a gerontological mecca. For decades Soviet and Western scientists had made the pilgrimage to Barzavu to auscultate stouthearted Muslimov and inquire about his diet, life-style and sexual habits. But his death still left thousands of alleged supercentenarians in the U.S.S.R. vying for the attention of gerontologists.

Now the Methuselah syndrome that has flourished for years in the U.S.S.R. is about to be debunked, and by no less an authority than the eminent Russian-born biologist and student of aging, Zhores A. Medvedev. Exiled and working in London, Medvedev, 48, has written an article for an upcoming issue of the *Gerontologist* in which he systematically destroys the myth of the supercentenarians, not only in the Soviet Union but also in Kashmir and Ecuador. "The trouble is that many scientists have taken for granted that these old people are telling the truth, and then they try to find some reasons to explain their supposed longevity," Medvedev told TIME. The result, he said, is "pseudo science" based on largely falsified data. Not one of the 500 people in the Caucasus claiming to be from 120 to 165 years old has been able to produce valid birth records. Neither have any of the superannuated Kashmiris or Ecuadorians.

VALERY SHUSTOV—LIFE



CENTENARIAN SHIRALI MUSLIMOV
Dreams of immortality.

Moreover, says Medvedev, who about 40 medical, psychological and chemical tests were run in 1972 on reputed centenarians in the U.S.S.R. a commission of gerontologists was surprised by the "paradoxical" finding that the function and metabolism of the testers were the same as those of people about 60 years old. Proven centenarians in the West exhibit a degeneration appropriate to their age, says Medvedev.

Rewards of Age. The fact is that no man or woman with a verifiable birth record is known to have lived longer than 113 years. As Actuary Walter Bowerman has pointed out, assertions of extreme longevity originate mainly in remote, underdeveloped regions among illiterate peoples whose only evidence of age is their own claim, possibly supported by an interested relative.

Age claims beyond the tenth decade attract favorable attention, may bring financial reward, and summon up dreams of immortality. The bases for such fantasies lie deep in the unconscious and are almost universal. But claims in the U.S.S.R. has longevity been elevated to a state-supported cult.

No scientists have been able to explain the claimed ages of the centenarians satisfactorily explain longevity among such widely dispersed peoples, says Medvedev. He methodically tick each suggested cause. It is not mountain air, because many of the old live at sea level. Nor is it temperature because some live in torrid and others in frigid zones. Diet varies radically. Some of the people studied subsist on what heart specialists would consider healthful fare while others consume great quantities of fats and wine.

The Soviets' Methuselah cult is explainable in social and political rather than medical terms, says Medvedev. In the hotbeds of centenarianism, the aged are venerated and may even have postage stamps issued in their honor. The cult's prominence in Georgia was fostered by Georgian-born Stalin, who apparently began to hope, at around age 70, that longevity might run on him.

Medvedev's most compelling explanation: hundreds of thousands of draft dodgers and deserters during World War I and subsequent civil warfare gave themselves false papers to greatly exaggerate their age. There is one authenticated case of a man who was honored in the Soviet press as having reached the age of 128, then exposed as being only 78. In the U.S.S.R., as elsewhere, there is no fountain of youth.

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ndians and the Canyon

The bill being considered by the ouse Interior Committee would dou- the size of Grand Canyon National k. The amendment added to it last ek by a 24-11 vote was sponsored by na's conservation-minded Morris all. Thus the measure might be ex- ted to have the support of every en- nmental group in the nation. In- ead, it has provoked anguished ests from both the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth. Says Sierra ub spokesman Brock Evans: "It's a di- ster of the first rank for the national k system."

The reason for the outcry is the in- cuous-seeming amendment. It would e the 430-member Havasupai Indian e trust title to 185,000 acres of their elands on the southern rim of Grand yon. Now confined to 500 acres on e canyon floor, more than 300 of the dians are cut off from civilization dur- g the winter, when the eight-mile trail at leads down to their village ices over. th their land back, the Indians say, ey could again live on the mesa in win- and graze their cattle there.

But environmentalists cite two ma- reasons for opposing the return of e Havasupai to the rim. The granting national-park land to the Indians, ey argue, would be a signal for many er tribes to file similar claims. They so fear commercial exploitation of the a that the Havasupai want. "The pro- sal," says Evans, "turns loose a large t of our most famous national park private development in the guise of ing it to an Indian tribe."

The environmental groups are wary a clause in the amendment permit- g land use for "residential and other mmunity purposes." The plateau that e Indians want is, according to Sierra b Lobbyist Jeffrey Ingram, "a fan- stic piece of real estate." He envisions cation condominiums on the reserva- n. William Byler of the Association American Indian Affairs scoffs at s. He points out that tribal leaders ve insisted they will allow no unsight- evelopment and that the bill forbids y but "traditional use." Says he: "To ggest that the tribe will hand it over developers is a slanderous attack."

Need Help. The Havasupai have en more formidable champions. Sen- r Edward Kennedy urged his House leagues to pass the amendment be- se the Havasupai "are not going to ild a dam, or put up a factory, or nch a tourist extravaganza." Senator rry Goldwater said the Sierra Club become "a closed society, a self-cen- ed, selfish group, who care for noth- but ideas which they themselves ginate and which fit only their per-

eryone else should be compelled to live." Hubert Humphrey, another Senate supporter, said the amendment would not be environmentally disruptive because "the life of the Havasupai over the past 13 centuries is an authentic part of the natural life of the Grand Canyon."

The Havasupai clearly need help. They refuse to move to any other land because they want to be where their ancestors are buried. But their life in the canyon is nearly unbearable. During the summer some can make a modest living by guiding tourists on foot or horseback down to spectacular Havasu Falls, not far from their village. In winter, however, they are cut off, often for weeks, from the nearest medical aid and supplies. Groceries must be brought from a supermarket 110 miles away in Kingman, Ariz. and sell in the village co-op store for as much as 40% over the regular retail price—an enormous drain on the average Havasupai income of $700 a year.

Even local Sierra Club members admit that the tribe cannot survive much longer on the canyon floor. If Congress does not move soon to relieve the Havasupais' lot, they say, the tribe will simply succumb to poverty and disease.

Pandas for Preservation



Pandas are popping up in the unlikeliest places, and so are polar bears, tigers, alligators, orangutans and dozens of other endangered species. They are seen on the fronts of men's ties, on the backs of women's slacks and peering from inside snuff boxes. The animal images are part of an expanding program by the U.S. branch of the World Wildlife Fund to raise money to study and set up preserves for species that are threatened with extinction. In return for a percentage of profits on products depicting these creatures, the fund has made deals with eight companies to use its name and its panda insignia on advertising and promotional material.

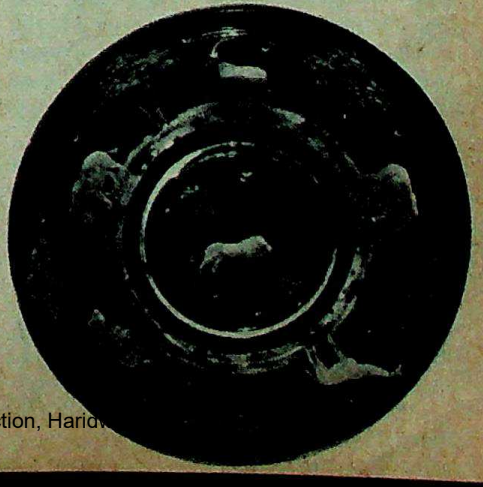
The Bert Pulitzer Co., for example, contributes about 15¢ on each $10 animal necktie, and *Harper's* magazine, which markets the $250 Bavarian crystal Kenya plate (with pictures of animals native to Kenya), contributes $25



from each sale. Russ Togs recently began to produce a "Save the Species" line of women's sportswear, which at contributions of 10¢ to 25¢ per garment should bring the fund at least half of the $100,000 that it expects to collect from the program this year. That will make up about one-sixth of the fund's 1975 program budget and will go far to help preserve the golden toad, the umbrella bird and the quetzal.

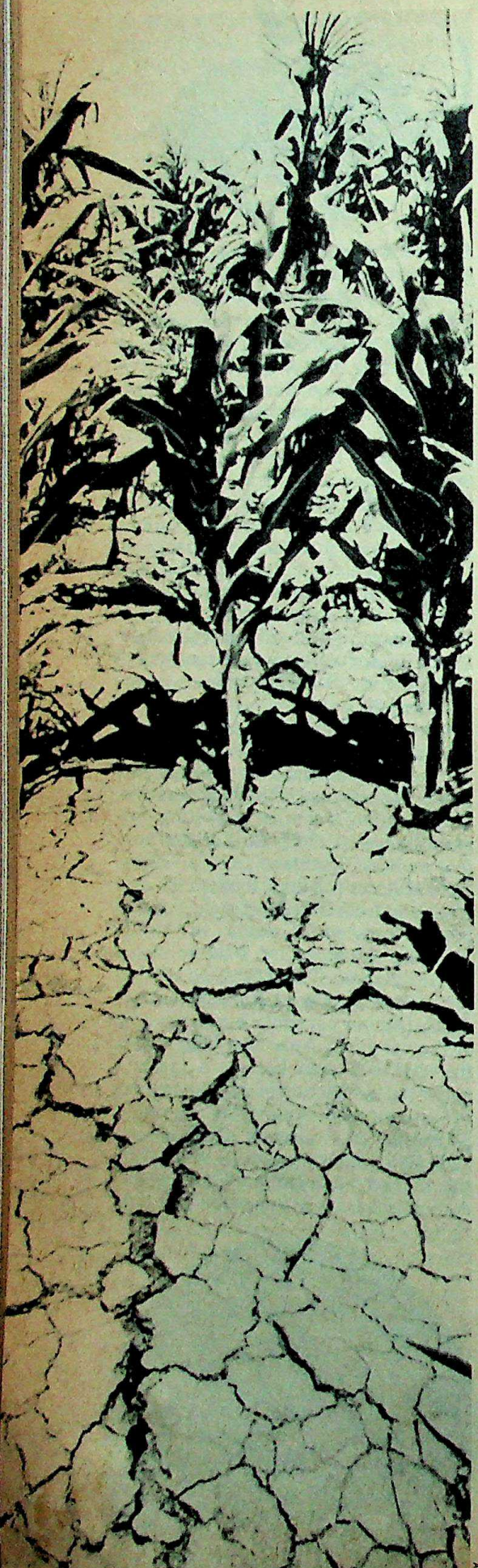
To further promote and enrich the fund, Revell Inc. has started to make a series of plastic model kits of endangered animals such as the white rhinoceros and the California condor; each kit contains a leaflet describing the plight of the animal and the fund's efforts to help. Says Christopher Dann, the fund's deputy director: "Besides paying us a royalty, Revell is allowing us to start a dialogue with 800,000 children and to build a constituency for the future."

Selling Stamps. This week another group, the National Wildlife Federation, is announcing a similar marketing program aimed at children. For the next four months, Southland Corp.'s 7-Eleven food stores will contribute to the federation 1¢ from the sale of each 25¢ Slurpee, a crushed-ice drink in a cup featuring drawings by Wildlife Artist Charles Ripper. The federation will use the money to buy an 835-acre area in South Dakota currently home for 15% of the surviving American bald eagles; the land will then become a preserve under the jurisdiction of the Department of Interior. To secure the purchase, Southland has already forwarded a $200,000 advance—quite a jump from the $1 and $2 donations that the federation gets from selling wildlife stamps.



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DRIED-OUT KANSAS FARM LAND
Multibillion disaster.

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FARMING

Back to Dust Bowl Days

First came the torrential rains of spring, sweeping away thousands of planted acres in the Midwestern grain belt, gouging great creases in the fields and delaying planting of new crops. Then the rain stopped, and for well over a month now, the sun has risen like a bright brass gong in a white sky. While days, then weeks passed without rain, the sun parched the soil and left corn stalks brittle, stunted and dead. From the Dakotas southward to Texas, from Kansas east to parts of Ohio, the most baleful weather in a generation is raising the specter of economic disaster for Midwest farmers and the businessmen who depend on them. The big drought is daily diminishing what had been estimated would be a bumper yield of corn, soybeans and other feed grains. Crops of spring wheat, oats and barley are also being reduced.

"It's the worst since 1934," says Nebraska Farmer Harold Buethe. Adds Gary Luth of Illinois: "Last year my soybeans were waist- to chest-high by this time. Now they're only ankle- to knee-high." Unless there is a break in the malicious weather this week, the corn crops could be devastated; soybean plantings will begin to burn up within weeks. Even if the rains come soon, this fall's harvest is now all but certain to drop well below amounts needed to restrain inflationary food prices. Says Jim Tippett, an official of the Illinois Farm Bureau: "We need hot, sticky weather now, with plenty of rain, the kind of weather that makes people suffer." Last week some rain fell in the Midwest, but officials said it was not enough to end the drought.

Shrinking Income. In part because of the drought, Agriculture Department forecasts for the corn crop have been revised downward, from 6.7 billion bu. in May to 5.9 billion bu. two weeks ago. Since then, conditions have grown worse, and by last week the National Corn Growers Association was predicting that the corn harvest would drop "significantly below" 5.5 billion bu. *v.* 5.6 billion last year.

In Nebraska, the state with the biggest crop damage, "dry land" farmers (those without irrigation) reckon that they have already lost 75% of the 235 million bu. of corn they expected. Many farmers are holding tight to whatever grain they have, and a lack of feed for Nebraska's record 7.5 million head of cattle is hurting ranchers. In all, Nebraska's farm income could shrink by $2 billion or this year. Losses for Iowa and Kansas are conservatively estimated at $3 billion.

Dry weather is also punishing [illegible] nois, where the soybean crop will [illegible] ably fall 20% below earlier expectations. Farmers in Oklahoma are getting only three cuttings of hay instead of five, and the spring-wheat yield in North Dakota is expected to be sharply reduced. The Governors of Nebraska, Iowa and South Dakota have declared their states disaster areas. At the Midwest Governors Conference last week in Minneapolis, a resolution was adopted urging the Administration to expand farm disaster relief and increase crop price-support programs, which only last year were reduced in order to boost production.



For small farmers, the drought could be ruinous. For example, Kenne[illegible] Grove, who invested heavily in weed killers and fertilizers to work his 2[illegible] acres in Tecumseh, Neb., has given up on part of his crop and is now mowing it to feed his 80-head dairy herd. On the other hand, many large and middle-size farmers, who earned the bulk of the $32 billion in agricultural income last year, have enough financial protection to tide them over. Indeed, many big wheat farmers, who brought in their winter harvest before the drought struck, stand to make a bundle because they are holding back an unusually large portion of their crop until prices are forced up still higher. Worst off are cattle raisers, who overproduced in [illegible]

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...ics, only to be thwarted by consum-
... who sharply reduced their beef pur-
...ases rather than pay high prices.
Now, with supplies of livestock feed
...ely to be tightened, ranchers are cut-
...back production of new calves and
...ding more of their breeding stock
...market. That will probably bring
...n beef prices in the next month or
but they will probably soar again
...e fall as cattle shipments dwindle.
...hough no food scarcities are yet an-
...ated, the prospect of smaller crops
...ready driving up farm prices. After
...four-month decline, prices for raw
...products jumped 6% between June
...and July 15. In that time, wholesale
...t prices surged 16%. Corn prices on
...Chicago Board of Trade last week
...d at $3.65 per bu., up more than $1
...m June, and some traders think that
...will soon go to $5 or higher. At the
...e time, soybean prices rose from
...5 per bu. in June to $8.50, and wheat
...m $3.45 to $4.35.

Tilford Gaines, chief economist of
...chattan's Manufacturers Hanover
...st Co., predicts that rising food prices
...l keep living costs rising at a double-
...it rate for the rest of the year, though
...sees the pace slackening from close
...% currently to about 10% by De-
...ber. Says Gaines: "Except for 1946
...d 1920, 1974 will probably prove to
...the worst year in our history for con-
...er inflation."

Export Outlook. The outlook for
...m exports, which the White House
...d hoped would offset the enormous
...t of oil imports, is uncertain. Euro-
...ans and other foreigners are expecting
...isfactory crops of wheat and feed
...ins and are less eager than in recent
...rs to buy American farm goods. But
...ther declines in U.S. crop expecta-
...ns could well start a new rush of for-
...n buyers seeking to build their re-
...ves as a hedge against future
...rtages. That might be a boon for the
...erican trade balance, but it would
...t the nation's food prices even high-
...In addition, millions of people in Asia
...d Africa are living on the edge of star-
...tion and looking to the U.S. food-aid
...grams for survival. A continuing
...e of crop-killing weather in the
...erican heartland this year could very
...l mean a rising death rate from
...lcutta to Africa's famine-ridden
...el.

■ ■ ■

Last week Agriculture Secretary
...el Butz suggested facetiously that the
...S might save food by killing half of
...dogs and cats. Said Butz in a speech
...the American Society of Animal Sci-
...ce: "If some of those ill-informed,
...zy-thinking do-gooders who suggest
...at we eat one less hamburger per week
...release more foodstuffs to the world
...e really serious . . . they could make
...e first onslaught on this noble goal by
...cing our dog and cat population by
...." Of course, Butz added, "I do not

LABOR

Strike, Strike, Strike

Who can blame an employer for resisting high and rising demands for wage increases? His business is soft, his costs are climbing crazily—and he has to draw the line somewhere.

But who can blame the American worker for demanding more? In the private, nonfarm sector, his real hourly compensation has been declining for more than 15 months—and he has to get off the treadmill some time.

The bitter result of this dilemma is that record numbers of U.S. workers are going on strike as contracts expire in a wide range of industries. Last week 506 stoppages involving 218,000 workers further slowed the economy. Iron miners were out in Michigan and Minnesota. Construction workers were out in California, Washington, Nebraska, Illinois and Tennessee. Other strikes dragged on at Dow Chemical and National Airlines and, of course, among National Football League players.

More strikes threaten. Aerospace industry bargaining has just got under way. Later this year there will be contract talks covering 500,000 railroad workers. In November, just in time for winter, 80,000 mine workers will be seeking a new contract. They may try to hold down output so that supplies could fall perilously low and managements feel pressure to settle generously.

Wrong Number. Last weekend negotiators struggled to avert a nationwide walkout by 710,000 Bell Telephone System employees. The Bell workers' motives were not unlike those of employees in other industries riddled with or threatened by strikes. American Tele- ... had offered wage increases averaging 9.4% this year and totaling 15% over the next three years. That was not enough for the 500,000 Bell workers represented by the Communications Workers of America (whose pro-strike vote ran 7 to 1) or for the 210,000 other telephone workers in two other unions. C.W.A. President Glenn E. Watts argued, and the members concurred, that the first-year offer alone should be 14%—that is, 11% to keep up with inflation and 3% more as a reward for Bell's productivity gains. If there is a nationwide telephone strike, it would have an immediate, though slight impact on users who would not be able to get telephones installed or repaired.

Throughout the economy, strike pressures have grown intense as more and more teachers, policemen and other municipal workers joined members of unions in basic industries in a heavy number of work stoppages. During this year's first half, there were 3,240 ongoing strikes involving almost 1.6 million workers—650,000 above the same period in 1973. The militancy has produced some results. Compensation per man-hour—which includes wages, fringes and the employer's share of Social Security taxes—rose at an annual rate of 13.8% in this year's second quarter; but price increases gutted the gain.

Administration inflation fighters worry most that while wages are rising, productivity in the private nonfarm sector of the economy is declining. It went down at an annual rate of more than 5% in the first quarter and almost 3% in the second quarter. As a result, the so-called unit labor costs—that is, the cost of labor to produce a given quantity of goods—has jumped at an annual rate of 14% this year. This, of course, will further fuel inflation, which in turn will fire the workers' frustrations.

UPI



TEACHERS DEMONSTRATE IN CHICAGO IN SUPPORT OF STRIKING COUNTERPARTS
As inflation eats up the gains, a militant cry for still more.

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FORECASTS

Edging Up to Recession

Somewhat belatedly a top Administration official conceded last week what many private economists have been saying for some time: the nation's output of goods and services is likely to show a decline for all of 1974. Testifying to the Congressional Joint Economic Committee, Kenneth Rush, the President's economic spokesman, predicted that during the year's second half the rate of expansion in real gross national product will probably fall below the 2% to 4% figure that had previously been forecast by the Administration. That would mean a drop in G.N.P. for the entire year. Economic growth has already declined at an annual rate of 4.2% in the first half. Part of the reason for the continuing slowdown is that businessmen are spending less than expected for new plant and equipment. Corporate purchases, in the absence of strong consumer buying, had been expected to keep the economy moving at a moderate pace.

Herbert Stein, the outgoing chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, later told the committee that the Administration does not believe that unemployment will exceed 6% during the last half of 1974, but he indicated that it could be higher than that in some months. On the other hand, Walter Heller told the committee that if the Administration sticks to present policies, the jobless rate will probably hit 7% by next year. At week's end, the Labor Department announced that unemployment, after hovering at 5% to 5.2% for six months, had inched up to 5.3% in July.

Stein held out little hope for a substantial abatement in living costs. The best projection he could muster was that perhaps by the end of the year "inflation will be significantly lower than in the first half of the year." Earlier, Administration forecasts had living costs rising at 7% later this year, though most non-Government economists expect them to be higher. Stein's designated successor, Alan Greenspan, expects a high level of inflation this year—and turgid or almost imperceptible growth in the economy next year.

Two for Four? All this raises a politically explosive question: Has the U.S. entered the second inflationary recession in four years under the Nixon Administration? So far, the private National Bureau of Economic Research, the final arbiter in such matters, is suspending judgment. Other experts are less patient. Manhattan's First National City Bank calls the business decline "a pervasive recession." And last week Economist Michael Evans of Chase Econometrics, a forecasting firm owned by Chase Manhattan Bank, declared: "Not only is the recession here, but it will stay with us for the rest of the year."



BELGIUM'S ETIENNE DAVIGNON

ENERGY

A Move Toward Sharing

A promising development on the energy front:

Last week the Energy Coordinating Group, whose members include the U.S., Canada, Japan and nine Western European oil-importing nations, announced a major stride toward a unified, help-thy-friend energy policy. Meeting in Brussels under the chairmanship of Belgian Diplomat Vicomte Etienne Davignon, 41, a leading Common Market policymaker, the ECG accepted in principle a U.S.-sponsored proposal for sharing and conserving oil supplies during future energy emergencies.

If oil imports in any member country drop below a still-to-be determined threshold, either as the result of a selective boycott or a general cutback in deliveries, the sharing will start. For example, if Canada and Norway could meet 100% of their oil needs and all other ECG members only 90%, then those two countries would share their oil until the proportion of requirements fulfilled was the same in all countries. The precise details of this and other procedures, such as a method for eliminating the need for time-consuming approval by each parliament should an emergency hit, remain to be smoothed out in future meetings, over which Davignon will preside.

Problems remain, of course. The ECG, established last February at the Washington Energy Conference organized by Henry Kissinger, had to shelve its plan for a conference between countries that produce and consume oil because the Arab governments do not

want to risk a confrontation over pr... And while France has been warm... toward the ECG since the election... Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, and even... etly participating in some of the gro... projects, it still refuses to join. Tha... far from ironclad, the agreement ... dicates that unity among the wo... main oil consumers is more tha... pipe dream.

SHIPPING

A Costly Passage

Congress is poised to approve a m... sure that could add millions of dol... to America's energy bills over the ... decade and deal a great blow to ... trade—all to help out the politi... powerful shipbuilders and mari... unions. The Energy Transportation ... curity Act would require that by ... 30% of the nation's oil imports be ... ried in tankers that are built in the ... fly the U.S. flag and employ Amer... sailors. Because such ships cost m... more to build and operate than for... vessels, almost no imported oil is ... ried in them now. Indeed, to meet ... bill's requirements, the capacity of ... nation's tanker fleet would have to ... dramatically enlarged, costing billi... and the Government would have to m... its subsidies to shipbuilders and op... ators by no less than $800 million o... the next five years. In addition, the ... would violate 30 U.S. treaties with ... er governments outlawing preferen... for commercial cargoes.

Even so, the House has passed ... bill 266 to 136, and the Senate is ex... pected to follow through soon. The m... sure has been endorsed by a bipart... phalanx of Senators from Gulf and w... Coast states. And there probably ... enough support for Congress to over... any possible veto by President Nix... who to his credit opposes the propo...

Recognizing the dangers, ten G... ernment agencies and departments—... cluding State, Treasury and Comm... —have voiced opposition. So have ... major oil companies, led by Exxon ... the farm groups, which recognize ... the bill would kick up prices for ... members' oil and gasoline. But their ... position pales in the face of strong ... bying by the shipbuilders and the m... itime unions, which give ... campaign contributions and gene... speakers' fees to legislators.

They have made most of their ... age out of that versatile rhetorical ... lopy, national security. Particularly ... the recent oil embargo, argue the ... makers, America must build up its ... fleet to insure delivery of oil ... abroad. But how would U.S.-flag ... ers help if foreign producers ... off the source of oil? Supporters do ... answer the question, and so far ... failed to impede the progress of this ...

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TOURISM

Yankee, Come Back!

In 1817, Lord Byron looked with
egrin upon all the foreign tourists vis-
g one of his favorite countries and
mplained that Italy was "pestilent
h English." Italy is quite a bit dif-
rent this year—and so is every other
untry in Europe. Not only are many
ans spending the summer of '74 back
their own backyards but so are other
ropeans, as well as the usually ubiq-
tous Japanese and the big-tipping
ericans. Tourism, which ranks
mong the world's largest industries in
ms of money spent abroad, is in a
ough.

Inflation, recession and even revo-
ion have combined to reduce sharply
e number of travelers to Europe. As a
sult, airlines, hotels, restaurants, the-
ers, travel agencies and countless other
terprises that depend upon foreign
velers are hurting. "The European
rket has turned from a travel heav-
to a bottom-line hell," reports *Trav-
Trade*, a U.S. news weekly for the
uring business.

The most obvious absentees are the
ericans. "The free-spending Amer-
ans are gone," laments a Munich hotel
nager. "All we get this year are the
ung backpackers, touring Europe on
e cheap." Applications for U.S. pass-
rts this year have fallen by 15%. Ac-
cording to the latest figures, passenger travel across the North Atlantic on scheduled airlines is down by 4% and off by 27% on charter flights. One reason of course is that air fares have jumped by about one-third in the past year, largely because jet-fuel prices have climbed so high. Longer trips are especially forbidding; thus many Japanese and Brazilians as well as Americans have never got off the ground.

Staying Home. In an effort to make up for the loss of foreign travelers, Britain, France and Sweden launched advertising campaigns to encourage their own citizens to travel within the homeland. "Sweden is fantastic," trumpeted one campaign, and great numbers of Swedes stayed home to a not-so-fantastic, record-setting July rainfall. More than a million Britons, or about a quarter of those who normally go abroad for their summer vacations, are holidaying at home. Millions of Frenchmen are staying home. Those Europeans who are traveling at home are forsaking more expensive resort hotels in favor of pensions and campgrounds.

The West Germans appear to be an exception to the trend. Last year for the first time they spent more money touring abroad ($6.5 billion) than the usual international champions, the Americans (who spent $5.4 billion). Though West Germany has economic problems, it also has millions of highly affluent people who continue to display an exceptional wanderlust. On the other hand, the U.S. this year will lead all other countries in gross income derived from tourism, an expected $3.25 billion. Indeed, Europeans who have the means find some of the best bargains in North America. Some 120,000 West Germans are expected to visit Canada. Through May, 2.2 million tourists came to the U.S., 16% more than last year.

In Italy, by contrast, where more than a million people depend on the tourist dollar, business has dropped between 30% and 40% from last year, amounting to a loss of several hundred million dollars. *"Gli Italiani sono schifosi* [Italians are stinkers]," said a Rome taxi driver. "No wonder no one comes now, what with dirt, noise, high prices, poor service and cheating."

Portugal, where business in some tourist-centered restaurants and shops has dropped 70% from last year, is suffering more than other countries, due to last spring's revolution and to a cholera epidemic (more than 1,000 cases this summer). Signs on the Spanish side of the border warn travelers of cholera in Portugal and invite them to stay in Spain; in some parts of Spain, business is off about 20%. Tourism in Cyprus, which had been one of the few countries bucking the slump, is nonexistent. Cancellations at Greek hotels, which were already operating considerably below capacity, have been running at about 50% since the Cyprus crisis.

The slump has its brighter side. Restaurants throughout Europe are uncrowded, service is gracious, hotel reservations are seldom necessary and bargains, though rare, can be found. Some shops have marked prices in half. If they are not part of the travel trade, many residents of usually tourist-laden lands are enjoying the absence of the foreigners. "It's lovely," rejoiced one London resident. "For the first time in years, I can walk from Green Park to Oxford Circus without being stopped by a dozen Americans who are attempting to discover the way to London Bridge!"

ROME'S ALMOST EMPTY SPANISH STEPS AT MIDAFTERNOON ONE DAY LAST WEEK



VELUCCI/TOM

PROMOTION

There Is No Freelandia

Freelandia Air Travel Club took off last fall in the midst of a press blitz that puffed its low fares ($69, Newark–Los Angeles), its organic chic (natural food, a water bed in its yellow DC-8) and its ringing slogan, "Not-For-Profit." Not-For-Real would have been more accurate.

The man behind Freelandia is Ken Moss, 31, a Syracuse University dropout who claimed to have made millions in Wall Street by helping entrepreneurs get financing. After dropping out again—this time to Katmandu—Moss dreamed up a plan that seemed to be irresistible: for an initial fee of $50, anyone could enlist in a quasi com-

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The World's 50 Biggest

FORTUNE, which annually lists the 500 biggest industrial corporations in the U.S. and the 00 largest outside the U.S., has combined the p 50 for the first time in its August issue, published this week. Of the world's largest industrials, 24 are based in the U.S. Ten of the top velve are American. Indeed, three of the top ve are Detroit's General Motors, Ford and hrysler. Half of the top dozen have headquarrs in New York City or its suburbs.

What is most striking is the American edge profitability: the 24 U.S. companies account r 71% of the total net income. Besides the .S., only seven countries are represented: Gerany, Britain, Japan, Italy, France, Switzerland nd The Netherlands. The top 50, with sales nd earnings for 1973 or the latest available fisl year:

ink	Company	Sales (millions)	Net Income
	General Motors	35,798	2,398
2	Exxon	25,724	2,443
3	Ford	23,015	907
4	Royal Dutch/Shell	18,672	1,789
5	Chrysler	11,774	255
6	General Electric	11,575	585
7	Texaco	11,407	1,292
8	Mobil Oil	11,390	849
9	Unilever	11,010	423
0	IBM	10,993	1,575
	ITT	10,183	528
2	Gulf Oil	8,417	800
3	Philips Lamp	8,108	323
4	Standard Oil (Calif.)	7,762	844
5	British Petroleum	7,726	761
6	Nippon Steel	7,628	196
7	Western Electric	7,037	315
8	U.S. Steel	6,952	326
9	Volkswagenwerk	6,412	73
0	Hitachi	5,972	292
	Westinghouse	5,702	162
2	Farbwerke Hoechst	5,591	176
3	Daimler-Benz	5,551	98
4	Toyota Motor	5,547	278
5	Siemens	5,523	162
6	Standard Oil (Ind.)	5,416	511
7	BASF	5,384	194
8	Imperial Chemical Industries	5,309	450
9	Du Pont	5,276	586
0	Mitsubishi	5,227	110
	Nestlé	5,205	218
2	General Telephone	5,105	352
3	Shell Oil	4,884	333
4	Nissan Motor	4,883	151
5	Goodyear	4,675	185
6	Renault	4,656	13
7	Bayer	4,654	165
8	Montedison	4,452	57
9	Matsushita	4,409	252
0	British Steel	4,290	121
	ENI (Italy)	4,280	65
2	RCA	4,247	184
3	August Thyssen-Hütte	4,243	61
4	Continental Oil	4,224	243
5	International Harvester	4,193	114
6	AEG-Telefunken	4,187	30
7	LTV	4,177	50
8	Bethlehem Steel	4,138	207
9	Fiat	4,075	5
0	Cie Française des Pétroles	4,060	197



JULIAN WASSER

ABBIE HOFFMAN & FAMILY & MOSS (RIGHT) BEING ENTERTAINED ON DC-8 BY LADY MAGICIAN

After a flight of fantasy, a funky line stalled out.

mune called Freelandia and cash in on the cheap air fares that maximum capacity, low overhead and Moss's brains would make possible.

Flashing a beatific smile, the soft-spoken Moss promoted his idea to newsmen. Paeans to Freelandia appeared in the New York *Times,* the Los Angeles *Times* and *Newsweek*. By November, the exposure had attracted 2,000 members. Moss had leased a used DC-8 from National Airlines and, with certification from the Federal Aviation Administration, the club was offering flights across the country, to Honolulu and even to Europe.

Daily Alibis. There were early signs of trouble in Freelandia. Employees grumbled about mismanagement, and 85% of the flights were canceled. Nonetheless, in late November, Moss landed a guest spot on the Johnny Carson show, after which membership jumped to 8,000.

Yet the line continued to slide, and in February, Moss slipped an interesting item into the club newsletter: while Freelandia was nonprofit, it said, a Moss-controlled company called Transmar was not. In fact, Transmar was leasing Freelandia the DC-8 as well as providing management services for a fee. More disgruntled employees complained of having to invent daily alibis for club members who demanded refunds for canceled flights. Aggrieved members could be repaid only when cash came in from sales of tickets for future flights, and the amounts owed piled higher and higher. Though 45 coast-to-coast flights were made, only six flights to Honolulu were completed and only one ever made it to Europe (fare from Los Angeles: $169).

The transatlantic flight, however, had a cast worthy of Nathanael West. Decked out in sheepskin, boas and the desperately glamorous trapping the underground, 156 passengers t off to the sound of popping champ corks. "Being on the first transatla hip flight is something to remem grinned Max Scherr, the penurious itor emeritus of the *Berkeley Barb* he polished off his third glass of Jacque Bonet champagne.

Amorous couples retired to a atory and to the water bed, under blanket of which various friendly were discreetly performed. "Is ev body mellowed out?" purred D Flynn, Moss's girl friend and busi partner.

Moss had arranged to put mos the passengers up at Geneva's s and very luxe Beau-Rivage, but the tel's manager, Roland Cirafici, 45, so shocked by the crowd that he fused to accept Moss's prearranged it, and police briefly delayed the D just before it was ready to take off board with his wife and their son A ica, Pop Revolutionary Abbie Hoff moaned, "If I don't get back to C cago on time, I'll be in contempt court again."

In April, Freelandia lost its D Moss contends that he returned it owner because it was a lemon, but ers say that it was repossessed. Moss admits that he lied when he claime was not into Freelandia for the m The FAA is challenging Freelandia tification as an air club allowed to passengers by charging low fares. In courts, Moss's lawyers so far have tled the FAA to a standoff, and he managed to lease a Convair 880 to place the DC-8. Though there have no Freelandia flights for months, sits in his Hollywood Hills pad dreams of flying high again.

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The great Campari controversy.

The recent Manhattan caucus called to resolve the bitter Campari controversy concluded, as predicted, in a fiasco. The two opposing factions, purists, those who insist on Campari straight with just ice, soda, orange peel, and mixers, who feel Campari is best enjoyed mixed in such drinks as the Americano or the Negroni clashed on a whole series of points. True disaster struck at the tasting time, when the sight of mixed drinks was like a red rag to a bull for the traditionalists. To the rallying cry of "Rather red than dead" they launched a series of counter-attacks on the bar, where the Mixers barely managed to hold out until the police intervened.

"To think a lot of grown men could behave like that" comments Police Captain Lejay Martin 49, of New York's finest. "We hadda confiscate all the Campari. Which, I discovered, is pretty tasty stuff..."

Touching down after fifty-nine weightless days orbiting in the new US Sky Laboratory, Astronaut Jimmy Cooper commented on the innovation of supplying spacemen with alcoholic beverages in squeeze packs. "Great" he grinned "a little drink before meals really makes it feel more like home. And I had a great time squeezing Campari into a glass and floating it over the ice. What was really a helluva a job was mixing a good Negroni".

Stepping back in satisfaction from his monumental magnum opus before packing it off to the Venice Triennale, painter Vladimir Brzyschtch glowed "It's taken me years, years, to get exactly

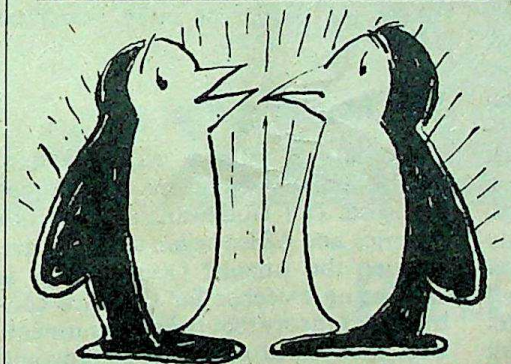


GLORIA: A MS IS AS GOOD AS A MALE.



ELISABETTA. A SHATTERING EXPERIENCE.

this right shade of pink. Years. Then I got it. Inspiration came from a glass of pure Campari, with a Rubens of ice and the barest Tintoretto of soda. Perfection! What a colour! And, incidentally, what a drink!".



"I don't mind them stopping here for the ice, but I wish they'd stop calling me waiter".

Ringing down the red curtain at the Metropolitan premiere of "La Traviata" primadonna Elisabetta Schonbrun threw a titanic tantrum when gushing fans, celebrating her success, pressed a frosted glass into her hand. Taking a sip in the excitement, she noticed too late that far from containing just pure Campari with the merest tinkle of ice and an aria of soda, the glass held a well-mixed Negroni.

"Anything less than pure Campari is an affront to my vocal chords", she trilled. Promptly putting the drink down, she loosed off her famous note two octaves above high C, and shattered the glass to pieces.

Female Chauvinist Sow Ms. Gloria Streichem, doyen of the more militant women's lib extremists, raged during a rally at discrimination in the drink world. "Typically, they try to kid us it was Signor Campari who invented this delightful drink" she snorted. "But they can't quet. And mostly, taste the stuff. Clearly only Mrs., pardon me, Ms. Campari herself could have thought up anything so exquisite". About her future plans, Gloria stated that she intends lobbying to change the names of two other Campari drinks to Negrona and Americana.



"THERE IS NO CAMPARISON"

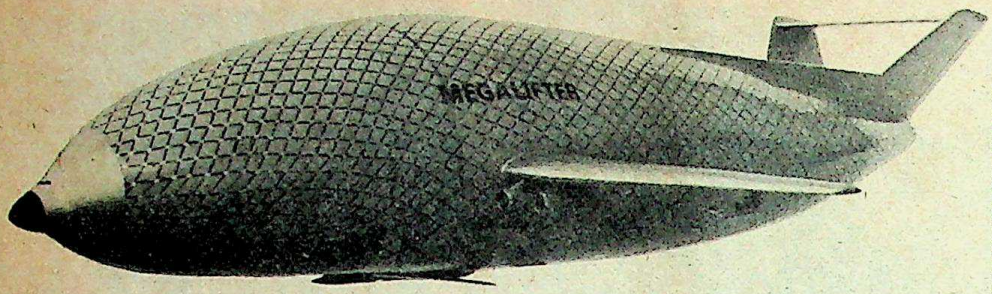
Campari and Soda: Campari, ice, and a splash of soda to taste.

Negroni: 1/3 Campari, 1/3 Gin, 1/3 Italian Vermouth, Ice. Shake then strain into cocktail glass. Add slice of orange.

Americano: 1/2 Bitter Campari, 1/2 Italian Vermouth. A squeeze of lemon rind, cracked ice.

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AVIATION WEEK & SPACE TECHNOLOGY

PORPOISE-SHAPED, JET-POWERED HYBRID AIRSHIP OF THE FUTURE

New Lift for Airships

Giant airships vanished from the skies after the hydrogen-filled *Hindenburg* exploded and burned in 1937. But airship enthusiasts, buoyed by little more than hope, have remained at their drawing boards, designing huge lighter-than-air dirigibles that they believe could still compete effectively against other forms of transportation.

Most remarkable is the plan for a new three-way hybrid that combines some aspects of an airship, a winged airplane and a lifting body (a shape giving aerodynamic lift). The proposed craft, which looks remarkably like a porpoise, was designed by a group of engineers organized as the Megalifter Co. of Goleta, Calif., after NASA's Ames Research Center invited proposals for lighter-than-air ships to transport heavy, bulky cargoes. At the roots of its undersized wings, which resemble Flipper's flippers, are four jet engines with a combined thrust of 164,000 lbs. There are also two small engines near the wing tips to control yawing and rolling. The 650-ft. hull would have 7 million cu. ft. of buoyant helium in its gas cells.

The cargo hold, 300 ft. long and 40 ft. wide, could carry up to 200 tons, and fully loaded, the craft would weigh some 320 tons. But its designers estimate that Megalifter would require a takeoff speed of no more than 70 m.p.h. and a runway distance of only about 2,400 ft. to become airborne, and could cruise at 205 m.p.h. Many of its components, such as the cockpit, engine controls and landing gear, are identical to the C-5A's, which would reduce design and manufacturing costs for the giant craft.

For Channel Hops. In Britain, another group of engineers has formed Airfloat Transport Ltd. to promote the "Airfloat HL" (for heavy-lift), designed by Surrey University Mechanical Engineer Edwin Mowforth. A VTOL (vertical takeoff and landing) model, it could carry a load of up to 400 tons and move it more than 1,000 miles at about 90 m.p.h. Airfloat's hull shape is conventional, and its propulsion depends upon old-fashioned propellers turned by ten turbines. Eight of them are amidships for forward drive and are also capable of exerting a vertical thrust of 40 tons. There is also one engine at each end for maneuvering, and to keep the ship from yawing while hovering.

Because the Airfloat ship has been designed to take advantage of available techniques, materials and components, Mowforth estimates that six of them, with ground facilities, could be built for a total of $144 million. He believes that with each vessel carrying 250 cars and 1,000 passengers at a time, airship travel across the English Channel would be more economical than by the channel tunnel that will cost more than $20 billion.

The Missing Piece

About 150 million years ago, during the breakup of a supercontinent that geologists call Gondwanaland,* South America and Africa began to drift apart, creating the Atlantic Ocean. There is convincing evidence for the once controversial theory that the two continents were once joined; geological features and fossil remains on opposite sides of the ocean show a remarkable match, and the shelves, or underwater plateaus, extending from each of the continents into the Atlantic form a near perfect fit, like adjacent pieces in a jigsaw puzzle. One piece of the puzzle, however, seemed to be missing. There was a deep indentation in the Mozambique plateau off Durban, South Africa, but no proof of a corresponding continental projection from South America. Last month it was announced that the missing land mass had been found; it is a fingerlike extension of the Falkland plateau, extending eastward from the Falkland Islands to a point 1,600 miles from Argentina.

Geologists Ian Dalziel of Columbia University and Peter Barker of the University of Birmingham led a multinational scientific team aboard the research ship *Glomar Challenger* this spring, probing the ocean depths east of the Falkland Islands. Lowering a coring drill 8,500 ft. to the bottom, they penetrated through 1,835 ft. of sediment before beginning to bite into the rock that they were looking for. Analysis of the core samples brought to the surface identified it as granite about 150 million years old. The find proved that the rock was continental shelf and not ocean basin crust, which is primarily basalt (solidified lava), which in the Atlantic is no more than about 100 million years old.

From examination of fossils in sediment cores found just above the granite rock, the geologists deduced that 150 to 200 million years ago, the Falkland Plateau was dry land in a climate similar to that of the Mediterranean today. The evidence fitted in with earlier suggestions by other geologists that there had once been an inland sea in Gondwanaland similar to the Mediterranean, bounded by what are now South America, Africa and Antarctica. Then, as the continents began to separate, the sea around the ancient sea gradually spread and reached its present depth about 80 million years ago, and remained hidden until the spring voyage of the *Glomar Challenger*.

Last week the *Glomar Challenger* again made news. Another team of geologists announced that in July a drill lowered from the ship in mid-ocean about 200 miles southwest of the Azores had penetrated 1,910 ft. into the earth's hard crust under the Atlantic bottom sediment. It returned core samples from depths never before explored; the previous record penetration was 260 ft. Said the submarine crustal rock. Said geochemist William Melson of the Smithsonian Institution: "It was like peering into the unknown, getting samples we had thought about for years but had never been able to reach."

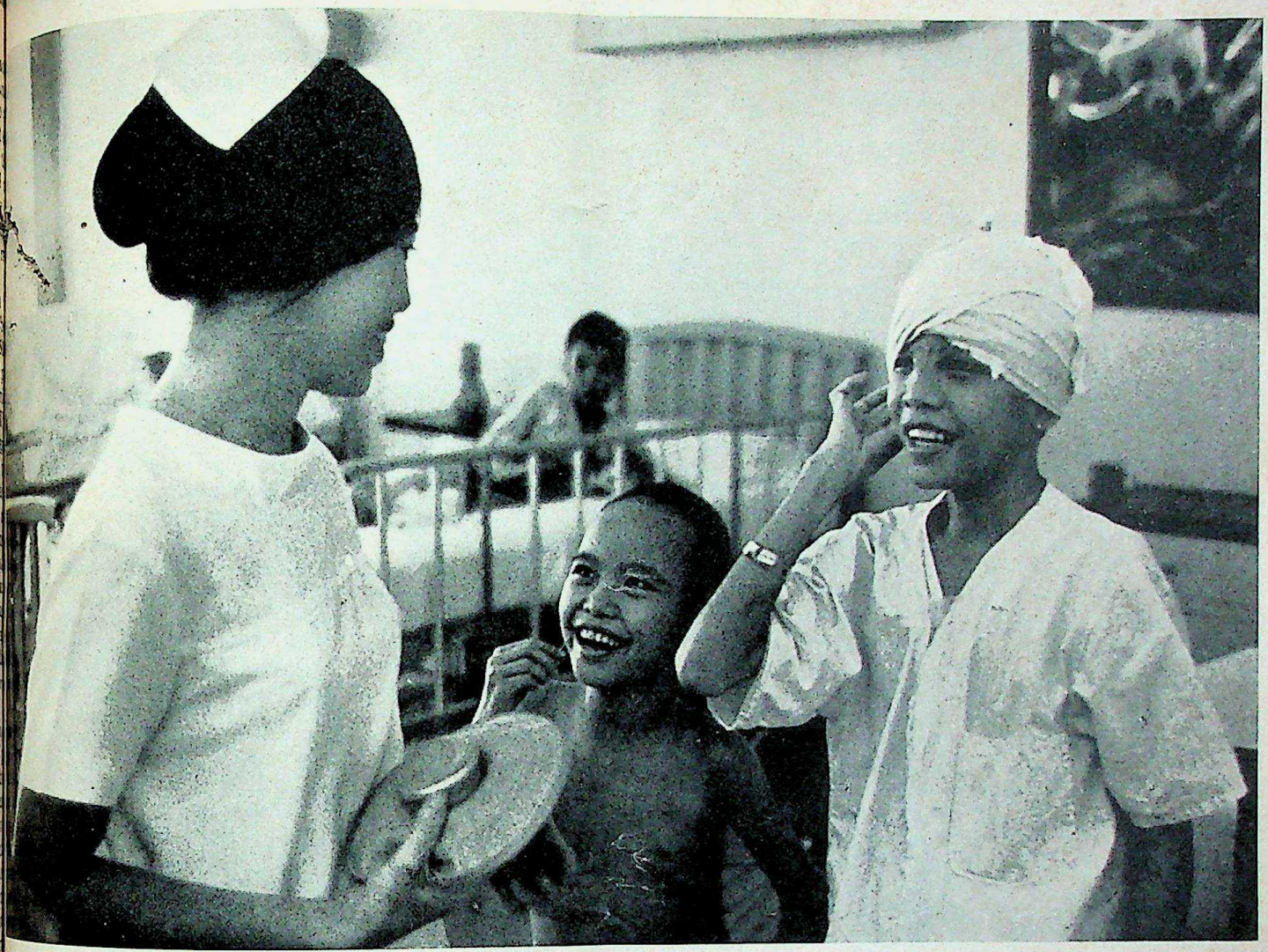


*Named after a region in India where many African-type fossils are found.

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Remember Kim Phuc ?



You'd probably recognize her immediately in another photograph, the one where she is running down South Vietnam's Highway One. In that famous picture she is terrified and she is naked. She has torn off her clothes and is fleeing from the napalm which, seconds before, had burned her.

This is Kim Phuc at the Children's Medical Relief Hospital in Saigon. Her pain is gone and this happy smile has replaced the terror of that day on Highway One. Her burned back has healed thanks to the skill of the surgeons at the hospital, the only one of its kind in the country. After several operations, Kim Phuc is back home, completely recovered from her wounds.

It costs $U S 15 a day to maintain a child in the hospital. The average stay is twenty days. It costs $U S 300 to treat the average patient. In the United States comparable care would cost ten times as much.

The hospital has already treated 5,000 children like Kim Phuc but thousands more need care. Won't you help us today. We need to build a modern burns treatment unit; we need to establish clinics in outlying areas; we must guarantee that we will never have to turn away a single child who needs us.

Please send your gift today to:

Children's Medical Relief Emergency Fund
Box 555 FDR Station New York, N.Y. 10022

☐ **$U S 150,000 will construct a modern burns treatment unit**

☐ **$U S 1,000 will save the life of a critically burned child**

☐ **$U S 300 is the average cost for a child's stay in the hospital**

Anything you can send will help

Here is my contribution of $U S _____

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY .....

Thank you for remembering Kim Phuc

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The Roads Taken

ROBERT FROST—A PICTORIAL CHRONICLE
by KATHLEEN MORRISON
133 pages. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. $10.95.

In addition to being a great poet, Robert Frost was the most dazzling performer on the American literary stage since Mark Twain. The impersonation of a mischievous, lovable old sugar maple of a man that he gave while lecturing during the last three decades of his life is still vivid to anyone who came near a college auditorium during that period.

Undoubtedly it was because of the brilliant success of this impersonation that the news of Frost's actual character struck so hard. After the publication a few years ago of his *Selected Letters* and the first two volumes of Lawrance Thompson's biography, there could be no doubt about it: Frost never matured emotionally, and the dark side of a powerful and childish nature frequently dominated. He was often malicious, vindictive and jealous to a degree that could not be passed off as the mere crankiness of a sensitive man. He was insatiably greedy for attention and praise. He was a tormented man who hurt those around him in ways that could not always be mended.

Biographer Thompson died before finishing his third and concluding volume on Frost (it is now going forward under other hands and is expected to be ready next year). In the interim comes a fascinating sketch of Frost's last 25 years, written by the woman who became his secretary after the unexpected death of his wife Elinor in 1938. Kathleen Morrison, the wife of Harvard English Professor Theodore Morrison, was Frost's friend and principal day-to-day protector until his death in 1963.

She remains a protector in her recollections, which favor Frost and reticence. Still, she does not turn aside from what must be admitted about the man. When he was angry, she recalls, he would sometimes hide in the woods near his farmhouse, apparently hoping that his friends would think that he had come to harm. In the years after Elinor's death, she notes, "his incautious use of pills always stopped short of the ultimate message it was meant to convey."

Frost owned a succession of farms in Vermont; during the winter he lived in Boston and later in Cambridge. He was a "halfway farmer," although the half sometimes got out of hand—as when in 1940 it became necessary to eat outdoors at Frost's Ripton, Vt., farm because he had installed a tribe of 100 baby chicks in his kitchen. Eventually a way of life worked itself out: Frost allowed Kathleen Morrison and her husband (then director of the Breadloaf Writers Conference) to live summers in the Ripton farmhouse while the poet moved to a nearby cabin during the warm months. She cooked his meals, handled his correspondence, and provided massive daily doses of stability.

Mrs. Morrison had been a hero-worshiper since 1918, when she and other students invited Frost to lecture at Bryn Mawr. He attracted a large circle of personal and professional friends—Mrs. Morrison very much near the head of the list—who thought his pouts and tantrums worth putting up with, and who [illegible] spired elaborately to ease him thro[illegible] the last half of his life.

Whatever largeness of nature F[illegible] believed himself capable of is now [illegible] ible almost entirely in his great bod[illegible] poetry. Kathleen Morrison fo[illegible] mostly on the small things that we[illegible] making Frost the man. He kne[illegible] well. He hated banks, perha[illegible] when he was a young man a [illegible] mocked him for having a small[illegible] earned income. He was a shrewd h[illegible] carpenter. He loved his collie. He[illegible] mortified when he visited Russia [illegible] thought (mistakenly) that he was n[illegible] be permitted to see Khrushchev.

Here is a piece of Frost, written [illegible] diffidence and pictured in a large h[illegible] of welcome photographs, many of t[illegible] done by LIFE's Howard Sochurek [illegible] ing Frost's 1957 visit to England. [illegible] poet is elsewhere, though never s[illegible] mote that he cannot inform any[illegible] that has been written about him. Fo[illegible] ample, these lines from his long p[illegible] on New Hampshire:

I make a virtue of my suffering
From nearly everything that go[illegible]
round me.
In other words, I know wherever [illegible]
I shall not lack for pain to keep
awake.

■ John S[illegible]

GEORGE BROWN—PLYMOUTH STATE COLLEGE COLLECTION



SITTING IN A FAVORITE CHAIR ROBERT FROST WORKS ON A POEM (CIRCA 1915)

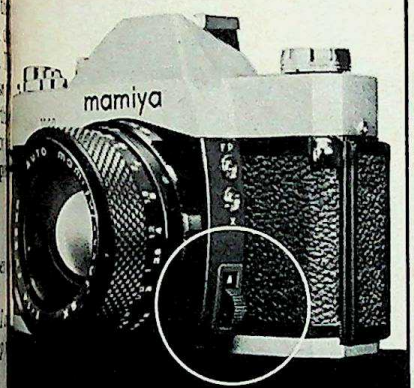
THE POET IN ENGLAND (1957)

HOWARD SOCHUREK



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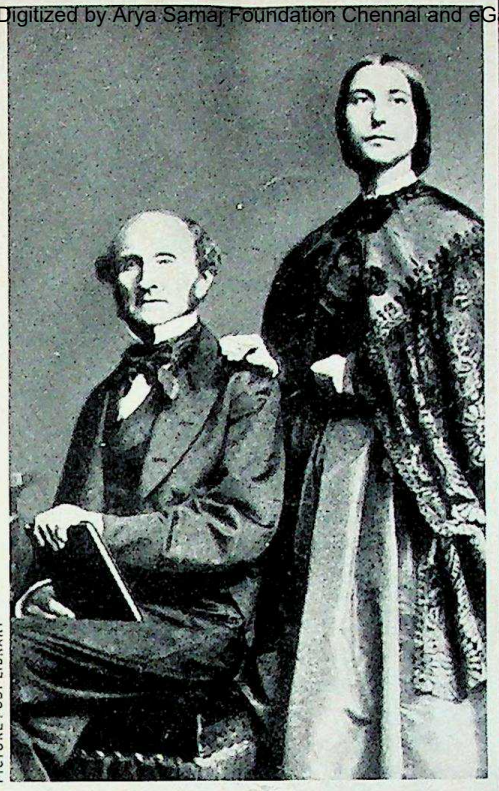


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MILL & STEPDAUGHTER HELEN TAYLOR

Freedom How?

ON LIBERTY AND LIBERALISM: THE CASE OF JOHN STUART MILL
by GERTRUDE HIMMELFARB
345 pages. Knopf. $8.95.

What a delicious irony Gertrude Himmelfarb suggests: behind every hippie crying "Do your own thing" and "Let it all hang out" stands an uptight Victorian with tics and twitches. Her Exhibit A is that pre-eminent Victorian John Stuart Mill, child protégé and author of *On Liberty* (1854). Himmelfarb, professor of history at the City University of New York and author of *Victorian Minds,* constructs a careful case about Mill as the sponsor of what she takes to be the fallacious modern argument that since liberty is good, the more liberty the better.

She begins with Mill's revealing vocabulary. His approved words—originality, spontaneity, diversity, choice—smack of today's obsession with individual expression for its own sake in ways she scarcely needs to emphasize. So do the proposals the words support. Mill's gospel was that the individual could fulfill himself only in a climate of maximum freedom, and that the fulfillment of the individual was the supreme purpose in life. Could anything sound more contemporary? Indeed, Professor Himmelfarb dares to say that *On Liberty* has "far more" in common with our times than with Mill's.

Why did Mill write *On Liberty* when he did? Contrary to still-popular opinion, Victorian England was far from a world of class suppression and psychological repression. The established church had slipped in moral authority. Even sex was under a less terrible ta-

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boo than has sometimes been assumed. That has been proven by recent explorations of the pervasiveness of Victorian pornography (albeit hidden). Mill was preaching liberty to the converted, Himmelfarb argues, except in the area of women's liberation. In his essay *The Subjection of Women,* Mill protested that "the social subordination of women" stood out as "an isolated fact in modern social institutions; a solitary breach of what has become their fundamental law." Mill wrote *On Liberty,* Himmelfarb submits, in order to make the broadest statement of enfranchisement to that half of the human race who had not yet recognized that they had been disenfranchised.

The central figure in Himmelfarb's thesis is Harriet Taylor, the imposing feminist whom the not so liberated Mill married two years after her first husband's death in 1849. Mill just met her in 1830, beginning 21 long and proper years of platonic intimacy. Widow of a prosperous merchant and mother of three children, this humorless firebrand longed for the Irish to stage a revolution to match France's, adding: "The Irish would, I should hope, not be frightened but urged on by some loss of life." As Himmelfarb indicates, Mill was not only "deferential" to Harriet's every wish but "respectful of her every opinion, quick to reverse himself on any issue." In the dedication to *On Liberty,* he characterized Harriet as "the inspirer, and in part the author, of all that is best in my writings." And Himmelfarb sees enough of Harriet's single-minded radicalism in the essay to pronounce her a collaborator in its spirit if not in its prose.

Natural Feeling. Nobody reads Mill today. If people did, Himmelfarb warns, they would discover a man who is often in contradiction with Harriet's Mill, the author of *On Liberty.* This other Mill spoke suspiciously of the "desires and impulses" and the "natural feeling" that the *Liberty* Mill so glorified. Mill understood that human nature was so far from naturally good that the ultimate object of education should be "restraining discipline." The man to whom conformity, obedience and even law were dirty words could demand, in another mood, the retention of capital punishment and call for a penal code "strengthening our punishments" rather than "weakening them."

In short, a conservative Mill dwelt within the liberal Mill, and in fact tended to dominate everywhere but in *On Liberty.* Here, Himmelfarb insists that Mill, under the goading of the formidable Harriet, became more radical than he realized or wanted to be. In extending the common piety about freedom of speech to freedom of action, he committed an act of intellectual subversion for which the 20th century has paid with the impossible drunken dream of total freedom. Lord Acton's dictum —power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely—we have learned all too well. It is time, Professor Himmelfarb cautions, that we pay equal attention to another law: liberty too can corrupt, and absolute liberty can corrupt absolutely. ■ Melvin Maddocks

High on Holmes

THE SEVEN-PER-CENT SOLUTION
by NICHOLAS MEYER
253 pages. E.P. Dutton. $6.95.

Half a century after his final bow, Sherlock Holmes remains the best-known character in English fiction. With the possible exception of Hamlet and Don Quixote, he may be the most recognizable creation in all literature. The man in the deerstalker cap is the subject of a full-length biography (*Sherlock Holmes of Baker Street,* by William Baring-Gould), the center of a club (the Baker Street Irregulars) and a palpable presence wherever police congregate, from Scotland Yard to Watergate. Less than two months ago, Samuel Rosenberg probed the sources of Sir Conan Doyle's imagination in *Naked Is the Best Disguise* (TIME, June 24).

Now Novelist Nicholas Meyer *(The Love Story Story, Target Practice)* has seen fit to bring back Holmes himself in *The Seven-Per-Cent Solution,* coyly subtitled, "Being a Reprint from the Reminiscences of John H. Watson, M.D." The publisher thought enough of the book's potential popularity to order a first printing of 25,000 copies. In brief, Sherlock *lives.* Why?

To Ellery Queen, it is the very inimitability of the master—hardly a Holmesian exists who has not mentally attempted to compose a further ad-
ture of the world's first consulting
tective. To Critic Edmund Wilson
"the wit and fairy-tale poetry of
som cabs, gloomy London lodging
lonely country estates." Meyer
the basis of Holmes' immortality
ply as the story of a friendship: the
tellectual rationalist and his imm
physician-confidant, a man of in
joust, the stolid, substantial, late
doctor . . . Sigmund Freud.

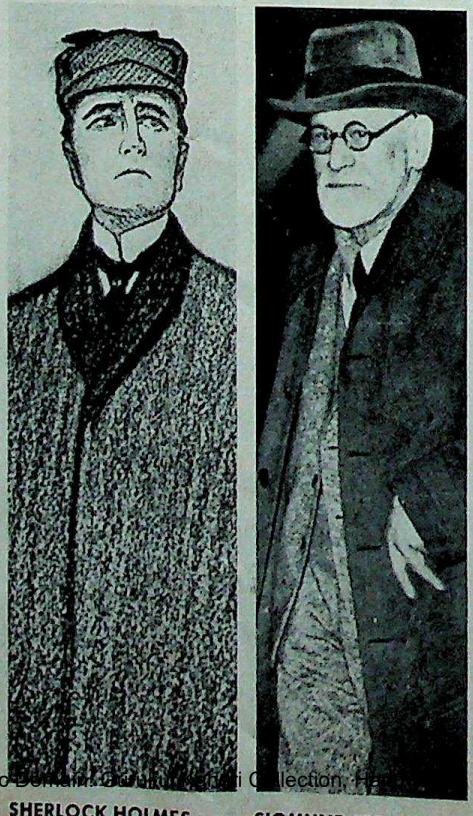
Sigmund Freud?

Rudimentary, says Meyer, Hol
was mainlining cocaine *(cf. The
of the Four);* Freud, at the same
riod, had effected some dramatic
cures. What could be more logical
a meeting of the two most original m
of the Victorian epoch? The noti
at once revolutionary and traditi
Two decades ago, in *A Study in
ror,* Ellery Queen affected to find
gitive manuscript of Dr. John H.
son, M.D. It told of Holmes' purs
one John the Harlot Killer, also k
as Jack the Ripper. For *The Seven-
Cent Solution,* Meyer "uncovers"
other manuscript, detailing the ad
tures of the stately Holmes of Eng
in his struggle against the tempta
of "nose candy." He also trots o
the old Baker Street regulars: Tob
relentless mongrel; the world's lon
suffering landlady, Mrs. Hudson; M
croft, Sherlock's corpulent elder bro
and Dr. James Moriarty—in a new
as innocent bystander.

No Choice. Careering about
enna, Holmes and his cadre become
volved with that cornerstone of
toriana, the Amnesiac Lady in Dis
played by the breathtaking Norma
borne Slater. When she is kidnaped
Warmonger Baron Von Leinsdorf—
plans to blow up Europe—Holmes
no choice. With his faithful M.D.s W
son and Freud, the sleuth engages
transcontinental chase scene, hol
the fate of Western civilization in
calm of his hand.

Unhappily, a few technical
tend to glare in this splendid postc
to the Holmes legend. The detec
would surely have known how to
nounce Dostoyevsky; Freud sends P
deutsch telegrams ("Services were
the great English detective gratis
fered") but speaks in person like a
tivated Anglophile. Moreover, W
tends to shine in this pastiche
Holmes appears rather dim, slow
duce and loath to act. It may be th
sult of all that dope.

On the other hand, the mental
argy may have a more elementary
After Doyle had killed off his cr
at the Reichenbach Falls, public
mand forced a resurrection. For
thereafter, Sir Arthur delighted in
ing a Cornish boatman who must
think, sir, when Holmes fell over
cliff he may not have killed h
But he was never quite the same



SHERLOCK HOLMES

SIGMUND FREUD

A meeting of two original minds

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"Our Datsun-fast, sporty, reliable: We love it"



Robert Lim and his wife pose by their car in front of a park near Singapore harbour.

married my wife and bought
Datsun at about the same time,
I'm happy with both.
like to drive fast. I've dropped
body and fitted racing tyres.
n better for cornering.
they look good. Really good.
metimes I go bowling.
mostly I use the car to drive to Jurong, Singapore's main industrial area. It's 15 miles west of the shipping company where I'm assistant manager.

"Recently I drove with my wife up the east coast of Malaysia. About 400 miles there and 400 miles back. The car handled well, even though the road was pretty rough in parts.

"We've had stereo fitted so we could listen to pop music on the journey.

"It's got a nice, sporty stick-shift, the Datsun. Can't think of anything wrong with it. Nothing at all.

"I think it's fair to say our marriage got off to a pretty good start!"

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DATSUN

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Come to where the flavor is. Come to Marlboro Country.



Marlboro, the number one selling cigarette in the world.

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TIME



FORD ON THE MOVE

STARTING THIS WEEK:

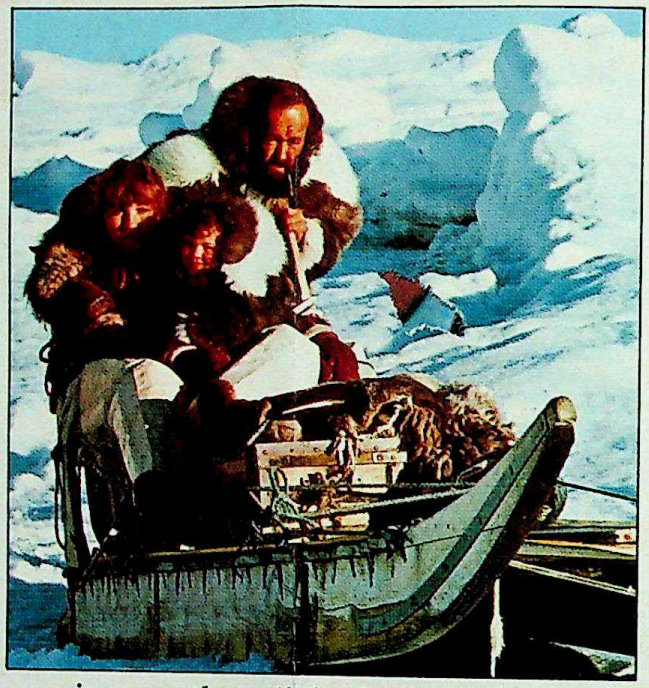
SPECIAL SUMMARY OF KEY STORIES

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There isn't much room on a sledge. Wally Herbert's Rolex had to earn its place.

Up to three generations ago the Polar Eskimos thought they were the only people on earth. Now, inevitably, their culture is changing. Wally Herbert set out for North West Greenland in 1971 with his wife and baby daughter, to spend two years filming the hard, hunting life of this isolated tribe while it was still possible.



Wally Herbert travelled more than 3,000 miles by dog sledge over glaciers and frozen sea. He wore his Rolex all the time. From his previous trips to the polar regions he knew it was utterly dependable. In fact he claims that without it he would not have found his way across the Arctic Ocean via the Pole in 1968-69.

The case of the Rolex Oyster is smooth, polished and timelessly elegant. But Wally Herbert can tell you that it's extremely tough.

You'll see no seam around the Oyster case. It's one solid piece of 18ct. gold, platinum or stainless steel. The patented Rolex winding crown has an ex strength too, screwing down into the case rather like a submarine hatch; providing a complete impenetrable seal against d and water.

The Polar Eskimos sti believe that they alone a real men — 'inuit', proud hunters of bear and walr To share even part of the lives needed courage and persistence.

Wally Herbert once sa about his work: "You should always try to do more than your share." The Rolex craftsmen feel that this has always been their watchword, too.

ROLEX
of Geneva

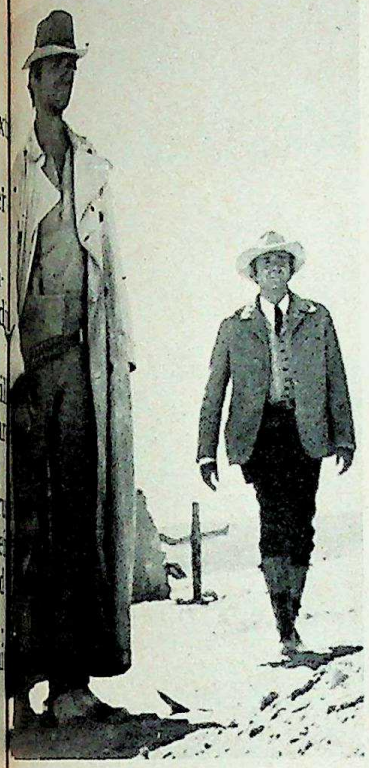
You can tell by the men who wear them.



Pictured: The Rolex Explorer in stainless steel with matching bracelet.

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पुस्तकालय
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गुरुकुल काँगड़ी



HENRY FONDA IN *NOBODY*

Western Whopper

MY NAME IS NOBODY
Directed by TONINO VALERII
Screenplay by ERNESTO GASTALDI

Jack Beauregard (Henry Fonda) may be "the last hope for law-and-order in the West," but he is sick of the responsibility, not to mention the danger that goes with it. Take this fast-draw artist (Terence Hill) who insists his name really is Nobody, but who may want to become Somebody by outdrawing Jack. Who needs him, especially when there is a boat leaving New Orleans for Europe in a couple of weeks? There only a heart attack can cause a man to drop dead in the middle of a street.

For a while it looks as if *My Name is Nobody* is going to be just another retelling of the familiar story of the gunfighter who wants to quit but cannot. Fate reckons without Nobody, who turns out to be perhaps the first gunfighter groupie. He wants Jack to go out in style and assure his place in history by taking on not three or four baddies but the whole damn Wild Bunch—150 strong. Jack is reluctant; the kid persists. In the end he maneuvers Jack into legendary status.

It is all very satisfying, but even better is the way Director Valerii has embellished a traditional western plain song with eccentric bursts of baroque invention. A disciple of Sergio Leone, inventor and master of the spaghetti western, Valerii has found a way to have fun with his form without indulging in parody or resorting to bloody excesses that have marred so many recent westerns. There is his handling of the Wild Bunch, which he converts into a menacing abstraction: a cloud of dust, a thunder of hoofs, an excess rendered so mysterious by distance that it is hard to know whether to laugh or be scared.

Fonda may now have to don steel-rimmed glasses before he can draw a bead on his targets, but he is still a great American presence, an icon to be reckoned with. The blond, blue-eyed Hill blends the spirit of a devilish boy with an adult's competence in the hard moments of a hard trade. You half expect him to pull a toad out of his holster, and you never quite believe that he can draw thrice in the time it takes ordinary men to draw once. And you shouldn't. For this is not the legendary West, but the tall-tale West, where realistic detail is introduced merely to lend credence to one of the year's most expert whoppers. ■ Richard Schickel

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Strictly Kosher

THE MAD ADVENTURES OF "RABBI" JACOB
Directed by GÉRARD OURY
Screenplay by GÉRARD OURY and DANIELLE THOMPSON

In a burst of rabid optimism common to their species, the Stateside distributors of this perishable French farce report that the movie contains "1,500 separate gags." How did such a statistic turn up? Did 20th Century-Fox survey theaters in France, where *The Mad Adventures of "Rabbi" Jacob* has been doing the kind of business that virtually subsidizes an entire industry? Maybe the director supplied the eager exhibitors with a laugh count made on the metric system and an error was made in the conversion. Maybe something was lost in the translation.

In order to accept for a moment—in the name of good sportsmanship and the brotherhood of nations—that there are 1,500 gags in this movie, then it must be added that approximately 1,498 are not funny. No one ever said that gags have to be funny, of course. It helps if they are, but that may be asking too much. Certainly it is of the people involved with this movie

have noticed the stubborn absence of humor or the manic mugging by the star, Louis de Funès, whose exertions make Jerry Lewis look, by comparison, like Alfred Lunt. De Funès likes to pop his eyes out, fast and wide, like two billiard balls bouncing off the side cushion. He is ever choleric, his veins on the point of rupture, like a man who has been mud-splattered by the bus he just missed.

Oh yes, the plot. De Funès appears as a racist bourgeois, a prideful Catholic preparing for his daughter's wedding. His chauffeur, who is Jewish, has relatives arriving from New York. There is a car accident, but the chauffeur refuses to help, since it is after sundown Friday—the start of the Sabbath, when Orthodox Jews do not work—so De Funès must extricate himself all on his own. Meanwhile, near the crash scene a gang of Middle Eastern terrorists chases after one of their political leaders, trying to torture information about the underground out of him. De Funès stumbles on their hideout, hooks up with the leader, is chased by the terrorists, shows up at the airport, switches identities with a couple of Orthodox rabbis—his chauffeur's relatives—is transported to an enormous welcoming celebration, is asked to preside over a bar mitzvah, all the while being chased by the terrorists because he is still in the company of the political leader, also disguised as a rabbi. De Funès cannot, of course, get out to his daughter's wedding, so his wife is furious, his daughter weeping . . .

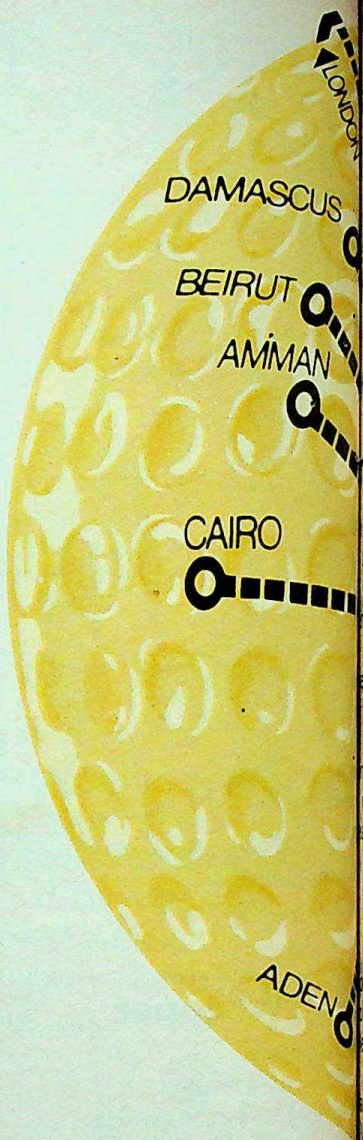
Enough already. ■ Jay Cocks



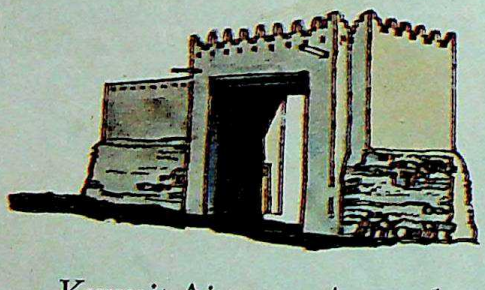
DE FUNÈS IN *"RABBI" JACOB*

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Kuwait Airways. Around the Arabian Gulf we are the professionals. For 21 years we have been speeding business to and through Kuwait.

We fly to all the key points on the Gulf. And we link with all the important cities of the Middle East. No other international airline makes Gulf business so easy for you. Have your travel agent check our schedules so you can see for yourself.

Our business expressway stretches from Bombay through Kuwait to London.

We offer nonstop service into Kuwait from Delhi, Athens, Rome and London. And from Tehran, Baghdad, Damascus, Beirut, Amman, Cairo and Aden.

Our nonstop Delhi-Kuwait flies on Thursday. We fly four flights a week from Bombay and two from Karachi via Abu Dhabi or Dubai. All timed to reach Kuwait to meet onward connections across Europe to London.

On many of our Gulf flights you simply go straight from one plane to another. Which means, for example, that Abadan, Bahrain, Dhahran and Doha may be no more than an hour away.

If you do have to stay in Kuwait overnight, that's easy, too. Our flights make sure you get to your hotel in good time to settle in comfortably. You can then fly on at a convenient time next morning.





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3330 PAMe

Is a Mercedes-Benz a sporting car, a luxury car, an economy car or a safety car?

Yes.

ambitious claim – but Mercedes-Benz
an ambitious car maker, determined
build not just normal cars but better
s.

And that means performance versa-
e enough to meet all the differing needs
today's driving.

Small wonder that the Mercedes en-
eers take 20 per cent more time than
normal to develop a new model: five
ars on the average instead of four.

Sporting characteristics: A matter of technology first and styling second.

orting cars excel in areas like road-
ding and stability: so does every
rcedes-Benz.

For instance, a car shouldn't suddenly
t to one side in gusty side-winds. And
Mercedes doesn't. It reacts gently to that
arming" effect, deviating only gradu-
from its path.

A matter of careful engineering ground-
rk. A low centre of gravity; a wide track;
ong wheelbase; balanced distribution
axle loads; aerodynamically sound body
sign.

Smart styling can conceal poor running gear – until you take a long trip.

Some cars today, there is less than
eets the eye. Dramatic styling can mask
diocre components – engineering
rtcuts that translate into fatigue, dis-
fort and a sense of insecurity over
miles.

Not with Mercedes. The deeper you
k, the more you find to admire. The fur-
you drive, the more you trust the car.
Some trustworthy Mercedes ingredi-
s: Diagonal swing-axle with independ-
wheel suspension, precisely located
eels and tenacious roadholding. Firm
spension with gas-filled shock absorb-
to prevent "pitching." Anti-dive con-
to retard nose-diving in hard braking.
Recirculating ball steering to eliminate the need for constant steering corrections. A built-in steering shock absorber that helps muffle the effects of bumpy roads before they can reach the steering wheel.

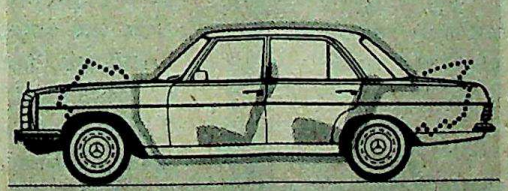
"The car must obey the driver – not the other way around."

An old Mercedes axiom.

There are 30 years of safety research behind every Mercedes-Benz.

Mercedes safety is not tacked on. It comprises more than 100 design features and fittings, carefully integrated into a total safety design. From the rigid "safety cell" body shell to a deformable instrument panel, built to yield under impact in progressive stages. From a laminated glass windscreen to patented safety door locks.

You will discover four safety design features in the Mercedes steering system alone. Padded steering wheel hub, impact absorber, telescopic column, and a steering box placed well behind the front axle.



The safety-cell principle. Distortion-resistant passenger compartment and progressively yielding, energy-absorbing front and rear sections.

Mercedes-Benz believes that there is only one way for a car maker to approach safety: thoroughly and seriously.

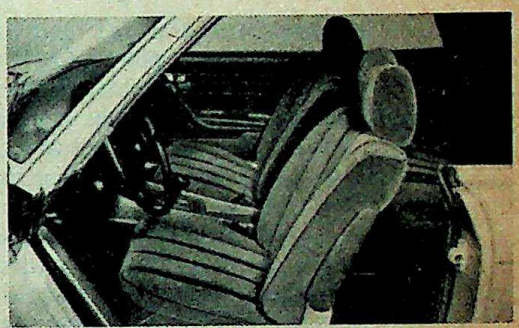
Even the luxury is functional.

Mercedes stresses the luxury of painstaking design, not just gadgets and decor.

What good are the softest seats, when you squirm with a backache after two or three hours?

What's the use of a pushbutton radio, if you can't hear it at 100 km/h?

What's the point of elegant interior styling, if you switch off the headlights instead of the windscreen wipers while driving at night?



Seat springing and suspension tuned for maximum comfort.

Mercedes comfort is seats you can sit in comfortably after six hours. Quiet conversation, even at 180 km/h. Functional placement of every control. And overall, a feeling of freedom and confidence.

Cheap cars die young. A Mercedes lives longer.

Over a basic phosphate protective coat, each new Mercedes is lavished with up to five layers of paint. Underbody, wheel arches, longitudinal members and the underside of the luggage-compartment floor carry a thick coating of underseal. A special wax is sprayed into all cavities subject to corrosion.

Before a new seat enters production, its suspension must survive 300,000 load changes on a vibrating rig. This corresponds to a distance of 500,000 km. Every engine, every rear axle, every gearbox is checked individually on the test stand.

Take a test drive in a Mercedes-Benz soon. You will find nothing missing; we left nothing out.

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Mercedes-Benz

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A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

A great many Americans feel that the press fails to listen to them attentively, and fails to give them a chance to speak up or talk back. This week we introduce two features in response—or at least partial response—to this sentiment. One is Forum, a revamped Letters section, open to comment from readers, prominent and otherwise. The second is Soundings, a scientific polling of opinions and trends in American society.

In a typical week nowadays we get 1,300 letters. Since the spring of 1973, Watergate has inspired 40,000 pieces of mail, many of them eloquent and impassioned. In order to provide a better showcase for all kinds of opinion, Forum, which replaces the old Letters section, will run in the middle of the magazine and be given more prominent display. The first Forum deals with, among other topics, amnesty for Nixon, his resignation and its meaning. Some of the writers, such as William Ruckelshaus and Norton Simon, are well known; others are not. Future contributors are invited to spell out their views about subjects treated in TIME as well as on other topics of current interest. We hope for thoughtful, substantial and provocative statements—and, within limits, we expect to give them the space they deserve.

■

To complement Forum's individual expressions, Soundings, a poll jointly planned by TIME and the opinion-research firm of Yankelovich, Skelly & White, Inc., will appear roughly four times a year. Its major innovation is a carefully designed set of indicators of politics and social trends. These are based on responses over a period of time to a set of related questions. One such indicator, for example, is economic stress, and it is clearly rising. Others are conservatism and social resentment. The survey deals with matters that can never be as concretely measured as economic factors, such as the G.N.P. or the unemployment rate; but shifts in our indicators, we think, can be taken as significant barometer readings of the changing social-political climate. After Watergate, and as the 1976 elections approach, America is once again becoming concerned with a variety of other very specific issues and problems. By being highly sensitive to public issues, we hope Soundings will be especially useful and illuminating in this era.

■

Also making its debut in this issue is *A Guide to This Week's* TIME, a sampler of the issue's contents in summary form. We hope that the guide will not only reflect the breadth of our magazine but quickly point our readers to some of its most interesting stories.

Ralph P. Davidson

The Cover: *Photograph by Dirck Halstead.*

Cover Story 23
Art 49
Books 58
Business 54
Cinema 1
Economy 36
Education 48
Environment 46
Forum 40
Law 50
Market Week 8
Medicine 51
Milestones 56
Modern Living 53
People 42
Press 43
Science 44
Sexes 47
Sport 52
U.S. 22
World 10

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p. 23

A Guide to This Week's TIME

COVER STORY, page 23: In his first week in the W House, President Ford has brought a new mood of bility and accommodation to the American presidency has clearly signaled his desire to reach compromises Congress rather than to pursue the confrontational st politics that so often seemed to be Richard Nixon's t mark. Last week this approach reaped early results, reached an agreement with congressional leaders on a stalled bill that would give his Administration author engage in a new round of trade negotiations. Ford's mal personal style also provides a refreshing contrast predecessor. In its cover story and companion pieces United States section this week, TIME examines Ford proach to the presidency and the worldwide reaction accession.

WORLD, page 10: As Turkish troops and fighter p fanned out to take control of one-third of the island prus, frustrated Greek citizens turned their wrath o U.S., which, they feel, betrayed Greece in its most de ate hour. There were harsh words for U.S. Secretary o Kissinger, and much applause for the government's sion to pull Greek troops out of NATO. The Greek that the U.S., by its neutrality, had tilted toward Turkey

Page 12-13: Even though Turks comprise only 18% o prus' population, the Turkish government says Turkish riots are entitled to 30% to 40% of the island's terri "After all, Turkish Cypriots are mostly farmers, and ers need land," Turkish Foreign Minister Turan Güne TIME in an interview. "Our army will see to it that get it," Günes added confidently.

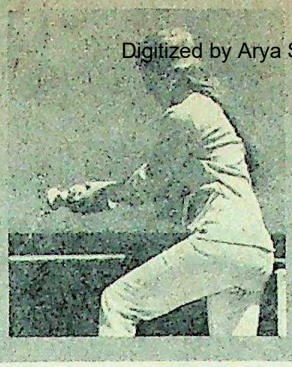
Page 16-17: Ironically, the assassination of Mrs. Chung Hee has bolstered—at least temporarily—suppor her husband's repressive regime. The national mourn over her death has created a wave of popular sympathy Park and has lent credence to his claims that his gov ment is threatened by violent opposition.

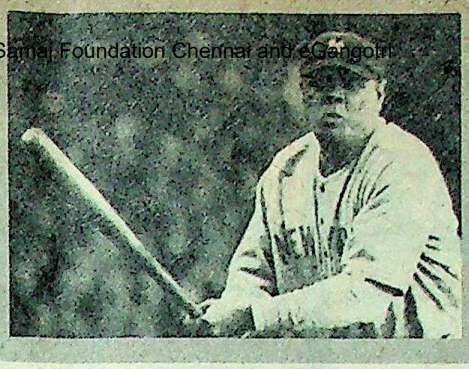
Page 18-19: The Soviet press has invented its own ver of how and why Richard Nixon was forced out of the W House. According to the Soviets, Nixon was victimize the Democrat-controlled Congress and by a brainwash campaign mounted by the press. The Soviet account bea tle resemblance to reality, but it does avoid embarras Party Chairman Leonid Brezhnev, who had aligned h self with Nixon in his efforts to build détente.

THE U.S., page 22: While Americans tend to dread prospect that their ex-President might end up in jail, prospect continues to be a distinct possibility. Neither

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p. 47 p. 53 p. 58 p. 42

...r President Ford seems actively interested in de... way to grant Richard Nixon immunity from pros... If immunity is not granted, Special Prosecutor Leon ...ki would seem to have little choice but to bring crim... ...rges against Nixon.

...ONGS, page 33: Seventy percent of Americans feel ...n is the U.S.'s most serious problem, and 28% con... ...emselves to be in deep financial difficulty. These are ...e key findings in a new poll commissioned by TIME ...erica's mood. The poll also indicates that a rising ...e of Americans resent the general trend of American ... In particular, they rebel at the decline of traditional ...nd at the emergence of a new social morality that en... ...s pornography and permissiveness.

...OMY, page 36: Even though the accession of Ger... ...rd to the American presidency has infused the U.S. ...important psychological lift, America's pressing eco... ...problems remain undiminished. The stock market re... ...this harsh reality last week when it slid to its lowest ...four years. There was more bad news about the dam... ...drought has brought to the nation's grain crops. Up... ...ressure on food prices will surely add new kindling ...ion's fires. With 110,000 coal miners planning a one... ...walkout this week, labor, which is anxious to over... ...ation, remains in a combative mood. Ford has not ...his stamp on economic policy, but the issue looms ...ost important challenge.

..., page 42: Alfred Hitchcock, Hollywood's master ...e thrillers, took time off from working on his 54th ...st week to celebrate his 75th birthday. More than ...d-wishers turned out for the party.

...e 16-year-old son of the late black leader Martin Lu... ...ng Jr., is spending his summer as a page at the U.S. ... While he says his work has been "a great learning ex... ...e," young King complains that the legislators' ...s tend to get dull.

...ONMENT, page 46: The state of Maine, at the ...stern tip of the U.S., has come to an important cross... ... Because its coastline and location are highly suitable ...ep-water ports that could accommodate supertankers, ...e has the potential to become an important shipping ...ustrial center. But if it does, the state may have to sac... ...much of the natural beauty and the small-town life... ...that make it one of America's more pleasant places. ...ecently published books argue fervently against large... ...economic development. The authors' viewpoint is in... ...e of a growing skepticism about the ultimate value of ... growth.

THE SEXES, page 47: The Soviet Union has not exactly led the world in the publication of sex manuals, but it is apparently determined not to be left out either. Russia's first government-sponsored sex survey, *Female Sexual Pathology,* has just been published and already commands fantastic prices in the black market. The 189-page illustrated paperback suggests eating caviar and red peppers as an antidote for frigidity and casts a scornful eye on premarital sex, which, it warns, "can be a source of severe psychic disturbances."

MODERN LIVING, page 53: Burials at sea are becoming a new vogue in California, America's most fertile breeding ground for social invention. By the thousands, Californians are joining clubs that will provide for the scattering of members' remains over the Pacific Ocean after their deaths. Economics is one important root of the growing interest in sea burials. They cost only about $250 per funeral, compared with the $1,200 to $1,900 that undertakers normally charge for land burials. The practice has become popular enough that established funeral parlors in California are beginning to add sea burials to their more traditional line of offerings.

BUSINESS, page 54: Even though the world's oil supplies currently exceed demand by 3% to 5%, there seems little immediate hope for a break in oil prices. The Saudi Arabian government still seems interested in lowering the posted price of oil, but it is unlikely to move unless it gets the support of at least one or two other OPEC members. Says a high official of the European Common Market: "Prices will continue to be determined by political, not economic factors."

Page 55: At the end of this year a 40-year ban on the private ownership of gold by Americans will be lifted. The extent of potential demand for the metal is unknown, but some banks are already beginning to make plans to sell gold bars to the public.

BOOKS, page 58: In the opinion of many he was the greatest baseball player who ever lived. Until this year he held the record for the most home runs hit in a career, and his output of extra base hits remains unsurpassed to this day. The legendary Babe Ruth also had a prodigious appetite for both food and women. Once on a road trip to St. Louis, he vowed that he would bed down with every girl in a St. Louis brothel, and he proved true to his word. Robert Creamer, a senior editor of SPORTS ILLUSTRATED, has written the best biography yet on the famed Sultan of Swat. Ruth's zest for life is fully depicted, and some myths that have grown up about this larger-than-life figure are properly debunked.

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Copies of the report are available to advertisers and their agencies from TIME representatives in Bangkok, Hong Kong, Manila, Osaka, Singapore and Tokyo.

MARKET WEEK

On a volume of 51,314,490 shares, the New York Stock Exchange Composite closed at 39.76, down 2.63 for the week ending Aug. 16. The Dow Jones 30 stock industrial average was 731.54, down 45.76; Standard & Poor's 500 stock index was 75.67, down 5.19. Among significant N.Y.S.E. stocks:

Stock	High	Low	Close	Net Change
Allied Chem..	38⅞	35⅞	35⅞	−2½
Alum Co Am..	49½	46⅛	46½	−2⅝
Amer Airlines.	8½	7⅛	8¼	+ ½
Am Brands...	32½	30⅜	31½	−1
Am Can.....	26¼	25	25⅝	− ¼
Am Motors...	7	6⅛	6¼	− ⅝
AT&T.....	44	42⅛	42⅛	−1¾
Anac Cop....	23⅜	22¾	23¼	None
Avon Prod...	30	25¼	25⅜	−4⅝
Beth Steel....	31½	29⅞	30	−1⅛
Boeing.....	19⅛	17⅝	18⅝	+ ¼
Burling Ind...	19½	18¼	18⅝	− ⅝
Burroughs....	90¾	80⅜	81	−8½
Cater Trac...	56¼	52⅛	52⅛	−3⅞
Champ Intl...	16¼	15⅜	15½	− ⅝
Chrysler.....	15	13⅞	14	− ⅞
Clark Equip...	33⅞	28¼	29	−5
Control Data..	22¾	20¼	20⅝	−1¾
Corn Gl Wks.	60	54¾	55	−5⅛
Dow Chem...	67⅞	62½	62½	−4⅜
DuPont.....	151¾	136½	136½	−15¾
Eastern Air...	6⅛	5½	5½	− ½
East Kodak...	90⅜	83½	83½	−6⅛
El Paso N G..	11⅜	10⅜	10¾	− ½
Exxon.....	76¼	70⅞	71⅛	−4⅝
Ford Motor...	44	40⅛	40¼	−4⅛
Gen Dynam..	21¾	19½	19½	−2
Gen Elec....	46¼	41	41⅛	−4½
Gen Foods...	21¾	19¾	19¾	−1⅝
Gen Motors..	44¾	40⅞	41	−3¾
Gen Tel & El..	20⅞	19¾	19⅞	− ⅜
Ga Pac.....	32⅞	29½	30¼	−2⅝
Goodyear...	16¾	16¼	16⅜	− ⅜
Great A & P..	11⅛	10⅝	10⅝	− ⅜
Greyhound...	12½	11⅝	12⅛	− ⅛
Gulf Oil.....	20	18⅞	19	−1
IBM.....	209¾	198½	198½	−10
Int Harv.....	23	21⅛	21¼	−1¾
Int Nickel....	27⅝	25⅞	26	−1⅞
Int Paper....	49	47	47½	−1½
Int Tel & Tel..	19¾	18⅛	19	− ¾
Johns Man...	17½	16⅜	16½	−1
Kraftco.....	35⅝	33¾	33⅞	−1⅜
Kresge SS....	30⅜	26½	27¼	−1⅞
Litton Ind.....	7⅛	6½	6½	− ½
Lockheed....	4¼	3⅝	4¼	None
LTV Corp....	10⅛	9⅝	9⅝	− ⅜
McD Doug...	12⅛	11½	11½	− ½
Merck Co....	67	60	60	−5⅝
3M.....	67	61½	62⅛	−5⅛
Mobil Oil....	40½	37¾	37¾	−2⅜
NCR.....	30¼	29	29¼	−1
Occid Pet....	9¾	8⅞	9	− ½
Owens Ill....	36⅜	34¼	35¼	− ¼
Pac Gas & El.	21⅝	20¼	20⅞	− ⅝
Pan Am.....	3⅛	3	3	− ⅛
Penn Cen....	2	1¾	1⅞	None
Penney J.C...	62¾	55⅞	56	−6⅝
Philip Morris..	48⅛	42¾	43¼	−5
Polaroid.....	26⅝	24¼	24½	−1⅞
Proc Gam....	91	84¾	86⅝	−4⅞
RCA.....	13⅞	12¾	13	− ⅞
Reyn Ind.....	45½	42½	43⅝	−1½
Rockwell Int..	26⅛	23⅝	23¾	−1¾
Sears Roe....	67⅝	63⅝	64½	−2½
Shell Oil.....	44	39¾	39¾	−4¼
Sou Cal Ed...	18¾	17⅝	17¾	− ¾
Std Oil Cal...	26⅝	24⅞	25	−1⅝
Tenneco.....	19⅞	19¼	19¼	− ⅜
Texaco Inc....	25½	24½	24½	−1
Textron.....	18	17⅛	17⅝	+ ⅛
Time Inc.....	37½	33	33	−4½
TWA.....	9	8¼	8¼	− ⅝
UAL Inc.....	19¼	16	17⅛	−1¾
Union Car....	43⅞	41½	42	−1
Utd Aircraft..	27⅝	26	27½	+ ⅝
US Steel.....	46⅝	44⅛	44½	−2⅛
Westinghouse.	13¾	12	12¼	− ½
Woolworth...	13⅞	12¼	12½	− ½
Xerox.....	92¾	85⅜	85⅜	−7⅜

TIME

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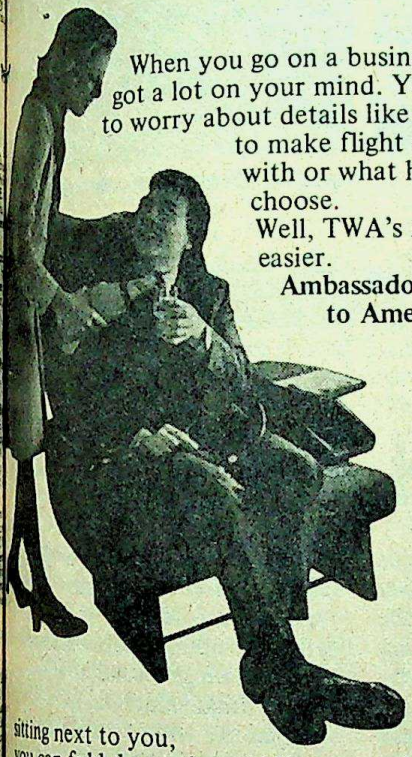
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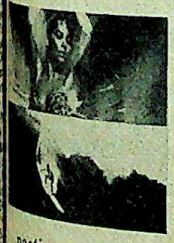
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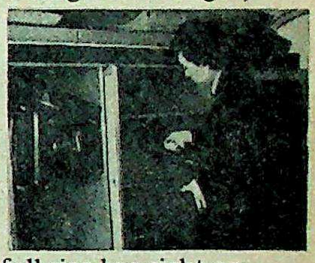
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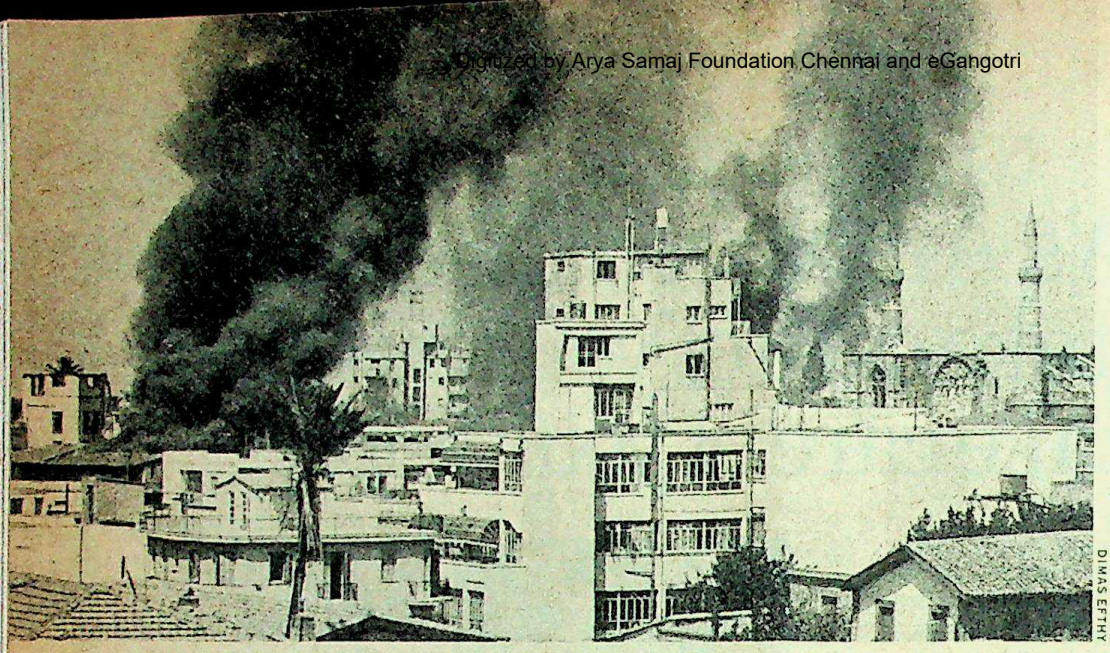
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SMOKE TOWERING OVER NICOSIA AFTER TURKISH ATTACK



TURKISH SOLDIERS ON THE ROAD APPRO

CYPRUS

Bitter Hatred on the Island of Love

Determined to get by force what it could not get at the Geneva negotiating table, Turkey last week again broke the unsteady Cyprus truce. With as much ease as a surgeon wielding a scalpel across the dusky Cypriot plain, Turkish forces supported by tanks, jets and artillery moved out of their previously held strongpoints around Kyrenia and Nicosia and within 40 hours crossed to the other side of the island at Famagusta, neatly taking control of the northeastern third of the island in what well may be a permanent division line between the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities. "Now is the time to settle the Cyprus problem once and for all, and that's what we are doing," pronounced Turkish Foreign Minister Turan Güneş *(see box)*. "Let public opinion embrace the Greeks and cuss us out. We don't care."

Frustrated by its inability to aid the ethnic Greeks on the distant island against Turkey's blatant aggression, the new democratic government of Premier Constantine Caramanlis angrily denounced its NATO allies, particularly the U.S., for not intervening. In a move that may permanently weaken the West in the eastern Mediterranean *(see following story)*, Athens summarily pulled its forces out of the NATO alliance. "NATO is dispensable," Caramanlis, 67, said in a grand De Gaulle–like gesture of independence. "It used us, but when we needed it, it closed its eyes."

The newest Turkish violation of the cease-fire on Cyprus began at dawn Wednesday, less than an hour after the breakdown of peace talks in Geneva. Güneş telephoned Premier Bülent Ecevit in Ankara to report that Greece would not accede to Turkish demands that the island be partitioned into Greek and Turkish Cypriot zones, and that the talks were fruitless. Almost immediately Radio Ankara signaled the code words: "TYK in Force," meaning start the assault. Within minutes, Turkish jets were over Famagusta and Nicosia, making passes in Nicosia's International Airport area and dive-bombing the southwestern part of the city, where the headquarters of the Greek Cypriot National Guard, the civil police and the government radio station are clustered together. Dense clouds of black smoke billowed all over Nicosia, with the loud explosions of Turkish bombs being punctuated by the ineffective bang-bang of Greek Cypriot antiaircraft guns.

Withering Barrage. On the ground, Turk tanks rolled out of the Turkish section of the city they had occupied since the July 20 invasion and thrust toward the suburb of Mia Milea, astride the road to Famagusta 35 miles to the east. A withering barrage of mortar and artillery fire preceded the tanks, and the native Greek forces, outgunned and outmanned, were unable to slow their advance. By early afternoon, the Turks were almost halfway to Famagusta, the island's principal port, its third largest (pop. 43,600) city and the center of its usually booming tourist industry. By Thursday evening, they had reached the old part of the city and rescued 12,000 of the island's Turks, who had been hiding from Greek Cypriots behind the walls of the medieval fortress.

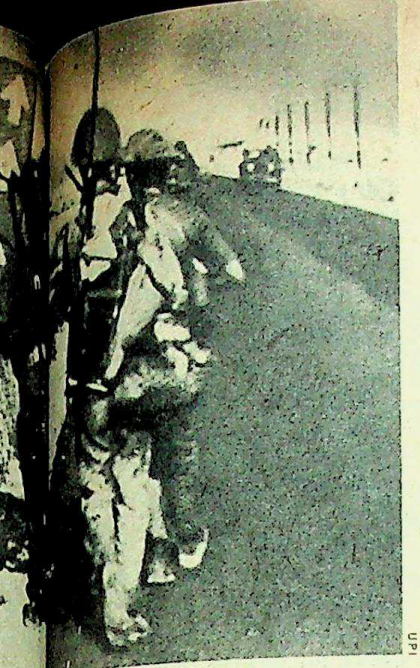
"The new part of the city, which is inhabited mainly by Greeks, was deserted ... smoking ... and ... broken," TIME Correspondent Marlin Levin came in after the Turks. "From the we saw a column of twelve T tanks mopping up the last resistan charred Greek school was pum by Turkish machine-gun fire. S roamed the wide, tree-shaded bou picking out sharpshooters. Turkis diers who had strayed from their were looting abandoned houses."

Finally on Friday, its goals ach Ankara called a unilateral truce an that it was willing to go back to th neva negotiations this week. Gree fused, insisting that it would not t tiate at "the point of a gun," partic since the Turks continued to brea cease-fire in small skirmishes. Thr out the fighting, the over 4,000- United Nations peace-keeping forc been able to do nothing to implem cease-fire demand issued by the S rity Council, and the Turks were scrupulous about protecting U.N. trality. During the fighting, three blue-helmeted soldiers had been k another 23 wounded.

Other casualties were impossi reckon amid the confusion. The ma main psychiatric hospital, with its racks-like buildings, was hit by T jets for the second time in 27 days. 28 more patients were wounded. M been killed in the first attack. M cosians who had a choice had fle city earlier in the week when the neva talks appeared doomed, sc refuge in the villages to the south in the Troodos Mountains. Those who had remained in the city, once had a Greek population of

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BOMBED REMAINS OF FAMAGUSTA

air strike, leaving the Greek sec- of Nicosia nearly deserted. The Red ss reported that as many as 200,000 ek Cypriots throughout the island become refugees.

The Turkish aim seemed to be, as kara claimed, not control of the le island but of a third of it, roughly owing a nearly 70-mile line from Lef- and Nicosia to Famagusta. With this ," as the Turks called it, accom- ished, they felt that a settlement could orked out giving the Turkish Cyp- s their own geographical area in an ed federation. Now the 116,000 kish Cypriots are interspersed in en- es scattered among the 523,000 eks, who have discriminated against and cut them off from sharing in island's general prosperity. The kish area could either be the top d of the island, the Turks reasoned, it could be divided into several sep- ated, Swiss-style cantons. However it figured, or measured, they said, the kish Cypriots would have to have r own third.

Flat Refusal. The Greeks have al- s opposed partition because they sider Cyprus part of Greece culturally, if not politically, and have hoped eventual union. Confronted with the kish military presence on the island, y might conceivably have acceded, wever, had the Turks not demanded uch territory. Since the Turks make only 18% of the island's population, e Greeks believe that Ankara should e asked for no more than a fifth. Ath- s, however, was not even allowed to sider seriously the plan at Geneva to come up with counterproposals. en Greek Foreign Minister George oyiros asked for 36 hours to consult h his government, Güneş flatly re- ed, and the talks broke down with- accomplishing anything during six s of negotiating.

Britain, which had occupied the is- from 1878 to 1960 and along with ece and Turkey is a co-guarantor of gotiations, was also angry—and sec ter—as Athens at the Turkish intransigence and arrogance. British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan said that "what happened was totally unnecessary, and that's not only my view but also that of the U.S. Government, as the Turks have been told. I cannot believe that peace in the eastern Mediterranean depends on 36 hours."

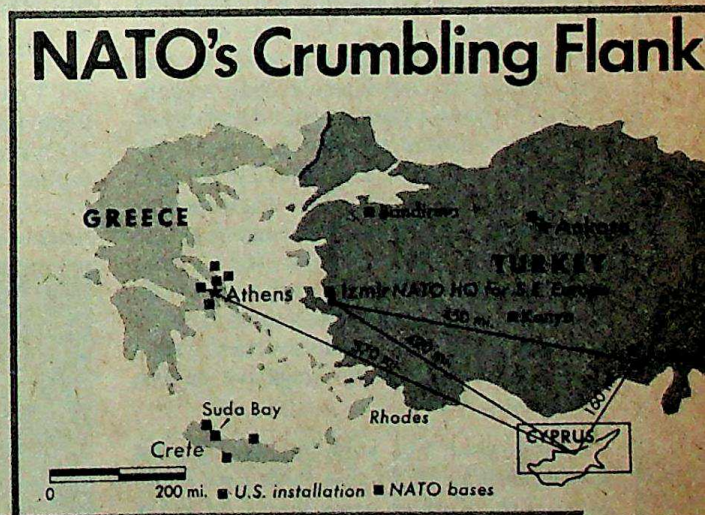
The ability of the Turks to do what they wanted on the island despite international condemnation was, in fact, never seriously questioned. Cyprus is only 44 miles off the Turkish coast, mere minutes from Turkish airbases, and it is easily supplied from Turkish ports. The Greek mainland, by contrast, is 525 miles away; a Greek counterinvasion almost certainly would have been thwarted by Turkish air support and the 40,000 Turkish troops already deployed on the island. The only Greek alternative would have been to attack Turkey on the mainland through Thrace. This, however, would have been even more disastrous for the Greeks. Not only does the Turkish army have almost three times as many men, but the leadership and morale of the Greek army have also been crippled by seven years of a dictatorship that had purged most of the country's best officers.

Despite the unfavorable odds, the Caramanlis regime for a time considered war. More reservists were called up, and tanks rumbled through the streets of Athens on their way to the Turkish border. "If we have to choose between national humiliation and war, the choice is easy," boasted Foreign Minister Mavros before he left for the abortive Geneva talks. For Caramanlis, however, the choice was not so easy, and in a radio and TV address to his nation, he reluctantly admitted that "armed confrontation was impossible due to distance as well as to the known accomplished fact [of the Turkish presence]." In Ankara, the Turks had prepared for a Greek attack, though they—and foreign military observers—considered it would be a suicidal move. "We knew that any dog pushed into a corner would bark and bite," said one Turkish official with chatty insouciance. "Now we Greece was not really pushed into a corner."

If the Greeks wanted to bite anyone —anyone besides Turkey, that is—it was the U.S., which, in Athens' view, had betrayed it in its most desperate hour. The decision to withdraw Greek military forces from NATO, a move specifically directed against Washington as the leader of the alliance, was immensely and immediately popular in Greece, and served as something of a diversion to Greek humiliation at the hands of Turkey. Almost everywhere throughout the country a virulent anti-American mood was evident. Several hundred people demonstrated against the U.S. in downtown Athens, police were called in to guard the American embassy, and hundreds of youths marched on the U.S. consulate in Salonica. An estimated 15,000 people greeted Andreas Papandreou, one of the country's leading leftists and a vocal anti-American, when he arrived at Athens airport after a seven-year exile. "Death to Kissinger!" the crowd shouted.

U.S. Gesture. Besides feeling that the U.S. was siding with the Turks, the Greeks were bitter over what they consider longtime American support of the corrupt military dictatorship that preceded Caramanlis. The whole imbroglio with Turkey could have been avoided, the Greeks believed, if Washington had vetoed the attempt by the Athens dictatorship to overthrow the Nicosia government and bring Cyprus into the Greek orbit, a switch Ankara obviously could not allow.

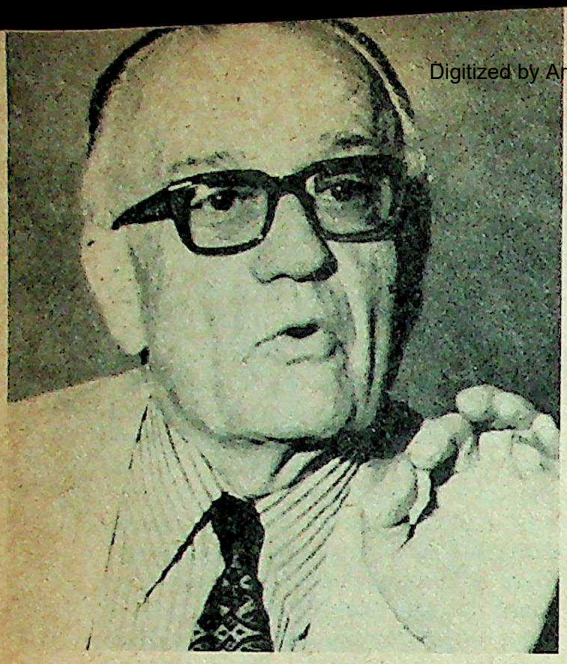
Whatever the Greeks thought about U.S. intentions, Washington claimed neutrality in the Greek-Turkish dispute.





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GREEK MINISTER MAVROS

It was "pure baloney" to say otherwise, said Robert McCloskey, an aide to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. The U.S. threatened to cut off arms aid to both sides if they went to war. Kissinger himself talked with Caramanlis and Ecevit by telephone and urged the Turks not to use further force. He later offered his offices as mediator, either in Nicosia or Washington. In a gesture to placate Greece, the U.S. pulled out Ambassador Henry J. Tasca, who was far too closely identified with the hated dictatorship during his five-year tour, and sent in Jack B. Kubisch, a skilled veteran diplomat who was serving as an Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America. At the same time, President Ford invited Caramanlis to Washington, an invitation the Premier turned down as untimely. Privately, Washington officials felt aggrieved by the Greek attitude. There was, they claimed, the U.S. could do to stop the Turks of using the might of the Sixth Fle

Washington hopes that the G will eventually rejoin NATO and r cile themselves to geographic par and loose federation of the two co nities—perhaps the most sensible tion after all for the island that gave birth, or so mythology would it, to Aphrodite, the goddess of Whatever Athens decides, however turmoil on Cyprus is far from over Greek Cypriots, with their large m ity, are not likely to allow the Turk retain exclusive control of the impor port of Famagusta and a third of th land without a fight. The Greeks w guerrilla warfare for four years ag the British before achieving ind dence for Cyprus. They vow to be d termined against the Turks.

Blunt Voice from Turkey

The key Turkish voice in the Geneva peace talks that collapsed last week was that of Foreign Minister Turan Güneş, 53, a wily, tough bargainer with the roughhewn features of an Anatolian peasant. Before returning to Ankara, Güneş received TIME's *Robert Kroon for a poolside interview at the Turkish diplomatic mission in Geneva and gave his version of why the peace talks went sour.*

Why didn't you give the Greeks and Greek Cypriots the 36-hour recess they requested before ending the talks?

This was just a pretext of [British Foreign Secretary James] Callaghan's to gain time. On the surface the argument that [Greek Foreign Minister George] Mavros and [Greek Cypriot Acting President Glafcos] Clerides had to consult their governments looked valid. But they had direct telephone lines with their capitals, just like the Turks, and they could have consulted their people by phone. All we wanted was separate geographical zones for the two Cypriot communities. Mavros and Clerides wanted to maintain the status quo. If we had accepted the delay they would have come back with negative replies anyway.

Callaghan has said the two Cypriot communities could solve their own problems, if the Turkish army would let them.

It's not the Cypriots who decide the fate of Cyprus. It's the Turks and the Greeks, and all the rest is blah-blah. [Greek Cypriot deposed President] Makarios is still around, and he could have blocked a deal between Clerides and [Turkish Cypriot Leader Rauf] Denktas, and we would be back where we started. Clerides and Denktas have been talking for six years, and Makarios always blocked any plan for the advancement of the Turkish Cypriot community.

The Turks were kept in their place as second-rate citizens. If a Turkish Cypriot wanted to travel abroad, he had a hard time getting a passport from the Makarios administration, unless he wanted to emigrate to Australia. Then they were delighted to give him a passport and pay for his fare—one way. Turkish Cypriot farmers received less for their produce than Greek Cypriots. There are hundreds of other examples of discrimination. The only solution is to give Turkish Cypriots a fair share of the island. But here in Geneva Mavros and Clerides did not move an inch on this point of principle.

What do you consider a fair share?

That is negotiable. Callaghan came to me and said, "Do you really want 34% of Cyprus for 18% of the population?" I replied, "Well, we might even settle for 40%," but he did not appreciate the I can assure you we will not occupy Cyprus and certainly not the British ereign bases. I don't agree that 3 40% is all that unreasonable. Afte Turkish Cypriots are mostly far and farmers need land. Our army see to it that they get it.

Doesn't your action under NATO?

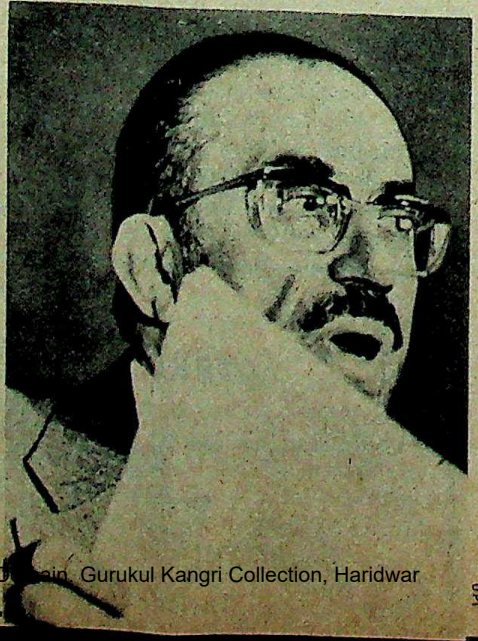
The Greek withdrawal from was an act of emotional exaggera Everybody is blaming us because Greeks are now the Western w darling underdogs. But once this is settled, I am sure they will retu the NATO alliance. We're getting tired of Mr. Callaghan's argument we are undermining Greece's new democracy. [Turkish Premier Bü Ecevit may also have some proble home, for our military is strong as

Will there be a new Geneva p conference?

Maybe, I don't know. We ha settle this affair first. Nobody cares member how many efforts we made to sanitize the Cyprus situa As soon as the new [Greek governo of Constantine] Caramanlis signed Declaration of Geneva after the phase of the peace conference. welshed on it.

But they did start evacuating Tu enclaves.

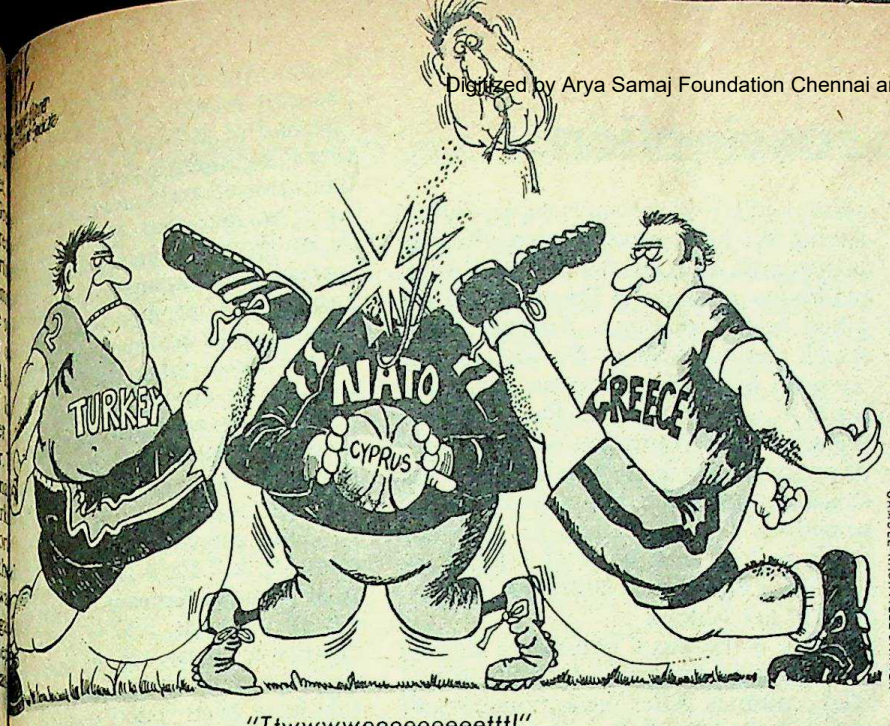
Only for one day. They never an inch. Look, we want to live in p and friendship with Greece. We chase Greek Cypriots out of the Turkish zones, and we hope that T can continue to live in the Gr Cypriot zone. In its new federative Cyprus can remain independent don't want double *enosis* [union Greece and Turkey]. But *enosis* Greece is out as well.



TURKISH MINISTER GÜNEŞ

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"Ttwwwweeeeeeeeettt!"

Gap in NATO's Southern Flank

Whatever the outcome of the fighting on Cyprus, the real beneficiary of the Cyprus crisis will undoubtedly be the Soviet Union—at the expense of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In the first weeks after the overthrow of Cyprus President Archbishop Makarios, it was bad enough for NATO, as it watched the deterioration of relations between two of its members, Greece and Turkey. But the alliance received a shock with Greece's withdrawal last week of its military forces from NATO's integrated command. Greece's departure left a hole in NATO's southeast defenses against the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact.

Almost immediately, many of the 300 Greek liaison officers stationed at NATO installations throughout Europe packed their bags and started home. Greece's 35,000-man Third Army pulled back from its NATO-assigned position at Greece's Macedonian frontier with Bulgaria (a Warsaw Pact member) and headed eastward to Thrace and the Turkish border.

Emergency Session. The Greek action took NATO members by surprise. Joseph Luns, the Dutch secretary-general of the alliance, was vacationing in West Germany's Black Forest when he heard the news. He hurried back to NATO headquarters outside Brussels and immediately convoked an emergency session of the NATO Council. There, Ambassador Christos Choraphas, the permanent Greek representative, officially announced his country's withdrawal. He reassured his former military allies, however, that Greece—for the time being—was remaining in the NATO political structure. After more than two hours of discussion, the Council declared that it had "urgently examined the consequences of the Greek decision," and called upon Greece to reconsider "as soon as possible."

While NATO will certainly survive the departure of Greece, one of the weakest powers in the alliance, it will be hurt tactically—more so even than when Charles de Gaulle withdrew France from the integrated command in 1966. Unlike France, Greece is part of NATO's front line, bordering directly on Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Greece also controls, along with Turkey, the strategically important Aegean Sea, which is the Soviet navy's sole access to the Mediterranean from the Black Sea. "No question that Greece has been considered a key part of the common southern defense system," says a U.S. military expert. "Just look at a map. How do you bridge the huge military gap between Italy and Turkey?"

Lost to NATO now are: the 120,000-man Greek army, equipped with modern American weapons; the 160 jet fighters of the Greek air force that were to provide more than 15% of the combat planes available to NATO's southern command (Greece, Turkey, Italy and the U.S.); and the Greek navy's seven submarines and 13 destroyers and destroyer escorts that helped the U.S. Sixth Fleet in maintaining a balance in the eastern Mediterranean with the increasing Soviet naval presence. No longer will the movement of Greek troops be coordinated by NATO, nor will they participate in joint maneuvers and training exercises. It is even possible that Greece will withdraw from the alliance's computer-operated, early-warning radar system, which runs from the Arctic Circle in Norway to Asia Minor. This would leave part of the periphery of the Warsaw Pact unmonitored by ground radar.

NATO could also lose Greece as a forward base area. Although Athens has not yet ordered NATO forces to leave Greece, as De Gaulle did in France, the alliance's officials fear that they may soon be barred from the large missile firing range and air-weapons training center on Crete. Of even greater importance are America's seven military bases and five communications sites that exist in Greece under a bilateral Athens-Washington treaty not directly related to NATO. Greece could break the treaty, though at week's end, it had given no indication that it would do so. Loss of the sites would deprive America of its antisubmarine warfare base and Sixth Fleet resupply facilities at Crete's Suda Bay (described by one U.S. officer as "one of the best natural harbors in the world"). It would also mean giving up bases on Crete and near the Bulgarian border, where tactical nuclear warheads are stockpiled.

Docking Rights. At present, about 4,000 U.S. military personnel and 6,000 dependents are stationed in Greece, including those attached to the home-port facilities for six U.S. destroyers. The U.S. had also hoped to get docking rights for at least one large aircraft carrier in the country. The Greek bases are important because the next closest facilities available to the U.S. are in Italy, 1,000 miles to the west. Ships based in Italy would take longer to get to their assigned station in the eastern Mediterranean. This would reduce U.S. flexibility in the explosive Middle East.

Such a weakening of NATO and American tactical capability do not go unnoticed by Moscow. While the Greek defection from NATO will certainly not encourage the Soviets to launch an all-out war—U.S. nuclear retaliatory force prevents that—it could embolden the Russians in the Middle East. For example, the Soviet fleet might be tempted in a future crisis to blockade Israeli ports or protect the movements of Syrian and Egyptian warships from Israeli forces. What could be even more disruptive to East-West stability, Russia—despite détente—might dare to intervene in the turmoil in Yugoslavia that is expected to follow the death of the aging Josip Broz Tito. For the past three years NATO units (including Greeks and Turks) have held exercises in northern Greece to practice intercepting Warsaw Pact forces if they move through Bulgaria on their way to invade Yugoslavia. Now, with Athens out of NATO, such a strategy becomes much more difficult and removes at least one deterrent, however minor in the scale of Soviet strategic considerations, to a Russian attack on Yugoslavia.

By leaving NATO, Greece also leaves itself open to attack by the Communist countries to the north, although such aggression at present is highly unlikely. Yet in that volatile area, even the improbable must be considered. American and NATO officials hope that as Greek leaders come to realize their potential danger, they will decide that they need NATO as much as, if not more than, NATO needs them.

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The Accidental Assassination

It was a day of celebration in South Korea, the 29th anniversary of its liberation from 3½ decades of Japanese rule. An audience of 2,000 people gathered in Seoul's National Theater to hear President Park Chung Hee deliver a commemorative address. Halfway through his speech, which was being shown on national television, a man jumped up in the audience and sprinted toward the stage firing shots at Park from a .38-cal. revolver.

Pandemonium broke out. As the assassin raced down the center aisle, spectators leaped from their seats and screamed. Security men rushed toward the stage. Park, displaying the cool aplomb of a professional soldier, ducked behind the bulletproof lectern while his bodyguards returned the fire. A 16-year-old high school girl in the audience was killed in the shootout. Another bullet struck the gunman in the leg; he was wrestled to the floor and carried out of the hall. A third bullet hit Park's charming wife Yook Young Soo, who was seated on the dais directly behind him. Park stoically returned to the lectern and resumed his speech even as his wife was being rushed to a hospital. Mrs. Park died there eight hours later with her husband at her bedside.

MRS. PARK CHUNG HEE



Mrs. Park was a handsome woman of 49 given to dressing in traditional Korean costumes. After the announcement of her death, South Koreans went into mourning. Tens of thousands of people went to the "Blue House," the presidential residence in Seoul, to pay their final respects at a Buddhist altar adorned with her picture. In contrast to her stone-faced husband, the former schoolteacher had earned the affection of the Korean masses through her retiring manners and beguiling smile.

Frantic Investigation. The shooting sparked a frantic investigation of how the would-be killer managed to penetrate the tight security that always surrounds Park. Whenever he ventures into public view, Park is accompanied by brigades of bodyguards. Attendance at the Liberation Day ceremony was by invitation only. Yet Moon Se Kwang, 23, a Korean citizen who was a long-time resident of Osaka, Japan, somehow managed to pass himself off as a Japanese diplomat and to get in carrying a snub-nosed revolver. Moon had entered Korea nine days before on a Jap passport issued in another man's and had $1,200 in his pocket whe tured. Japanese police said that h unemployed and known as a radic ist. The fact that Moon had liv Japan ignited lingering Korean ho toward the Japanese; resentmen came more pronounced when it learned that a Japanese woman helped Moon obtain the fraudulent port. In an attempt to patch up de orating Korean-Japanese relations anese Premier Kakuei Tanaka nounced that he would attend Park's funeral early this week.

That someone would eventual tempt to kill Park was not a grea prise to many Koreans. He has no age of enemies, real or imagined repressive measures he has im since January to shore up his one rule have been widely condemned at home and abroad. Under Park's decrees, nine people have been tri sentenced to death; 162 others have given prison sentences ranging three years to life. Last week Park's military courts sentenced ponents of the regime to stiff terms for plotting to overthrow the ernment. Among them: former dent Yun Po Sun, 76, Roman Ca Bishop Daniel Tji Hak Soun, 5 the Rev. Park Hyung Kyoo, 51, respected pastor of Seoul's Cheil byterian Church. All accepted the mary sentences with moving di Said Yun: "I ask you one question a crime to help democracy?"

Ironically, the shooting is like bolster Park's domestic support. a sobering experience for Korea an intellectual in Seoul. The attack tressed Park's claims that his g ment is threatened by violent oppos Even more, the national mourning the death of Mrs. Park created a of popular sympathy for the Pres that he has never before enjoyed.

SECURITY GUARDS CARRYING MRS. PARK AFTER SHOOTOUT



CBS-AP



WOULD-BE KILLER MOON SE KWANG
Breaching tight security.

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SOVIET UNION

Kremlin Cover-Up on Watergate

To judge by the Soviet news treat- of Richard Nixon's fall from er, the former President was an in- ost hounded from office by political ies and the press. For months, Tass *Pravda* completely ignored the al, presumably to avoid embar- g Party Chairman Leonid Brezh- who had personally aligned him- ith Nixon in negotiating détente who had three times held summit ngs with him. When the official finally noted Nixon's resignation, so with such a mixture of fantasy fallacy that an American would a hard time recognizing the famil- Watergate events. Worst of the dis- Soviet accounts was a special half- television program conducted by of Russia's best-known journalists, id Zamyatin, 52, head of the of- news agency Tass, a sophisticated who has spent considerable time U.S. (including ten days last May); Valentin Zorin, 50, a hard-lining sion commentator.

The two purported to give the in- story of Nixon's fall, but what the ons of Russian listeners heard was thing Nixon's last-ditch defenders e U.S. would have been embar- d to offer. The commentators re- d several times to the "so-called ergate affair" without once explain- or even suggesting that Nixon had anything to warrant removal from e. Neither Zamyatin nor Zorin ever tioned the Watergate break-in, the r-up, the indictments of so many n aides, the Nixon income tax im- ro, the incriminating tapes, the ar- s of impeachment, or the falsehoods the former President admitted in tal Aug. 5 statement.

Instead, the Soviet spokesmen had ple-barreled explanation for what Nixon in: he was 1) victimized by a ocratic Congress, 2) weakened by ation and 3) finished off by "brain- king" of the U.S. public by media. Excerpts from the Moscow cast:

Zamyatin: I would like to empha- that the impulse for this affair came r the Democratic Party suffered de- t. It was in fact used as the chief pon in the interparty struggle, and was given the coloration of a conflict ween the Executive, in the person of President, and the legislative pow- represented by the Congress. Even e because of the result of the 1972 ctions, a Republican President had a ngress which was in fact Democratic. ause in the House of Representatives the Senate, the Democrats had the rwhelming majority. This created a ation in which the President was put situation in getting his in-

ternal legislation through, given his relations with the Congress. I think that the sharpness and heat of this affair were to a considerable degree a continuation of the interparty electoral struggle which began in 1972 after the crushing defeat of the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party had to work out some sort of basis or platform in its preparation for the mid-term election this November and the presidential election for 1976.

Zorin: The complicated and difficult economic situation within the country created a certain backdrop and a certain discontent among the American people. It is indicative that when an opinion poll was taken among ordinary Americans, 80% of them said that they considered the most important thing for themselves was not the interparty squabble in Washington but the economic problems which have arisen before every American. This created the background . . .

Zamyatin: Yes, a certain background. But to this was also added the propagandistic background. I was recently in the U.S. with a Soviet parliamentary delegation, and we had the opportunity to observe all the emotional heat that was being created round the President and round this entire affair through the U.S. mass information media. A very definite brainwashing of U.S. public opinion was taking place both on radio and television, and certainly not in favor of the U.S. President, for internal political motives. Throughout this whole campaign, the chief motive was an internal political one. Here I would cite as an example the following fact: in the history of the U.S., it had never happened that sessions of the House or Senate had been televised live. There is no such practice in the U.S. Congress.* [The TV coverage of the House Judiciary Committee sessions] shows what emotional heat they wanted to give to this entire affair, by putting it in front of public opinion in the U.S.

Why does the Kremlin bother with what amounts to its own fantastic Watergate cover-up? Aside from protecting Brezhnev, the outrageous distortions of what really happened to Nixon are obviously tailored to fit the official conspiratorial view of the U.S. system. Says one Western diplomat in Moscow: "It jibes with what are probably their basic beliefs about how America operates. It also fits the deep-rooted Slavic feeling about plots." Adds a Scandinavian official posted in the Soviet capital: "No one wants to raise the question of popular pressure bringing down a government that lies. Imagine what that could mean here." But Moscow's preposterous Watergate coverage raises another question: whether the concept of détente includes an obligation on the part of Soviet authorities to convey to their people at least some glimmer of truth about the American political system.

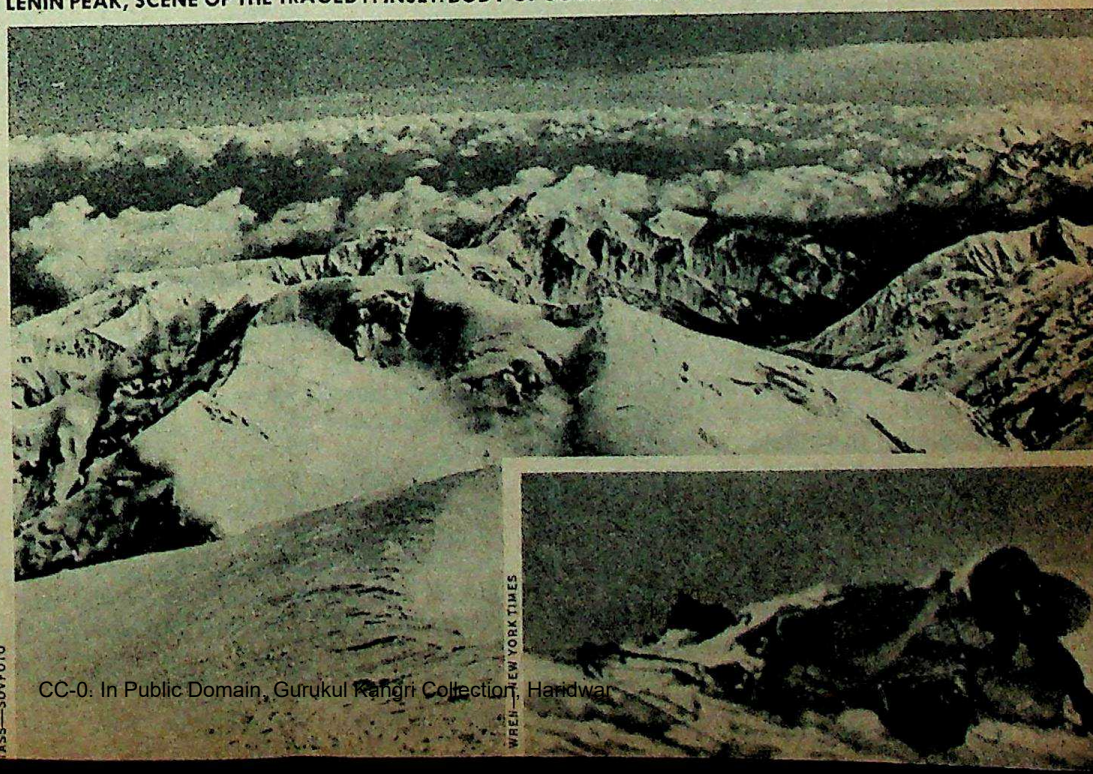
Death at the Roof of the World

"Goodbye. We are going to die."

That grim farewell crackled by radio out of the gale-force winds and blinding snow that swirled through the summit of 23,405-ft. Lenin Peak. By the

*In fact, House and Senate hearings, but not formal committee debates, have been televised on several occasions.

LENIN PEAK, SCENE OF THE TRAGEDY. INSET: BODY OF SOVIET CLIMBER



TASS—SOVFOTO

WIDE WORLD—NEW YORK TIMES

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time nine Japanese and American climbers reached the site a day later, it was too late. All that could be found were the frozen bodies of seven of the eight Soviet women mountaineers who perished while descending the U.S.S.R.'s third-highest peak. It was one of the worst disasters in mountaineering history.

The death of the Soviet climbers climaxed a season of continuing tragedy in the Pamirs, a rectangular region of glaciers and towering mountains that spills over into China and Afghanistan and is sometimes called the roof of the world. All summer, wildly unpredictable weather and bad snow conditions have added to the peril of climbing. Even before the doomed Soviet women began their ascent, six earlier climbers, including five Estonians who were caught in an avalanche, had been killed on Lenin Peak.

Despite the hazards, the Soviet climbers persisted. All were among the most experienced climbers in their country; four of them, including Team Leader Elvira Shatayeva, had scaled Lenin Peak before. This time, they set out to the top along a little climbed route, traversing the mountain from east to west. They reached the summit on Aug. 5 and were preparing to descend when the storm struck.

Final Message. Fierce swirling winds and heavy snow combined to produce a whiteout, obliterating vision. Desperately the women tried to ride out the storm by huddling together in their tents, but the winds ripped the fabric apart, exposing the climbers to sub-zero temperatures. Two days later, they radioed their base camp 10,000 ft. below in the Alai Valley that one team member was already dead and two others were very sick. Two more climbers died during a futile attempt to descend to a warmer, more sheltered position. By afternoon, three of the survivors were so ill they could not move. On the evening of the third day of the storm, the final radio message was sent.

The Japanese and American climbers who discovered the bodies had weathered the storm in camps little more than 1,000 ft. below the summit. Unaware of the tragedy, they stumbled upon the body of Shatayeva lying in the snow. Then they found three other corpses that were sprawled in the tattered remains of a tent. A fifth body was clutching a climbing rope, and two others were strewn down a slope, frozen along with their parkas. Pushing to the summit in an unsuccessful search for the eighth body, the climbers found telltale footprints that led over the edge of the ridge. "It was the weather that killed them," said Christopher Wren, a New York *Times* reporter who was on the expedition. "The Russians said it was the worst in 25 years." If the storm had held off, he added, "it would have been a very triumphant experience."

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SASAKAWA IN SAMURAI ARMOR

JAPAN

The Godfather-san

Back in 1964, former Japanese Premier Nobusuke Kishi needed a big favor: a guarantee that his brother Eisaku Sato would succeed ailing Hayato Ikeda as Premier. So Kishi paid a secret visit to a Tokyo businessman who obligingly made a few telephone calls to his friends. As a result, Sato's opponent hastily withdrew from the race, and Sato went on to become Japan's Premier for an unprecedented eight years.

The tale illustrates the astonishing behind-the-scenes influence wielded by Ryoichi Sasakawa, 75, the most powerful remaining member of a vanishing breed of Japanese kingmakers known as *kuromaku*. The word translates literally as black curtain,* but the closest equivalent in American slang of the power it connotes is godfather. Through his enormous fortune (his real estate holdings alone are estimated at $71.4 million) and the huge store of *giri* (moral obligations) he has accumulated over the years by dispensing favors and finances, Sasakawa has a puissance that any American influence peddler would envy.

The son of a sake brewer, Sasakawa made a fortune before he was 30 by speculating in Osaka's grain and stock markets. He also was—and is—a dedicated right-wing superpatriot who decries the social changes that are moving Japan away from traditional
ners and mores. In traditional fas
he likes to boast of his conque
more than 500 women, ranging
"a distant relative of Emperor Ta
to almost all the top geisha." His
bridled admiration for Benito Muss
—"the perfect fascist and dicta
—lingers to this day. Indeed, Sasak
sometimes boasts that he is the "wo
wealthiest fascist."

In 1931 Sasakawa established
fascist Nationalist Masses Party
was elected to the lower house of
Diet during World War II, a poli
fling that landed him in Tokyo's
gamo Prison for three years while
officials tried unsuccessfully to prose
him as a war criminal. Protesting
innocence, Sasakawa hired a big b
band to blast martial songs as he st
proudly into the clink. Behind bar
became fast friends with Kishi and
er imprisoned Japanese officials
later returned to power. He also
the idea of how to increase his for
when an American guard threw a
of LIFE into his cell. In it, he saw a
vertisement for a motorboat.

After the U.S. gave up its atte
to prosecute him, Sasakawa fast-ta
the government into letting him s
a series of motorboat races on w
the public could legally bet. The r
proved to be a big hit and also
vided more cash with which Sasak
could pile up *giri*. As head of the
nopoly that controls the races
today, Sasakawa dispenses 3% of
et sales ($105 million this year)
vored causes, including charities
research into shipbuilding techno
He has been most generous, thoug
Japan's martial arts societies, brag
that he commands a "personal ar
of millions of karate and judo exp
who "might even volunteer to risk
lives once I order them to."

Tokyo Harbor. For a man of
wealth, Sasakawa lives modestly.
commutes to his office in downtown
kyo in a black Mercedes-Benz fro
house that is badly in need of repair.
though his power is not widely kn
his flamboyant public appearances
brought him a degree of notorie
few weeks ago, he dedicated a $14.2
lion maritime museum, built in
shape of a 60,000-ton ocean liner
moored in the Tokyo harbor. He att
ed the ceremony wearing an enorm
nautical cap, T shirt and swim
trunks, to the consternation of
guests, including Prince Hitachi, the
ond son of Emperor Hirohito.

In recent years, as younger p
cians have come to the fore, the p
of the *kuromaku* has slipped. An
fact Sasakawa claims to have little
sonal involvement in politics these
but he still knows how to operate
hind a black curtain. Rumor has it
Kakuei Tanaka became Premier a
strong opposition—after the godfa
san made a few calls on his behalf

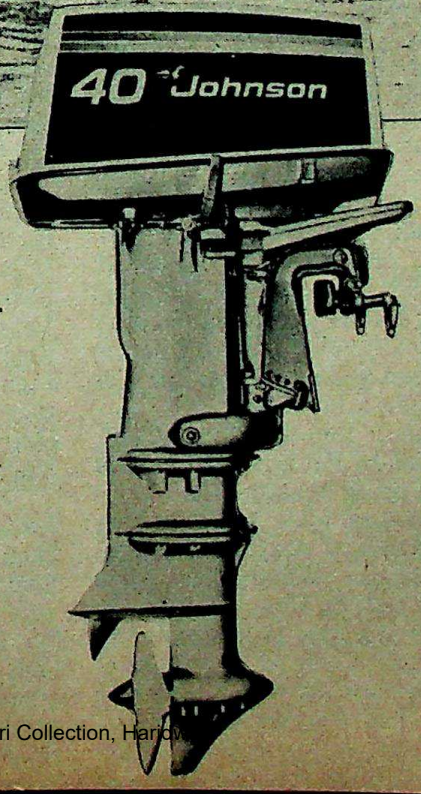
*Before electric lights came into use, the *kuromaku* was used to conceal actors in the traditional Kabuki drama while the scenes were changed.

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Johnson

TRANSPORTS CARGO IN INDONESIA





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GERALD FORD, HIS FEET PROPPED UP ON HIS DESK, TALKING ON THE TELEPHONE IN THE OVAL OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE

AMERICAN NOTES

A Tale of Two Shrines

Nobody wanted the house at 649 Union Avenue in Grand Rapids. The Veterans Administration, which received title to the property in 1972, had reduced its original asking price from $12,500 to $5,500 last month. Still no sale. One local speculator offered a dismaying $100. Then, not long ago, the VA and the rest of the nation learned that President Ford had lived in the house from 1923 to 1930, years that included his football-hero days at nearby South High.

Suddenly the VA was deluged with offers, despite the fact that in recent years the three-story house has become a victim of urban neglect, with smashed windows, torn screens, cans and bottles littering the front lawn. With Ford's succession to office, the Veterans Administration has decided to turn away all the new offers and take the home off the market "for the foreseeable future." It will eventually sell it only to a person or organization willing to preserve it as a national historic landmark.

Meanwhile, the Cerritos, Calif., home occupied by Pat Nixon from 1914 to 1930 was being accorded far different treatment. Last week, two days after Richard Nixon had resigned the presidency, an arsonist poured a flammable liquid on the outside walls of one room (which was being used as a community recreation center) and set a torch to it. A passing motorist spotted the flames and phoned Los Angeles County firemen, who quickly extinguished the blaze before major damage could be done. Police have almost no clues about who might have set the fire. Henceforth the modest home of the former First Lady will be protected by a 24-hour armed guard.

Wrong Numbers

During the 23 years that President Ford lived in suburban Alexandria, Va., he kept a listed telephone number in an attempt to be available to his constituents. When Ford became Vice President nine months ago, he reluctantly took an unlisted number, and last February his old number was passed on to David Taylor, a postal worker, and his wife Alicia. Two or three times each day the Taylors got calls for the Fords. They found the calls intriguing—until Richard Nixon's presidency began to topple. Throughout resignation week, the calls came with nerve-jangling frequency, mostly from well-wishers urging Ford to prepare himself to assume the presidency. All told, the Taylors received 150 calls within the week, even though they often took the phone off the hook. Finally, their patience wearing thin, they requested a new phone number. Gerald Ford, of course, can now be reached at the White House.

But only if dialed with care. In Connecticut's area code 203, one digit away from Washington's 202 area code, Roland Booker, a cement finisher, and his wife Mona have the same phone number as the White House. Misdirected calls meant for Richard Nixon have become part of their lives (three months ago an ambassador rang inquiring what time he should show up for dinner). During resignation week, they received an avalanche of calls urging Nixon to remain in office. But the Bookers have no plans to change their number and firmly enjoy having an accidental earful of history. This week they plan to visit Washington and tour the White House. They aren't worried about calling ahead to find out the tour schedule. Says Mrs. Booker: "We know the number."

Special Handling

The U.S. Postal Service has been taking some withering criticism, thanks to rising rates and declining service. Postmaster General Ted Klassen seems to be weathering the snow, rain, dust and gloom of day in executive style, at least according to Washington Watchdog Jack Anderson, who has made Klassen a particular target. Last week Anderson attacked Postal Service expenditures for Klassen's first-class office in Washington's L'Enfant Plaza Building. More than $300,000 was spent to decorate the tenth-floor executive suite, charges Anderson, including $5,200 for a private pantry, $3,671 for two safes, walnut doors, and $5,999 on drapes. The $528,360 spent furbishing the Postal Board of Governors' penthouse on the floor above includes a $50,000 kitchen with $53 sugar bowls and $59 creamer pitchers. Moreover, fumes Anderson, Klassen has negotiated a contract with the Board of Governors which guarantees him a retirement salary of $1[illegible] a year for life. "The mails may be moving slower and workers are having difficulty keeping up with the cost of living," concludes Anderson. "But Klassen has it made."

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E RIDING TO THE WHITE HOUSE FROM HIS HOME IN ALEXANDRIA, FORD WAVES TO PASSERS-BY ALONG THE WAY

E ADMINISTRATION/COVER STORY

erald Ford: Off to a Fast, Clean Start

"The nation needs action, not words."
—Gerald Ford

Every morning last week, the Pres-t of the United States was driven the capital from his suburban Al-dria, Va., home along with the am of commuters who daily turn In-ate 95 into what Washingtonians etimes grumpily refer to as "the d's longest parking lot." Preceded police car and trailed by four other cles, including a Secret Service sta- wagon and a press van, his lim-ne was hard to miss. Many motor-waved a cheerful if somewhat used good-morning as the Chief Ex-ive, immersed in his morning news-ers, sailed past them in the lane re-d for buses and car pools. Gone was public hostility of yesterday as Nix-presidency foundered; now there a new President, totally contrasting anner, mien and style from his pre-ssor, and he was moving fast.

"We have a lot of work to do," Ger- Ford told the Congress and the na- last week in his first major speech. 's get on with it." So saying, he set on a week of action perhaps un-ched in the White House since the t frenetic days of Lyndon Johnson. ough any new Administration is nec-rily active, the casual Ford made it eem unhurried, genial, low-key. He declared the economy his No. 1 e prescribed a balanced bud-get as the basic solution to the nation's economic ills—an old-fashioned remedy that his manner somehow made sound newly promising; he sharply criticized General Motors for its recently announced price increases of almost 10% (*see* THE ECONOMY). He gave much time to world affairs, including the crisis in Cyprus, met with the Soviet and Egyptian ambassadors, entertained the King of Jordan, accepted an invitation to visit Japan this fall, all the while continuing to reassure the U.S.'s allies that the basic foreign policy of the Nixon Administration remained unchanged (*see box page 26*). While mulling his choice for Vice President and the reorganization of the Executive Branch, he welcomed a remarkably large and varied array of visitors to the White House —Congressmen and Senators, mayors, Governors, labor leaders—as if to demonstrate at the outset his vow to create an "open" presidency.

Good Feeling. By his smooth acceleration into high gear last week Ford helped create a mood of good feeling and even exhilaration in Washington that the city had not experienced for many years, imparting the promise, at least, of a brilliant spring after a grim, dark winter. In part, the euphoria was a reaction to the dying agonies of the Nixon Administration, and there were whispered post mortems. "I tell you," confided one high official, "those last hours with the [former] President were the most painful that I have ever had to go through." But it was also created by the relief that the peculiarly closed and almost paranoid style of the Nixon White House existed no more.

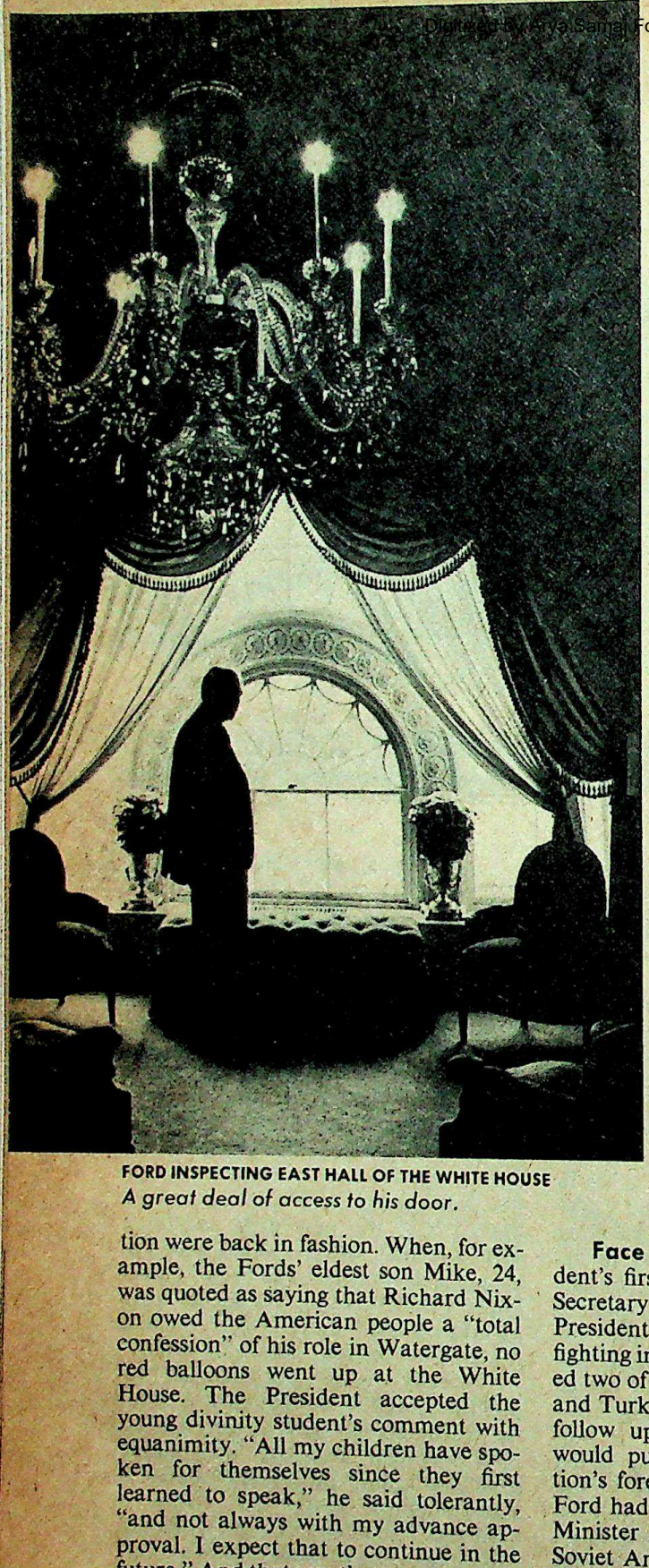
Journalists, who found themselves suddenly popular at the White House again, rejoiced in the minutiae of the new Administration. Reporters were delighted that the new press secretary, Jerry terHorst, was not afraid to say, as his predecessors had often been, "I don't know, I didn't ask the President," photographers were startled to be allowed to snap the President's morning swim.

Nobody was happier than the Republicans, who found their prospects for the November elections transformed almost overnight. The party was "taking solid food again," observed Washington *Post* Columnist George Will. "We're in business!" shouted G.O.P. National Chairman George Bush. At Washington's Federal City Club those two chroniclers of reality in American political life, Richard M. Scammon and Ben J. Wattenberg (in *This U.S.A.* and *The Real Majority)* eyed each other over lunch and began to rethink their thesis for their next book. "How's this for the introduction?" asked Wattenberg. " 'It has been a tragic time for America. The President resigned under a dark cloud, leaving behind him in disarray one of the world's great political parties—the Democrats.' "

Good sense, perspective and propor-

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FORD INSPECTING EAST HALL OF THE WHITE HOUSE
A great deal of access to his door.



WITH CONGRESSMAN LESLIE ARENDS



WITH OLD FRIEND & ADVISER MELVIN LAIRD

tion were back in fashion. When, for example, the Fords' eldest son Mike, 24, was quoted as saying that Richard Nixon owed the American people a "total confession" of his role in Watergate, no red balloons went up at the White House. The President accepted the young divinity student's comment with equanimity. "All my children have spoken for themselves since they first learned to speak," he said tolerantly, "and not always with my advance approval. I expect that to continue in the future." And that was that.

The President arrived at the Oval Office most mornings at 7:45 and plunged into the day's work. At first he used his old vice-presidential office in the Executive Office Building, but by early last week he was shuttling between the Oval Office for small meetings and the Cabinet Room for larger ones. The only thing that seemed to intimidate him about the Oval Office the first day was the telephone. "I haven't figured this thing out yet," he acknowledged as he fumbled with the myriad buttons. The desk that had always been meticulously clean during the Nixon years was now cluttered with papers as Ford, wearing steel-rimmed reading glasses, pored over them.

Face to Face. One of the President's first visitors every morning was Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. The President was most concerned about the fighting in Cyprus, which directly affected two of the U.S.'s NATO allies, Greece and Turkey, but he was also anxious to follow up on his assurances that he would pursue the Nixon Administration's foreign policy. Toward that end, Ford had lunch with Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy, then met with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin, who cut short a vacation to return to Washington after Nixon resigned. Among other things, Ford and Dobrynin discussed the trade reform bill, which has been stalled in the Senate. The bill would confer "most-favored-nation" (in effect, normal) trading status on the Russians and was eagerly sought by the Nixon Administration as a means of advancing détente. But it has been vehemently opposed by several Senators who believe that, in return for trade concessions, the U.S. should insist that the Russians liberalize their laws regarding emigration rights and agree to end harassment of Soviet Jews.

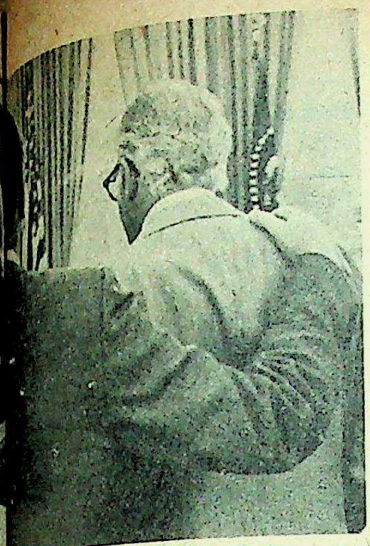
The Dobrynin meeting led in to one of Jerry Ford's most remark accomplishments of the week. A day er, he sat down to breakfast with of the trade bill's staunchest critics, ators Henry Jackson of Washing Jacob Javits of New York and A ham Ribicoff of Connecticut. Ri Nixon had never met directly with J son or the other Senators to discuss bill, and Ford's face-to-face me seemed to have paid off. White H sources said later that some sort of promise appears to be in the works.

The nation's most vexing prob obviously, is inflation and the Pres made it the principal subject of his address to Congress. Freely admi that "the state of our economy is no good," Ford vowed in the speech— repeated all week—his determinatio hold down federal spending and to "a sense of self-sacrifice in this co try." As earnest of his intention, he toed a bill authorizing a health rese program. The amount involved was $47 million, but Ford made his point

The occasion for the speech was mellow homecoming for Gerald F a return to the well of the House of Re resentatives where he served happily 25 years. He was cheered so long

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VERSING WITH SENATOR GOLDWATER

...ly by his old friends from both hous... ...f Congress that the President turned ...d said to his old friend Speaker Carl ...ert, "You're wasting good TV time." ...er he seemed determined to shake ...y hand in the House. "You know," ...ert told him, the microphones pick... ...p his aside over the roar of applause, ...m afraid I might have called you Jer... ...Instead of Mr. President last night." ...e President laughed.

His manner was clearly that of a ...f Executive who did not see him... ...as a caretaker President. He spoke ...my Cabinet officers" and "my White ...se staff." He declared, with little re... ...d for the sensitivities of his deposed ...decessor, "I began to put my Admin... ...ration's own economic house in order ...ring last Friday." He even said flat... "God willing, I will have at least ...e more chances" to make State of ...Union addresses—that "at least" be... ...the strongest indication yet that he ...abandoned his earlier contention ...t he would not seek the presidency ...976. Senate Minority Leader Hugh ...tt declared that Ford will have little ...ce but to run for re-election in 1976, ...cause "the party will demand it."

Open Door. In his 32-minute ...ech Ford promised to work with his ...d friends as coequals: "My motto to... ...d the Congress is communication, ...nciliation, compromise and coopera... ...I do not want a honeymoon with ...I want a good marriage." He ...ged to avoid some of the most griev... ...ailings of the Nixon presidency, "I ...nd to listen," he said, not just to ...mbers of Congress but "to the peo... ...themselves . . . I want to be sure that ...are all tuned in to the real voice of ...erica." He will be as approachable ...ever, he promised. "My office door ...always been open, and that is how ...going to be at the White House" ...providing, he added wryly, "you don't ...erdo it."

There were other words of reassur... ...ce. He paid tribute to "the absolute ...essity of a free press." He pledged ...t "there will be no illegal tappings, ...dropping, buggings or break-ins by

Chatting with Betty and Susan

"This house has been like a grave," Betty Ford, the new First Lady, remarked to TIME Correspondent Bonnie Angelo in an interview soon after her initial tour of her new home at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. The comment was made not in criticism but compassion for the Nixons' long ordeal there. "I want it to sing," Mrs. Ford said of the White House, adding that while she greatly admires Pat Nixon, she is going to be a different kind of First Lady. "I expect to be very active. Pat Nixon did many, many things with groups inside the White House. I expect to be a more public person."

While some commentators hoped that the new First Family would not be subjected to the usual near-royal publicity (*see* THE PRESS), the Fords' refreshing easy charm proved highly attractive. During her inspection of the White House, Betty Ford was asked by a staff member whether she would like to have stereo in her suite. "Not for me," she declared. "I couldn't stand it."

Would the President join her for lunch in the mansion, as Lyndon Johnson used to do with Lady Bird? "I can't imagine that," she replied. "He's too busy." And then, with a smile, she added: "I don't want him for lunch. If I don't have anything scheduled," she continued, "I'll call up friends and have them come for lunch. After all, that's what [the mansion] is for."

Mrs. Ford was delighted with the two-bedroom suite used by presidential couples, though she frankly declared, "We have shared the same bed for 25 years and we're not going to change that." But now, she said, "Jerry can get dressed in a room of his own. For years I've tried to sleep while he's getting dressed; now he won't have to tiptoe."

■

"He's always been an early riser. That's the part of the day he really enjoys. He gets his breakfast and reads the papers and gets ready for the day. I wouldn't dare intrude. Even when he gets [Son] Steve's breakfast, they eat separately and read the papers. They don't talk. I can't imagine anything worse than starting off the day with conversation."

The First Lady is intent on ensuring that the White House is a lively home for her family, but this year only her daughter Susan, 17, will be living there with her parents. The Fords' eldest son, Michael, 24, is married and attending a theological seminary. Son John, 22, is working at his summer job as a forest ranger in Yellowstone National Park. Steven, 18, has decided to wait a year before entering Duke University and will work on a cattle ranch in Utah. Dad probably wasn't too hot on that," Susan remarked, "but he would never object so strongly that he would tell Steve not to go." For himself, Steve, who has been tooling around Ocean City, Md., in his yellow Jeep, remarked: "I'm still trying to get used to the idea that the man I think of as my Dad is the President of the United States."

But Susan is eagerly looking forward to the move. Last week she and her boyfriend Gardner Britt, 17, the son of a Ford auto dealer in Virginia, brought her belongings to the White House and installed her two dozen potted plants in the third-floor solarium. For their dating, "I'm looking for a back stairway for Gardner, so he won't have to go through all that stuff," Susan says. After surveying the mansion, Susan picked a suite on the third floor and asked that it be repainted yellow.

■

Mrs. Ford reminded her daughter that she must still take care of her potted plants. "Don't I always?" Susan retorted. "And when I'm away, well, I'll find somebody. Maybe Mr. Harriston, he's so nice . . ." Mr. Harriston, a White House doorman, is probably never near the third-floor solarium, but Susan's enthusiasm may prove irresistible.

Like her parents, Susan seems to resist any suggestion that living in the White House will change the Fords' lives. "I'll never throw away my blue jeans," she vows. She is also determined to continue to baby-sit for the family of Congressional Aide Peter Abbruzzese, which lives across the street from the Ford home in Alexandria. In fact, says Susan, she told Mrs. Abbruzzese, who is expecting her third child, "that when she goes to the hospital to have that kid, she should drop her other two at the White House and I'll take care of them. That will take some of the stuffiness out of the place." Susan is also musing, apropos of White House entertainment, that "it would be great to have a party with the Beach Boys or Bette Midler."

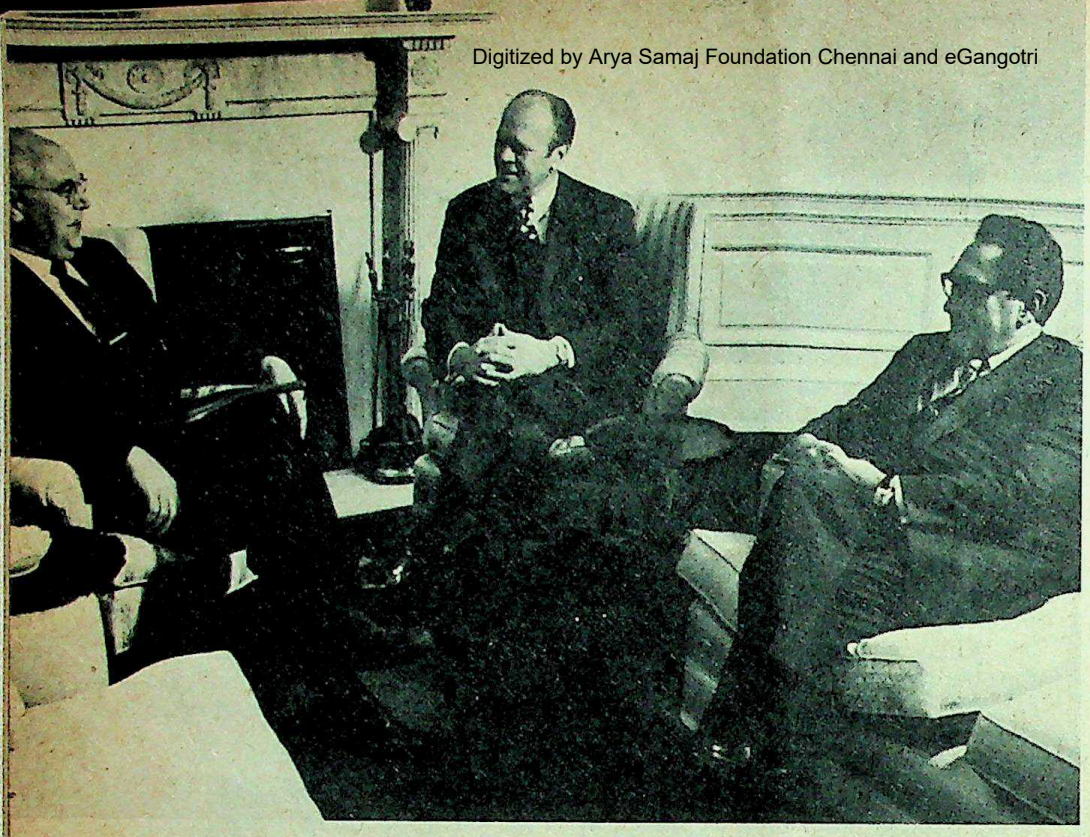
MRS. FORD PACKING BOOKS IN ALEXANDRIA



STRUNK—CAMERA 5

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DIRCK HALSTEAD

FORD & KISSINGER MEETING AT WHITE HOUSE WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN (LEFT)
Afterward, a remarkable compromise through face-to-face contact.

the loudest ovation of the session. He appealed to a constituency that included "women's liberationists and male chauvinists, and all the rest of us somewhere in between," and the members of Congress laughed and cheered. After the troubles of the recent past, they welcomed the President's efforts to heal the nation's wounds.

All week long the President summoned both old friends and old foes to the White House. On Monday morning, Congressman Charles Rangel, the New York Democrat who is chairman of the Black Caucus in the House of Representatives, received a phone call that his secretary suspected was a put-on. "There's a call from somebody saying he's the President," she said. Then a familiar voice came over Rangel's line, "Hi, Charlie." It was Ford, responding to a request from the Black Caucus and suggesting that they confer with him "to work out problems of mutual interest."

Then the President reached out to his adversary, organized labor. He invited AFL-CIO President George Meany over to the Oval Office for a chat, and the crusty old Meany, who in the end had thrown the resources of his office into the effort to impeach Nixon, came away impressed. Two days later, the AFL-CIO's chief lobbyist, Andrew J. Biemiller, announced that labor was prepared to support Ford's proposal for a new Cost of Living Council with jawboning rather than regulatory authority. It was true that organized labor had felt "zapped" by Nixon's former council, Bie... said, but it would go along with th... proposal because "today we have a ... President. We have confidence in t... tegrity of this President." Before th... was out, Senators were speculating ... Ford would get his council.

On Wednesday, Ford invited ... erful Democratic Senator Russell ... of Louisiana over to the White H... to talk. Long's support would be ha... to the President in achieving the ... promise health-care program that ... so firmly wants to get through Con... this year. In this area, as in his suc... ful wooing of Senators Jackson, ... and Ribicoff on the trade reform ... compromise, Ford seemed to be w... ing at full speed to make the mo... the honeymoon while it lasts.

"Start with Me." One day ... week the mayors of 16 U.S. cities ... which White House aide they sh... deal with in the new Administra... Replied the President: "Start with ... To the 16 mayors, as well as to th... Governors he saw last week, he em... sized his commitment to carry on ... on's revenue-sharing program, bu... told the mayors that he would ve... $20 billion mass-transit bill as ... costly.

When some Governors and co... executives complained that they ... had difficulty gaining access to ... White House in the past, Ford u... them to take their problems to Do... tic Assistant Kenneth Cole and pr... ised that Cole would forward the m... ters to the President within two da... less. "And if Ken Cole is not re... sive," added Ford, "then you can ... me." The out-of-towners, who rem... bered that Richard Nixon's techni... had been to deliver a well-framed m... logue and then turn the meeting ov... an assistant when the discussion be... pronounced themselves impressed ... style of President Ford," said Wash...

On the Overseas Line

During one of several calls to London last week about the Cyprus crisis, Henry Kissinger reached British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan in Prime Minister Harold Wilson's office at No. 10 Downing Street. After a few moments of conversation, Kissinger told Callaghan that "I am here in the Oval Office with the President and he would like a few words with you, Jim, and the Prime Minister." Gerald Ford then spent ten minutes complimenting Britain's efforts to contain the Cyprus situation and emphasizing his commitment to continuity in U.S. foreign policy. Whitehall officials later happily declared Anglo-American relations to be the warmest since the early 1960s, when Harold Macmillan's and John Kennedy's rambling phone conversations added "Jack-Mac" talks to the vocabulary of transatlantic diplomacy.

Throughout his first week in the Oval Office, Ford handled U.S. foreign relations with more assurance and subtlety than many observers at home and abroad had expected. He held White House talks with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin, Egypt's Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy and South Viet Nam's Ambassador Tran Kim Phuong; all left considerably reassured about the depth of the new Administra... commitment to promises made earlier by Richard Nixon.

Ford also talked Middle East politics with visiting ... Hussein of Jordan. The President scored heavily with the ... anese by swiftly picking up an original invitation to Nix... visit Tokyo some time after the November elections—the ... visit there by a U.S. President. Ford also pocketed a ... lomatic IOU by agreeing to hold talks late next month wi... pan's politically embattled Premier Kakuei Tanaka, who ... he can score points at home by negotiating with the new P... ident. Ford extended a similar invitation to West Germa... new Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, who plans to come to W... ington when the United Nations General Assembly ... next month. The Chief Executive invited Greece's new ... vilian Premier, Constantine Caramanlis, to visit Washing... to discuss the Cyprus crisis, but the Premier decided it w... be unwise to leave Athens "at this time."

■

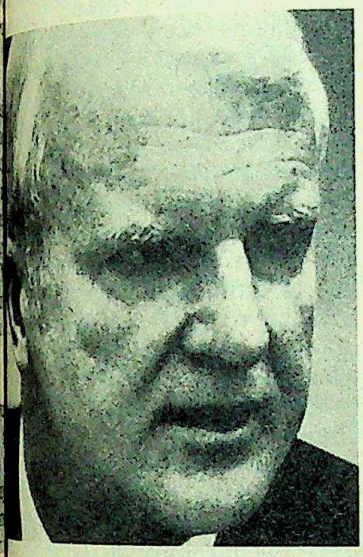
What impressed foreign leaders most of all was Ford's ... plomacy on Capitol Hill in the matters of the trade bill ... President agreed to initiate an exchange of letters from M... cow in which the Soviets would consent to end harassme... Jews and to allow all Jewish

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Governor Daniel Evans, "is to be ca-
informal, candid." Said San Fran-
Mayor Joseph Alioto: "This was a
thing. It had been a long, long time
we had been in the White House"
most four years, in fact.

Originally, Ford had hoped to an-
ve his choice for Vice President by
end of his first week in office, but
led to make it. Amid endless spec-
n, almost everyone agreed that the
g contenders were former New
Governor Nelson Rockefeller and
blican National Chairman Bush.
rs believed to be on Ford's list in-
former Secretary of Defense Mel-
Laird, Senator Howard Baker of
nessee, Governor Evans and former



T HOUSE COUNSEL PHILIP W. BUCHEN

rney General Elliot Richardson.
mer Pennsylvania Governor Wil-
Scranton, who was helping Ford
takeover problems, was also said
e a candidate, but Scranton de-
ed himself as "Mr. Temporary" and
ed that he would not accept the
unless "the nation was at war or
thing."

Rockefeller's prospects were buffet-
ed briefly by a bizarre report, mentioned
by Columnist Jack Anderson last week,
alleging that Rockefeller money had
been used to finance a "stand-by" group
of "toughs" to disrupt the 1972 Dem-
ocratic National Convention. The she-
nanigans were supposedly described in
papers contained within seven myste-

AP



REAR ADMIRAL WILLIAM M. LUKASH

rious boxes of Watergate "documents."
This material, once supposedly held by
Watergate Conspirator E. Howard
Hunt, was said to have been spirited
away by a Nixon loyalist named Roy
Sheppard following the Watergate
break-in of June 1972. Sheppard later
said that he burned the papers, but re-
cently there have been rumors that ei-
ther the originals or copies of the orig-
inals had not been destroyed.

Whether the so-called Sheppard pa-
pers ever existed is dubious. Rockefeller
branded the allegations as "absolutely
untrue" and signified his willingness to
open campaign finance records to re-
fute the charge. Rockefeller contributed
$250,000 to the Nixon campaign that

UPI



COUNSELLOR JOHN O. MARSH

year with the stipulation, he said, that
the money be spent only in New York
state campaigns and only under super-
vision of Rockefeller associates. A tele-
phoned tip to the White House, giving
the location of a safe-deposit box sup-
posedly containing copies of the docu-
ments, sent the Watergate Special Pros-
ecutor's investigators scurrying, but the
vault they were directed to proved to be
empty. With that, the White House de-
scribed the charges against Rockefeller
as being "without foundation" and re-
iterated that Rocky was still very much
"under consideration" for the No. 2 job
in the nation.

At odd moments throughout the
week, Ford retired to the small work-
ing office beside the Oval Office, took
off his jacket, and shuffled through his
notes on the vice-presidential appoint-
ment. When asked for the names of peo-
ple whom the President was consulting,
Press Secretary Jerry terHorst replied,
"He's consulting himself." At week's
end Ford was said to be still genuinely
undecided. When informed by terHorst
that some newspapers were saying that
the President had narrowed the field

sions (35,000 last year). Assuming the Soviets go along,
Ford compromise clears the way for passage of the bill.

Across the world, the public is still struggling to get a han-
on the new U.S. leader. European commentators have gen-
ly tried to find Ford parallels in Harry Truman. Ettore
a Giovanna, 61, Italian television's version of Eric Seva-
, has been presenting the President as "a noble expres-
of the average American—that average American which
made America great and powerful." Like many U.S. news-
, European editors have dwelt more or less heavily on
's supposed lack of intellectual heft.

Despite such occasional reservations, observers are be-
ning to recognize advantages in the fact that Ford's strong
is domestic politics. Nixon in his last months seemed to
y diplomats to be using foreign policy as a way of deal-
with his domestic problems; doubts rose as to whether he
the political wherewithal at home to make good on the
ements he was signing on his trips abroad. For that rea-
foreign leaders who tuned into Ford's speech to Congress
encouraged by the President's warmly received promise
ultivate Capitol Hill, as well as his emphasis on inflation
other domestic issues. Says Ian Smart, deputy director of
Royal Institute of International Affairs:

"The U.S. as the center of influence, the way in which its econo-
my is run, the way in which it will conduct itself as a buyer
and seller of resources, are of far more importance than the
panoply of international negotiations and international re-
lationships. [Ford's] best contribution abroad will be to es-
tablish that he has his domestic situation under control." That
will be truest in Western Europe.

■

TIME's Chief European Correspondent William Rademaekers observes: "The new leaders in Europe want more joint cooperation and less public clashing over cosmic proposals such as Kissinger's Atlantic Charter speech of 1973. To them this means more consultation on a range of problems from inflation to the environment. It does not necessarily mean summitry or an American President living out of a suitcase. It does mean hard talking at the Cabinet level, and a President who can deliver on his promises—get bills through Congress and lobby with the American people for what he believes. Europeans joke about our Presidents—Johnson the Texas sheriff, Kennedy of Camelot, Nixon the crisis manager. Now they feel they have an all-American boy. They do not know exactly what that means; but they seem eager and willing for a fresh start."

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FORD DANCING WITH QUEEN ALIA MRS. FORD WITH KING HUSSEIN

"Nobody's going to get us off the dance floor at 10 o'clock."

from about 15 to only three, Ford quipped, "I'm glad you told me that. It'll save me a lot of time."

For almost two weeks, Ford had had a four-man "transition planning team" at work on his behalf. The team's members are all old friends: Scranton; NATO Ambassador Donald Rumsfeld, who had flown to Washington two weeks ago on his own initiative and was asked by Ford to head the team; Interior Secretary Rogers Morton, the former Republican National Committee chairman; and John O. Marsh, a former Democratic Congressman from Virginia. The team was said to be organizing a talent search, but its main task was to advise Ford on how to reorganize the White House staff and streamline its operations. Among the recommendations the team is expected to make to the President this week: drastically slim down the White House bureaucracy, which, under Richard Nixon, grew from 220 to almost 510; reduce the power of the Office of Management and Budget which, under Nixon, had usurped the policymaking functions of many departments and agencies; restore the operating authority of the Cabinet, which had atrophied considerably under Nixon.

Difficult Days. Rumsfeld might eventually replace Alexander Haig as White House chief of staff, but not right away. The President is said to believe that Haig performed an important service to the nation during the difficult last days of the Nixon Administration, and he announced that Haig would be staying on "for the duration." Asked how long that period would be a White House aide amended the phrase to read "for the indefinite future." Nonetheless, several of Ford's friends thought it likely that Haig would leave within a few months, if for no other reason than that they expect his functions to be divided sooner or later among four or five aides. "I don't expect a chief of staff on the Nixon model," said one Ford associate. "There'll be a great deal of access to Ford's door."

Among other appointments announced last week:

▶ Former Congressman Marsh, 48, as a White House Counsellor.

▶ Philip Buchen, 58, the President's former law partner, as White House counsel. The once inconspicuous post acquired notoriety when held by John Dean and J. Fred Buzhardt. It will probably regain its invisibility under Ford.

▶ Jack Hushen, 39, former Washington correspondent of the Detroit *News* and chief press aide in the Justice Department under Attorney General John Mitchell, as deputy press secretary.

▶ Rear Admiral William M. Lukash, 43, as the President's personal physician. Dr. Lukash is a specialist in gastroenterology and internal medicine who had been serving as assistant physician to former President Nixon.

Lukash described the President as an unusually healthy 61-year-old. "I'm blessed with a patient who has an understanding of the importance of physical fitness. He'll make my job easy." Without a White House swimming pool (the former one was turned into a press room by Nixon) for his 40 daily laps, the President will have to find another form of exercise. Says Ford: "The Oval Office seems very confining. I'd have to go to Burning Tree for golf, or to Camp David. I won't have a Key Biscayne or a San Clemente, but we will go to Vail [Colorado] to ski over the holidays."

Ford's first week ended with one of the liveliest White House evenings in years, a party for King Hussein and Queen Alia of Jordan. Betty Ford was well aware that guests are supposed to remain at White House dinners until after the President and the First Lady leave; the Nixons, as a rule, withdrew as soon as the entertainment ended. Mrs. Ford was having none of that: "I'm just going to tell the guests that they can leave whenever they want to," she said

because "nobody's going to get us o
dance floor at 10 o'clock."

"We love to dance," the Pres
declared at the party, and proved
dancing again and again with the
tiful Alia, while the King twirled
Ford round the floor. Later, as the
al guests departed, the Queen
nounced it "a swinging party," an
President kissed her on both cheeks

After bidding goodnight to the
al guests, the Fords came back to d
some more. Guests applauded as
President, paired off with Cindy
sen, the Korean-born wife of NBC N
man Ron Nessen, improvised his
through *Big Bad Leroy Brown*.

Among the guests were Se
Mark Hatfield, a liberal Republ
who had not been welcome at the W
House for at least five years; World
President Robert MacNamara, wh
that he had not been there since
Mrs. Ogden Reid, wife of the New
Congressman, who marveled tha
and her husband had been invite
cause "we are Democrats now";
anti-Nixon Congressman Pete Mc
key of California. Also present w
covey of White House reporters, in
ing one from the Washington
whose staffers nearly two years ago
being banned from even covering
House social events let alone, *hors*
dictu, participating in any of
"Happy New Year!" Senator Ha
shouted, and McCloskey called
scene the harbinger of "a new day."

New Mood. Some might
sniffed that this hastily planned
dinner offered beef *à la bordelaise*
no special entertainment. But this
ty, coming only a week after the
aclysm, offered something far be
entertainment: the signal of the
mood in Washington and in mu
the nation, the satisfaction that
from having a new and relaxed
the White House who had unaffect
asked for the nation's prayers in sa
"I want to be a good President."

Enormous and evident problems
the economy and elsewhere con
him, and they will not be solved by
good cheer. Yet unpredictably
surely lie ahead, and in the first
careless rapture of Gerald Ford's
sion, no one can predict what kin
President he will prove to be. For
moment, after the miasma of Water
that could wait. Last week Washing
and the nation seemed satisfied to
joice in such simplicities as having
Chief Executive who worked in his
sleeves, who said what he meant
meant what he said, who by his
esty and accessibility was swiftly
cising the pinched ghosts of the
era from the White House. At the
of his first week, the President of
U.S. was still jumping to his feet
coming out from behind his desk
shake hands with Jerry terHorst
ever his press secretary, a friend

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THE PRESIDENCY/HUGH SIDEY

Notes from an Open White House

Some things were different in Washington last week. New York's Congressman Barber Conable, who has been part of the Republican leadership for four years, got his first invitation to the Oval Office. He came in the northwest gate without a pause, found himself ushered cheerfully into the visitors' lobby of the West Wing, then next thing he knew he was in the back rooms having a good discussion on health insurance and tax reform with two old friends, Mel Laird and Bryce Harlow. He was led down to the President's office and found himself standing right at the heart of things shaking hands with another congressional friend, Jerry Ford.

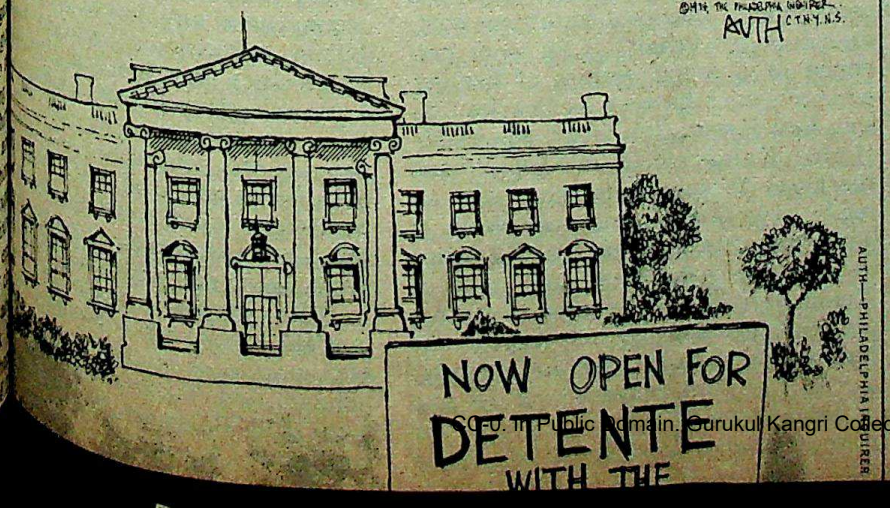
Conable said it was his first time in the Oval Office. Ford looked surprised, assured him it would not be his last. The President ordered iced tea for the two and they settled on the sofas. "Is that a Gilbert Stuart?" asked Conable, admiring the portrait of George Washington over the fireplace. "I don't know," said the President. "I haven't been here long enough." Conable got down to business. "What kind of Vice President do you want?" he asked Ford. "Wait a minute," said the President, "I asked you here to tell me what kind of Vice President I should have."

Between the Nixon resignation and the Cyprus crisis, Henry Kissinger stood in his huge domain on the seventh floor at the State Department and actually let his mind wander from statecraft. "What do you think of this rug?" he asked a visitor, pointing at a handsome Oriental that had been laid over the broad and lifeless expanse of beige G.I. carpeting. "Nancy thought I needed something to break things up. It's a little too busy, isn't it?"

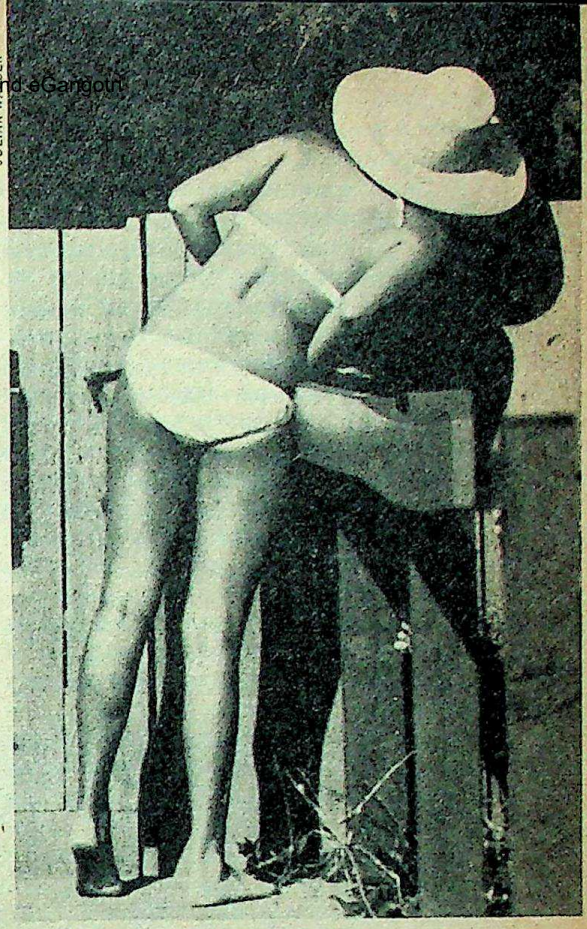
Three reporters in the 1971 chartreuse Pinto belonging to the Milwaukee *Journal*'s Jack Kole sped up to the White House following Ford's address to Congress. They wanted a text of the speech. "We are going to test the Administration's new openness," the Chicago *Daily News's* Peter Lisagor told the guard. "Can we drive in?" The police officer checked, was told it was okay. They drove up West Executive Avenue, sometimes called Limousine Alley, finding a parking space in slots reserved for the Vice President. They got the text, went off into the night as easily as they had come.

West Virginia's Republican Governor Arch Moore, who has been going to the White House as Congressman or Governor since the days of Dwight Eisenhower, came around for the President's courtesy meeting with the Executive Committee of the National Governors' Conference. Moore found himself swept along in congenial confusion through those sacred corridors of power in the White House. He paused at the Oval Office, then went on to the Cabinet Room. There was no agenda and Ford just came into the room with no fanfare and started to shake hands around the big table. "This should be a frank discussion," he told the men, "but most important, it should be relaxed."

It was. It included a talk about football and about working together. It struck Moore that there were only three presidential aides in attendance. He recalled that in the previous years the walls had been papered with those young, eager staff members that inhabited the White House. Back in Charleston, the Governor pondered the pleasant interlude. "We had the impression," he said, "that we were most welcome." Everywhere there was the feeling that the American presidency was back in the possession of the people.



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JULIAN WASSER

PEERING OVER FENCE AT SAN CLEMENTE

THE EX-PRESIDENT

In Seclusion

The beach that used to be guarded by foot patrols and a Coast Guard cutter has been returned to the public. Last week a stream of strollers made the one-mile trek along the sand from San Clemente State Beach to stare at—and try to peer over—the wooden fence behind the railroad tracks and the 25-ft. bluff behind it. All that the curious could see was the gazebo that was refurbished at public expense and a corner of the main building. Richard Nixon stayed out of sight, as secluded in the Casa Pacifica at San Clemente as he was in his last weeks in the White House.

Except for occasional trips to the beach at Camp Pendleton 13 miles south of the estate and a drive in a dark-topped white Mercury, Nixon remained inside the compound. He received hardly any visitors and made only a few telephone calls to old supporters. He did call his longtime friend and former communications director, Herb Klein, to offer a good-humored apology for the unflattering references in the transcripts of June 23, 1972, to Klein's not having "his head screwed on." After President Ford's address to Congress, Nixon sent him a congratulatory telegram. The next day Ford called to thank Nixon, and the two talked for 15 minutes.

Los Angeles Lawyer Dean Butler, who is handling Nixon's personal legal affairs, journeyed to San Clemente for a round of talks with Nixon Aides Ronald L. Ziegler, Stephen B. Bull and Colonel Jack Brennan. Butler glimpsed the

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former President walking the grounds, but the two did not speak. He is not involved with Nixon's Watergate-related legal problems.

San Clemente is adjusting calmly to the reduced estate of its most famous resident. Souvenir hunters quickly made off with signs referring to the city as the "home of the Western White House." One mile northeast of the Nixon house, the 300-unit condominium development called "Presidential Heights" continues to advertise that "nearly every hill-house home has a view of the Western White House." Real Estate Broker Charles Day said last week that the ad may be changed, but not the name. "It's been very successful," he insisted. "It has the connotation of quality and success."

Back in Washington, Julie Nixon Eisenhower supervised the packing of her mother's prized glass and crystal and the delicate art objects collected by the Nixons in years of world travel. They will be shipped to San Clemente. At midweek Julie flew to the headquarters of Curtis Publishing Co. in Indianapolis, an unvarying routine for her even in the worst weeks of the impeachment crisis. Julie's career is faring well: last week she was promoted from associate editor to assistant managing editor of the monthly *Saturday Evening Post*.

■

Meanwhile, some of the more intimate vignettes of the final hours of the Nixon presidency continued to emerge in Washington as the participants compared notes. A poignant one concerned Nixon's farewell meeting with 46 invited friends from Congress, just one hour before he announced his resignation in a televised address from the Oval Office. At the meeting, Richard Nixon was on the verge of emotional collapse. He noted that it would be his last meeting in the Cabinet Room—and then he laughed loudly and incongruously.

Nixon launched into a disjointed monologue. He talked of his days at Whittier College, where he had made the freshman football team, which had been so hard up for personnel that "they even played a fellow who had a broken ankle." He had made the eleventh spot on the twelve-man track team "by only an inch." Again, the strange laugh. But as he turned to his Watergate predicament, Nixon choked up. There were long silences. "Wait a little bit," he would say as sobs blocked his speech. Reminiscing again, he thanked the members of Congress for their support of his Viet Nam War policies.

As his television appointment approached, Nixon's state grew worse. He rose and started to leave the room. Weeping softly with his head down, he weaved unsteadily, then stumbled. Several aides rushed to his side, took his arms and helped him regain his balance. Yet moments later, showing his amazing recuperative powers, the outgoing President firmly and forcefully told the nation that he was resigning.

The Legal Legacy of Watergate

The new President was earnestly in action, the former President departed, and a Watergate-weary nation was eager to turn the scandal over to the historians. But one of Watergate's lessons was that the U.S. legal processes, once activated, cannot be turned on and off with a twist of a judicial wrist. Already it was apparent last week that Citizen Nixon was enmeshed in criminal litigation and that the nation still faces an unwanted decision on what legal toll should yet be exacted of its deposed leader.

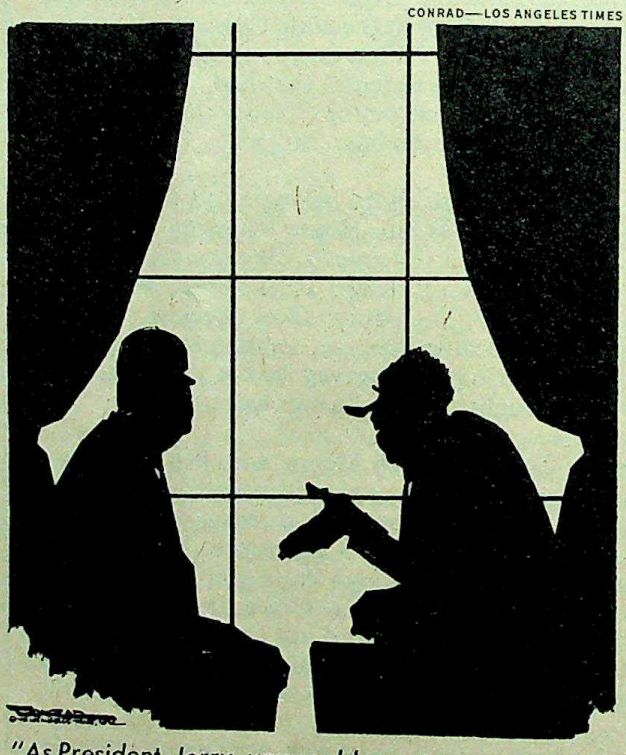
Richard Nixon's forced removal from office was a unique and humiliating punishment. But it was also based on the proposition that no man is above the law and that justice must at least strive for equal treatment of all those who break the law. Compassion might dictate immunity from prosecution for Nixon. But would it be just to permit him to go untried while some two dozen of his agents have already paid the penalty of conviction or face trial for crimes committed in his behalf? If all were pardoned in a grand gesture of healing, what of justice for such as Charles Colson, Egil Krogh, Jeb Stuart Magruder, Herbert Kalmbach, Donald Segretti and the lesser Watergate burglars who already have been imprisoned? What of justice in a historical perspective, when so many have admitted their guilt, if Nixon were allowed to cling to the fiction that he resigned only because he had lost his "political base" in Congress?

As Congress prepared for its late summer recess, it was obvious that the lawmakers had no intention of offering any advice on the question of immunity for Nixon, at least until national ment has cooled and crystallized shifted the burden, perhaps unfair Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski is charged with investigating and p cuting all Watergate-related crimes derstandably, he was in no hurr make that decision. Yet it was widel lieved among legal experts in Was ton and indeed within his own staff Jaworski had no choice: the evidenc criminal activity by the former P dent is sufficient for indictment and worski therefore is under a legal ob tion to prosecute Nixon. Simply ju by the law and the facts, the que was not whether, but when.

For Jaworski, his most imme problem was how to mesh any a against Nixon with the pending Watergate c up conspiracy trial o former Nixon aides. special prosecutor m last week to gain more to study that situatio agreeing with most of defendants that the should be delayed. W the defendants pleaded postponement becaus the massive publicity erated by Nixon's res tion, Jaworski based concurrence on the nee analyze the 55 tape re ings of White House versations that Fe Judge John J. Sirica is ing over to Jaworski orders endorsed by the Supreme Court. Sirica to hold a hearing this on whether the trial sh be postponed.

Before the trial is Jaworski will have to d how to treat Nixon, w er as a defense witness, a prosecu witness or defendant. The grand that only named Nixon an unindi co-conspirator because of doubts t sitting President could be indicted reconvene at any time to indict Nixon. A decision of some sort is itable since one defendant, John E lichman, last week issued a subpoena Nixon's testimony at the trial. Ac panying the subpoena, which pres ably will be served on Nixon at San mente this week, was a check for for his travel expenses to and Washington and a $20 daily witness

The subpoena from Ehrlichm marked a sharp break in longtime c erative defense strategy between lichman and Nixon's other former aide, H.R. Haldeman. Both had p ously denied any attempt to obstruc tice by impeding the W



"As President, Jerry, you could grant me clemency . . . but it would be wrong!"

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...The devastating June 23, 1972, ...scripts of talks between Nixon and ...eman, however, clearly show that ...n and Haldeman had used the CIA ...impede the FBI probe. TIME has ...ed that Ehrlichman, who also ...ed to both CIA and FBI officials at the ...e time, wants his lawyers to question ...w about the precise instructions the ...sident had given him. Ehrlichman ...claims that he was misled by Nixon ...Haldeman into thinking that genu... national security considerations lay ...d their desire to get the FBI to re... its investigation.

For Nixon, the subpoena presents ...cute personal problem. He can move ...ash it, as he had on several oc...ons in other litigation as President, ...legal experts see little hope of a suc...ful challenge now that he is out of of... Eventually, he probably will either ...e to plead the Fifth Amendment pro...n against self-incrimination or tes... and perhaps further incriminate ...self.

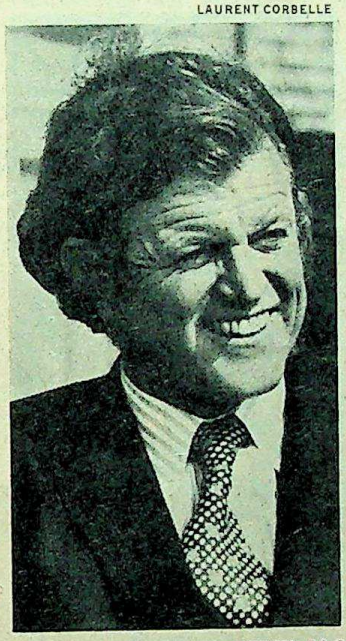
Little Leverage. Unless Congress ...mmends otherwise or Ford inter...es with a pardon (although a par... before an indictment apparently is ...precedented), Nixon's most probable ...l role may well be as a defendant. ...e conceivably could attempt to plea ...gain with Jaworski, although he has ...e leverage remaining for that pur...e, considering the evidence against ...a already on record and the fact that ...re is no higher official that Jaworski ...ld seek to indict. Only a detailed ad...ion of guilt, including his cover-up ...ivities relating to such defendants as ...rlichman, Haldeman and John ...chell, would be likely to impress Ja...rski. The penalty Nixon would then ...e to pay presumably would be up to ...ge Sirica, although President Ford ...ld of course pardon him after any ju...ial action.

The Jaworski decision could be in...enced by whatever the special prose...or yet learns about Nixon's Water...e role in the tapes he is now acquiring. ...s staff indicated last week that it has ...plans to subpoena any more tapes or ...uments from the ex-President. Nev...heless, the Jaworski team demon...ted that it had more than a casual in...est in the 950 reels of taped Nixon ...versations still locked up in the Ex...tive Office Building. Among their ...ial official acts, Nixon's chief Water... defense lawyers, James St. Clair ...d J. Fred Buzhardt, advised Ford's ...ff that under past precedent, the tapes ...re the personal property of the former ...sident. Ford's press secretary, J.F. ...Horst, announced that Nixon would ...e able to dispose of them as he wished. ...That decision was modified, howev... when Ford's assistants learned that ...worski had been merely advised of the ...sition by the Nixon lawyers, rather ...n consulted on it and concurring with ...the aides had been led to believe.

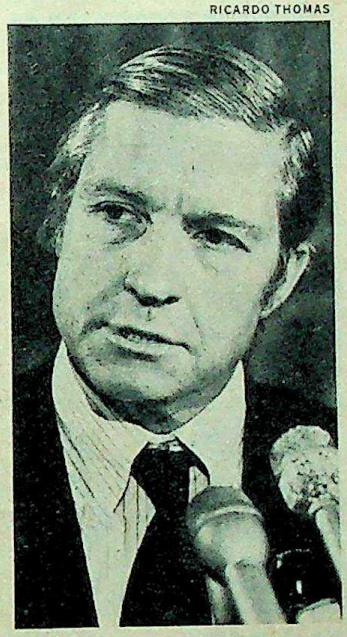
from the White House and an announcement from Jaworski's office that it was agreed no tapes will be moved "pending further discussion" with the special prosecutor's staff.

The extraordinary problem of how to deal with criminal activities emanating from the office of the President thus apparently was left—at least temporarily—to the ordinary processes of the judicial system. That seemed to be precisely how representatives of the nation's legal profession prefer to resolve the matter. Meeting in Hawaii, the American Bar Association (*see* THE LAW) vocally approved without dissent a resolution noting that "the foundation of the American system of law is equal justice under law" and that the law must be applied impartially "regardless of the position or status of any individual alleged to have violated the law."

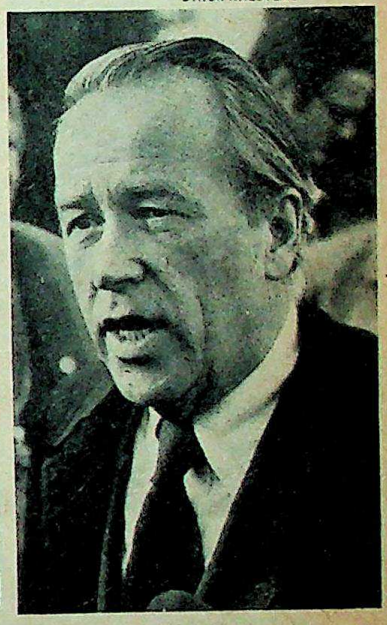
LAURENT CORBELLE



RICARDO THOMAS



DIRCK HALSTEAD



SENATORS KENNEDY, PERCY, JACKSON

POLITICS

Winners and Losers

Even before Nixon's resignation, all Democrats and even some Republicans had good reason to rue the accession of President Ford. Now all that has changed. It will take weeks and months for the full political effects of Ford's presidency to become known, but by last week leading Republicans and Democrats were already busily assessing the post-Nixon political box score, trying to slot the winners and losers.

Since Ford will almost surely run for President in 1976, clear losers were those Republicans who had been cranking up for a run at their party's 1976 presidential nomination. Illinois Senator Charles Percy, a liberal Republican who had already spent about $180,000 campaigning for the top spot on the party's 1976 slate, said that his candidacy has been put "on the back burner and maybe into the deep freeze." Similarly, other leading Republicans who remained untaint-

ious elements that can be rallied to the party's side—liberals, the labor unions, big-city ethnics, Catholics, blacks, the Spanish-speaking.

Kennedy supporters argue that he was the most damaged of all Democrats while Watergate was in full and odious bloom, since the sins of Nixon and his men called attention to Kennedy's own clinging scandal—Chappaquiddick. But, they continue, as Nixon's scandal fades, Kennedy's will fade with it.

It seems likelier for the opposite to take place, however. With Ford as a Mr. Clean in the White House, Republicans have no reason to allow Chappaquiddick to fade into obscurity—"Nobody drowned in Watergate," says one nasty bumper sticker. Even many Democrats question the wisdom of electing another morally tarnished candidate to the presidency just after getting rid of Nixon. As Reporter Robert Sherrill recently showed in a devastating New York *Times* Magazine article, there remain many unanswered questions about the Chappaquiddick incident, including Kennedy's public explanation of it, that

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are bound to haunt a Kennedy run for the presidency.

These doubts about Kennedy may help other Democratic hopefuls, especially Washington's Henry Jackson. "Scoop's" conservatism in foreign policy areas—he favors large defense spending and is ultracautious on détente—may make him appealing to a part of Ford's natural constituency. His liberalism in economic matters could prove attractive to voters, especially if Ford does poorly in the fight against inflation. But Jackson, who does his homework and is known as an "issues man," often overstresses his issues. Besides, he is dull. It is hard to see him overcoming either the Kennedy charisma or Ford's open charm.

In general, Democrats are suffering because they have lost their principal platform: anti-Nixonism. While they enjoyed gleeful unity as long as Watergate flourished, its resolution now exposes the deep conflicts and divisions that plague a party encompassing both George Wallace on the right and George McGovern on the left.

The biggest political beneficiary of the entire Watergate tragedy could well turn out to be some horse too dark to be seen just now. The Democrats are well aware that any of their current major candidates would alienate some sectors of the party. A new star—a Reubin Askew of Florida, a John Gilligan of Ohio, a Wendell Anderson of Minnesota—might just be kicked up by the need for a fresh face. This possibility makes it important for Kennedy to decide early on his own plans. As long as he waffles over running for the presidency himself, less well known candidates will have a hard time making a bid.

Some dramatic effects of the Watergate climax will surely appear in the upcoming congressional elections. The Democrats are likely to pick up two or three Senate seats this November. But some Republican senatorial hopefuls have been given new life by the resignation. Among them:

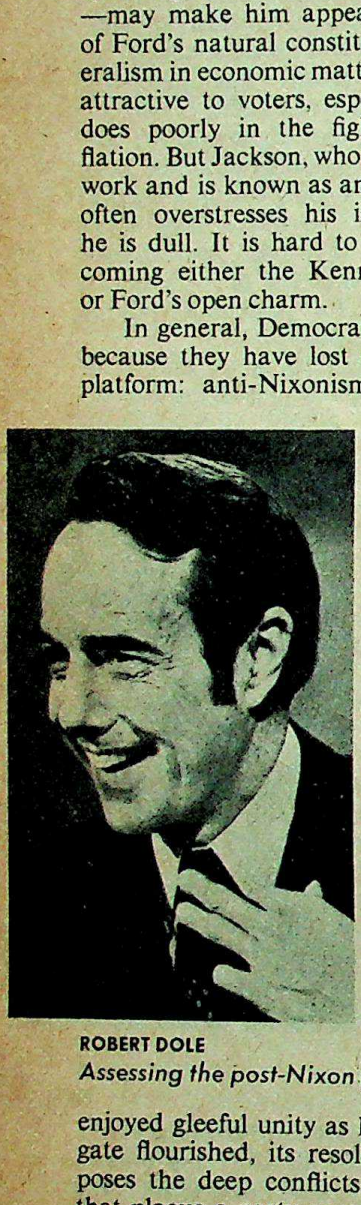
▶ Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, former Republican national chairman. "He spent the first two years of Nixon trying to convince the people back home that he was the President's right hand man," says one Midwesterner. "He spent the last two years trying to convince them he never saw the guy." Free of the Nixon incubus, Dole's dilemma is ended. His opponent, Congressman William Roy, has been attacking him for being close to the former President. That attack has been blunted by Nixon's resignation, and Dole's chances of holding his seat in Republican Kansas have been enhanced accordingly.

▶ Senator Marlow Cook of Kentucky, who faced an uphill fight for reelection against popular Democratic Governor Wendell Ford. A few weeks ago, the race was felt to be lopsided in Ford's favor. The Governor had effectively linked Cook to Nixon. But now, as one local G.O.P. official, Jack Will, puts it, "People will be voting on the candidates themselves." If Cook gets a campaign visit from President Ford, it is possible that the tide could swing his way.

▶ Senator Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania in his tight struggle with his Democratic opponent Pittsburgh Mayor Pete Flaherty. A liberal who was on the White House "enemies" list, Schweiker has been handicapped by the G.O.P. Administration in Washington. But despite President Ford's conservatism, relations between the new Administration and Schweiker are friendly and cooperative; a new campaign vigor and a spirit of optimism in the Schweiker camp have been immediate results.

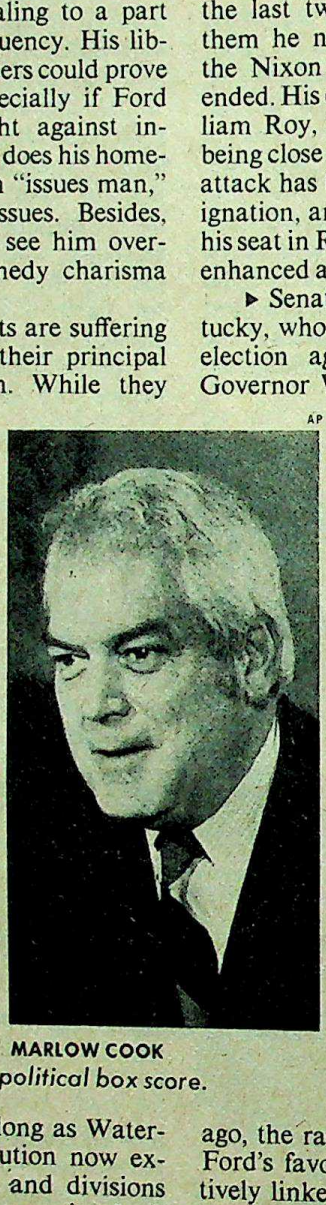
Similarly in the House, political bookmakers have already drastically reduced their dire forecasts of a Republican slaughter. There are likely to be some unseated Republicans, while several strong G.O.P. Congressmen retired rather than face the voters in the midst of the Watergate imbroglio. But mates of losses, which ran as high or 100, have been scaled back do 20 or 30. Among those favored by on's resignation are the Republica the House Judiciary Committee voted for impeachment—like Raile of Illinois and Butler of Virginia on defenders like Sandman and aziti, both of New Jersey, who swit after Nixon's confessional tapes wer leased on Aug. 5, have similarly protected from adverse conservative publican fallout by the ex-Presid resignation.

Says Georgia Governor Jimmy ter, the Democrats' National Camp Committee chairman: "Gerald F assumption of the presidency will r in the election of about 15 Repub Congressmen who might not have it if the impeachment process had tinued." Carter emphasizes tha Democrats wanted to keep Nixon fice for the sake of gaining seats they know that his departure from White House will enable Republi to avoid calamity. As one Carter somewhat wistfully puts it: In the rowest partisan terms, some Democ "would have preferred to see N twisting slowly, slowly, in the wind."



ROBERT DOLE

AP



MARLOW COOK

WALTER BENNETT



RICHARD SCHWEIKER

Assessing the post-Nixon political box score.

Lester's Last Hurrah

For the past four years a one- road show named Lester Maddox been touring Georgia. At rural roads and in small towns where his loved "little people" congregate, M dox, 59, sings hymns and co ballads, plays his harmonica, and p his star-spangled bicycle backward object is to give Maddox a second as Governor, a post he held from 19 1971. Prohibited by state law from ceeding himself, Maddox has been ing his time as Lieutenant Gove while waging the campaign he call "last hurrah." Last week that effort fered a setback that may be fatal; M dox failed to win enough votes to a runoff in the Democratic primary.

As expected, Maddox led the cr ed field of twelve candidates. After he has kept himself continuously in public eye since 1964, when he blacks away from his Pickrick re rant in Atlanta with a pistol and handles. But with just under 36% of votes, his margin is too small to him the support he needs in the r on Sept. 3. He will face George Bus 47, a respected member of the house of representatives for 18 years now majority leader. Busbee won 21% of the primary votes, but sta gain more than Maddox from the that went to the other ten candid A majority of the voters, including of the state's 450,000 registered bl stayed away from the polls last we many absentees show up for the r they too are expected to help Bus

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The America Inherited by Gerald Ford

▸ More than one out of every four Americans of voting age believes that his or her life-style and well-being are in serious jeopardy because of inflation and other current economic conditions.

▸ Nearly one in three is extremely upset by the direction in which the nation's society is heading, feels powerless to change things, and complains that the "wrong people" are getting the favorable breaks.

▸ Some 28% express a keen interest in politics and follow politics closely. Far fewer (13%) actively participate on a day-to-day basis in influencing the country's political and legislative process in one way or another.

▸ Slightly more than half now qualify as conservatives, though what they mean by the label varies widely.

These findings were drawn from a study of public attitudes conducted for TIME in mid-July by Yankelovich, Skelly & White, Inc., the New York–based public-opinion research firm. For comparison purposes, a similar study had been made in late April and early May. The report is the first of a series called TIME Soundings, which will monitor a number of political indicators as the country approaches the 1976 presidential election. *(The methods and definitions used are spelled out in the box on the following two pages.)* The report also provides a sharp profile of the America that Gerald Ford inherited upon Richard Nixon's abdication as President and tells much about the political scene confronting the new Administration. The key findings:

I ECONOMIC DISTRESS

An increasing number of Americans sense a real threat to their economic security if inflation is not brought under control. Some 70% of all those questioned mentioned it as the No. 1 problem facing the country, far outstripping Watergate and other issues. Only a relatively small minority considered themselves to be in economic distress, but that minority is growing.

Last spring 23% of those surveyed

continued on page 34

THE CONGRESS

Turning Out the Pocket

The pocket veto is a minor but useful weapon in the President's arsenal. The U.S. Constitution provides that a bill passed by Congress becomes law ten days after it is sent to the President—unless Congress is adjourned at the end of that period. If such is the case, the President can kill a bill by simply pocketing it—doing nothing. Andrew Johnson was the first to think of using the pocket veto during an intrasession recess. Last week, in a historic decision, the third branch of Government ruled that the pocket veto can be used only when Congress has adjourned without setting a date of return.

Upholding a lower court decision, the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington declared that former President Nixon's pocket veto of a bill in 1970 was unlawful. The measure, a $225 million authorization for the training of family physicians, was passed overwhelmingly by both houses of Congress. Nixon, who objected to the bill on the ground that it would cost too much money, failed to sign it. By the deadline tenth day, Congress had recessed for a five-day Christmas holiday. Nixon then claimed that the bill was not law.

Senator Edward Kennedy, co-sponsor of the bill, was angry enough to take a dramatic step. He filed suit against the Administration in U.S. District Court in Washington and then argued the case himself on the assumption that nobody could plead for Congress more persuasively than one of its members. Nixon, he charged, had made "promiscuous use" of the pocket veto. In the past it had been used only in cases where legislation proposed by Congress was not vital to the national welfare. But Kennedy considered his own bill to be a major undertaking. In addition, Nixon had vetoed the bill in the course of a very brief recess. "If the pocket veto can be applied to a five-day adjournment," argued Kennedy, "why should it not apply to an adjournment of three days or one day or even overnight? At stake is nothing less than an opportunity to take a stand against one aspect of the continuing erosion of congressional power."

In reply, the Justice Department maintained that President Nixon had done nothing that had not been done before and been accepted by Congress. Why single him out for attack? The courts were unmoved. The lower court ruled that the recess was too brief to justify a pocket veto. The appeals court went further. Since a pocket veto is a "departure from the central scheme of the Constitution," the court ruled that it could not be exercised during an "intrasession adjournment."

No further appeal by the White House to the U.S. Supreme Court is expected. It would probably fail and also be a contentious note on which to enter what the new President hopes will be "a good marriage" with Congress.

MISSISSIPPI

Evers Indicted

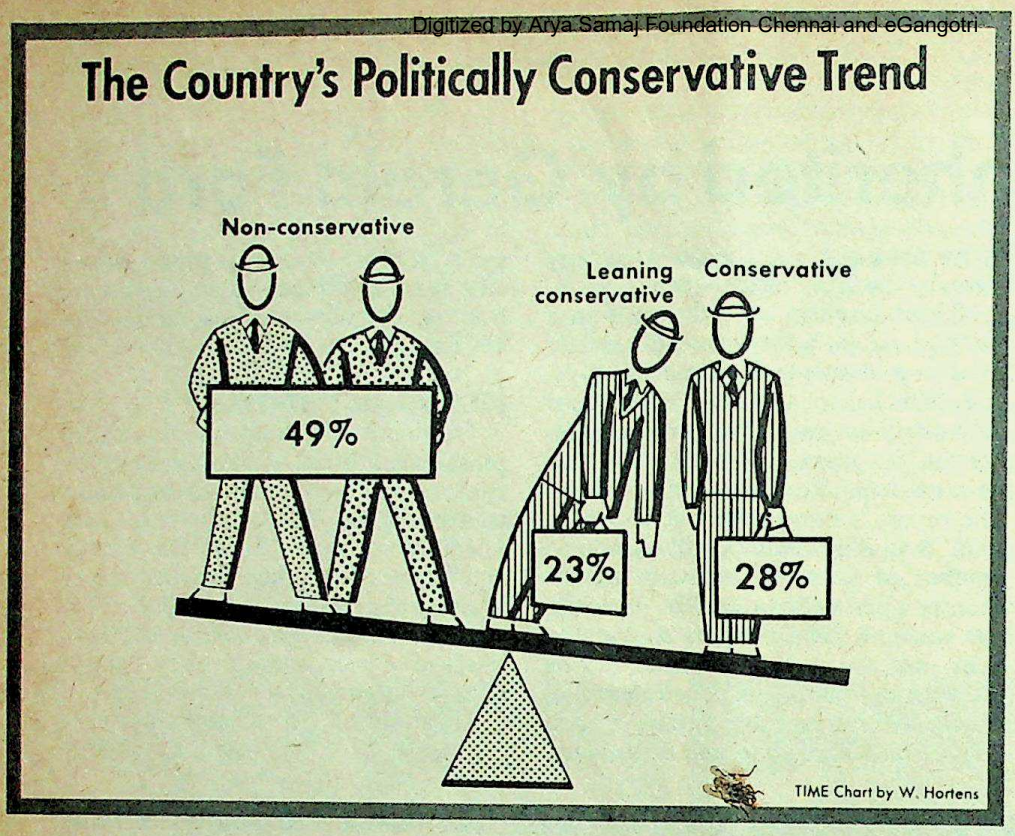
"They tried everything else. Tried shooting me, starving me and breaking me, and they missed. Now they're trying this." Thus Charles Evers, 51, mayor of tiny (pop. 1,725) Fayette, Miss., attempted to explain his indictment last week by a federal grand jury in Jackson on charges of evading more than $53,000 in federal income taxes over a three-year period. According to the indictment, Evers and his second wife Nannie Laura, from whom he was divorced last June, claimed a taxable income of only $20,219 for 1968-70 and paid federal taxes of only $2,642. The indictment charges that the Everses, in fact, had an income for those years of $179,550, on which they should have paid $56,236.

Not on Welfare. Shedding no light on the mysterious "they," Evers charged people who are out to get him with a "long process of harassment and intimidation" dating back to 1963. That was the year his brother Medgar was slain by a sniper's bullet and Charles returned to Mississippi from Chicago to succeed him as field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Charles spearheaded a drive that registered 250,000 black voters, and in 1969 became the first black mayor of a biracial Mississippi town since Reconstruction. In 1971 he ran for Governor but lost.

Evers does not even accept his meager $75-a-month salary as mayor of impoverished Fayette, but he owns a restaurant, liquor store and motel in town. The indictment "should prove all niggers aren't on welfare," said Evers last week, after proclaiming his innocence. He added that he had repeatedly told the Internal Revenue Service that he would pay whatever they said he owed, "but they told me very frankly, 'No, we want you.' " That was a distortion, said an IRS official: "We just told him that we weren't there to collect money, that we were involved in a criminal investigation." No date has been set for the trial.

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believed that they were in deep trouble financially, 43% said that they were managing to cope with rising prices by trimming expenditures, and 34% reported that they had scarcely felt inflation's effects. By July the picture had changed. Fewer people found themselves able to cope (39%), and more people felt serious economic distress (28%). They are the group whose politics are most likely to be affected by changes in economic conditions in the future.

A quarter of those in the economically distressed group are under 25, while 49% are under 35. The economically distressed also tended to be blue-collar workers (53%) and married with children (51%). About three-fifths have incomes of $10,000 or more a year. Two out of three label themselves as Democrats, compared with 55% of the population as a whole, and more voted for George McGovern (40%) than for Richard Nixon (33%) in 1972.

II SOCIAL RESENTMENT

The last dark days of the Watergate scandal appeared to add new impetus to the growing disaffection in America. Yankelovich found that 32% of those polled—up 5 percentage points in three months—were motivated by a strong sense of social resentment that was likely to influence their politics. It is resentment, rather than economic conditions, that binds the group together. Indeed, only a third found themselves in economic distress, as defined by TIME Soundings.

For purposes of analysis, the two groups were labeled resentful and nonresentful Americans, somewhat of a necessary oversimplification: obviously, their attitudes often overlap. The resentful tend to have less than a high school education (51% *v.* 31% of the nonresentful), to have blue-collar jobs (53% *v.* 39%), earn less than $10,000 a year (52% *v.* 34%), to be Southerners (41% *v.* 29%) and to live in small towns or rural a (50% *v.* 37%).

Views that distinguish the rese group include: a belief that there justice for the poor (47% *v.* 18%), people in power are not as trustwor as they used to be (82% *v.* 57%), Government is taking people's freed away (62% *v.* 32%), that too much tention is being paid to minority gro (48% *v.* 41%) and that the state of als in the country is bad and get worse (73% *v.* 38%).

Two-thirds of the socially rese are Democrats, but unlike voters in nomic distress, they cast their ballots Nixon (43%) over McGovern (30% 1972. But 38% said they would have ferred George Wallace if he had run the presidency.

III CONSERVATISM

The survey confirmed the w spread belief that the U.S. political now tilts toward the right, but slightly. Some 29% of those polled c themselves conservatives. Another did not use that label but shared es tially the same views as those who t of themselves as conservative. They be considered to be moderates who conservative.

The pollsters found that most Am icans now connect the word conser tive more with social morality than political ideology. Such traditio benchmarks as attitudes toward cap ism and big business no longer much to define the country politica While three out of four of the cons vative majority said that they were ing to make sacrifices to preserve free enterprise system, 54% expres anger and hostility toward big busin —as did 58% of the nonconservatives

The slight conservative majority far from homogeneous. Its members bound together by many traditional ues but separated into what could called the more classical (61%) more populist (39%) constituencies the latter group's angry feeling that have been left out of the Americ

How the Soundings Were Taken

The problems that trouble the U.S. today are complex and interrelated in unexpected ways. To plumb and analyze them, TIME Soundings will report quarterly on the mood, temper and outlook of Americans. Soundings consists of a series of political and social indicators that were developed for TIME by Yankelovich, Skelly & White, Inc. The report differs from more traditional opinion polls in two respects: 1) Soundings not only measures shifts in public opinion but also tries to monitor the underlying trends that produce sea changes in public attitudes, and 2) the indicators are based on an amalgam of responses to hundreds of different questions.

The information in the accompanying story came from two separate studies. The first, in late April and early May, was based on a national probability sample of 1,238 personal interviews; the second, in mid-July, on a matched probability sample of 1,040 interviews. Results for each individual survey have an error factor of plus or minus 3%. In the estimation of trends from one survey to the next, the error factor is plus minus 4%. The first report includes five indicators.

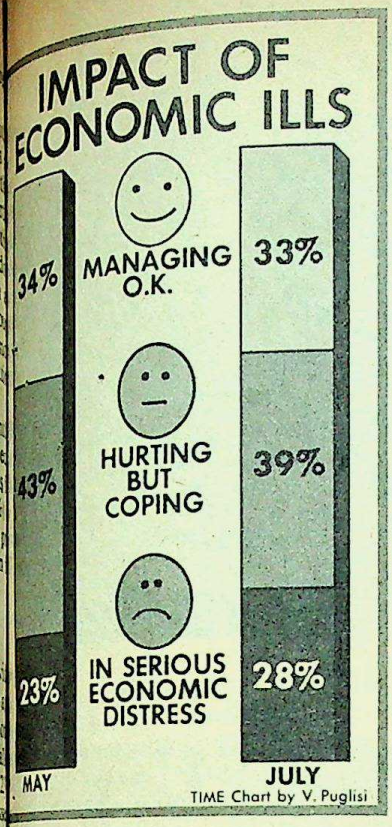
ECONOMIC DISTRESS involves people who find themselves in serious economic trouble. The indicator was derived from series of questions about urgent problems, among them difficulties in meeting bills, mortgage and rent payments, deep seated fears of losing jobs because of an economic downturn and serious worries about not being able to save for the future.

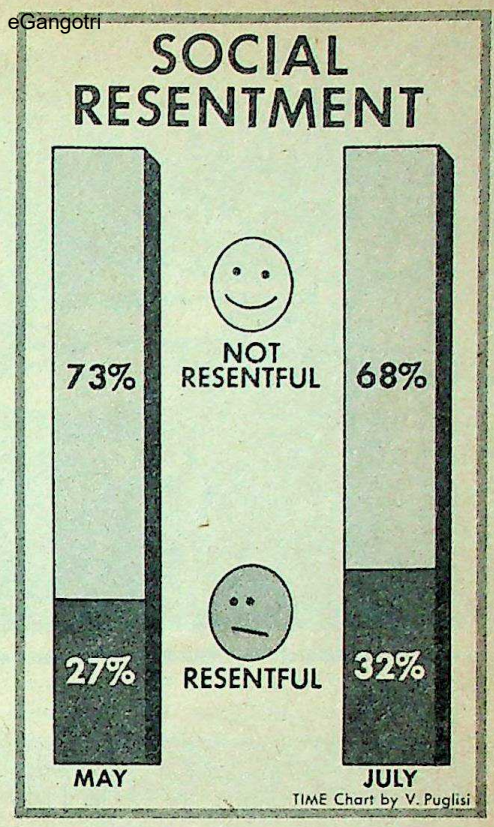
SOCIAL RESENTMENT describes those people who are extremely upset by recent trends in the U.S. The indicator is drawn from answers to questions revealing a sense that things are out of control, the country is changing too fast, ordinary people are powerless to change things, and traditional values have been supplanted by a new social morality that encourages pornography, permissiveness and handouts to undeserving people.

CONSERVATISM is an indicator referring to people who meet one or both of two conditions: 1) they describe themselves as conservatives; 2) they [illegible]

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each citizen being paid to minorities (*v.* 34% of the nonconservatives).

But the two groups of conservatives disagree on many matters. For example, far more of the resentful conservatives tend to blame the country for many of their troubles (42% *v.* 11% of the nonresentful), believe there is no justice in the U.S. for poor people (46% *v.* 16%), no longer trust the people in power as much as they used to (86% *v.* 56%), and believe that the Federal Government is gradually taking away Americans' basic freedoms (63% *v.* 35%). Further, the resentful conservatives were less likely to be registered Republicans (24% *v.* 38% of the classical conservatives and 25% of the country's registered voters as a whole).

Because of these striking dissimilarities, the Yankelovich analysts concluded that the two groups of conservatives are unlikely to vote as a bloc. Far from sticking together because of the conservative tenets that they share, the groups are more likely to split along the lines —and issues—of the degree of their social resentment.

mainstream. Indeed, almost two-thirds the Americans who qualified as so- lly resentful are also part of the nservative majority. For purposes of alysis, they were called resentful nservatives.

The two groups differ demographh- ly. The classical conservatives are re apt to have college educations % *v.* 11% of the resentful group), pro- sional or white-collar jobs (35% *v.* %), working wives (31% *v.* 22%), an- al incomes of $15,000 or more (30% 12%) and live in the West (17% *v.*) but not in the South (36% *v.* 49%).

Both groups share some views be- nd the five basic, defining tenets. ong other things, about 80% of each up agree that right to private prop- y is sacred (*v.* 58% of the noncon- vatives). More than half of each be- e that people in authority should be wn more respect (*v.* 29% of the non- nservatives), and more than half of

IV POLITICAL INTEREST ACTIVISM

Some 28% of those polled were found to have a high interest in politics, while 44% were recorded as having moderate interest and another 28% showed low interest.

Compared with those with moderate or low interest in politics, the people who expressed high interest were more likely to be men (53% *v.* 41% of the low-interest group) and college graduates (21% *v.* 3%). They tended also to be white and middle-aged or older. Nonwhites comprise only 9% of the high-interest group but 19% of the low-interest group. Only 29% of those with high interest in politics were under 35 years of age (compared with 42% of the moderate-interest and 46% of the low-interest groups), and 47% were 50 and older.

Nearly three out of five people who were polled either pay no attention to the political process or do no more than vote. Some 28% occasionally try to influence the country's political and legislative process, but only 13% do so frequently enough to be considered political activists.

The political activists tended to come from the upper strata of U.S. society. Some 43% of the activists earn over $15,000 a year, compared with only 22% of the nonactivists. The activists more often come from professional and executive backgrounds (42% *v.* 12% of the nonactivists), live in the big cities and suburbs (67% *v.* 52%) and are neither very young nor very old. Only 8% of the activists are under 25 years of age, while 4% are 65 or older; some 21% of the nonactivists are under 25, and 18% are 65 or older. Among other things the next Soundings will report whether there is an upswing in interest and activism now that the Watergate stigma has been removed from politics.

s that most sharply differentiate self-described conserva- es from everyone else. All those polled were asked more n 100 questions that were suggested by past surveys and cov- d attitudes.

The analysts assumed that conservatism was best defined those issues on which there is the greatest difference of opin- between conservatives and nonconservatives. The sharp- differences occurred over five basic concepts.

Thus, for example, to the proposition that "the American y of life is superior to that of any other country," 87% of con- vatives but only 36% of nonconservatives assented, a di- gence of 51 points. The other four tenets, in order of the ree of spread, are: 1) conviction that people have become selfish and self-centered, putting their own interests ahead their families and the country, 2) strong support for re- stituting the death penalty, 3) commitment to organized re- gion, and 4) belief that American Communism represents a

POLITICAL INTEREST AND ACTIVISM, two related indicators, cover the people who have the most direct effect on the outcome of elections. Those who ranked high in the "interest" indicator follow political developments regularly through television, radio and print, seldom miss watching a televised presidential address or press conference, like to discuss politics, and often are asked by other people for advice on politics.

To qualify as a political activist, a registered voter had to have worked for or donated money to political candidates or parties, attended political meetings and rallies, written or otherwise made contact with public officials, or been involved in an activist organization like a local party club, an environmental, consumer or race-relations group.

Future studies, at approximately three-month intervals, will measure changes in the five indicators, as well as add fresh ones. The results should identify the major opinion trends that will, among other things, help shape the outcome of the 1976 presidential election.

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THE NEW PRESIDENT MEETING WITH HIS ECONOMIC TEAM FOR A STRATEGY SESSION LAST WEEK

POLICY AND PROBLEMS

Ford Confronts the Deadliest Danger

Cyprus and the search for a Vice President might distract attention temporarily, but the Ford Administration knows quite well what is the deadliest danger that it and the nation face: inflation. The new President sought last week to assure the country of his determination to confront it, making economic policy the focus of his heavily applauded first speech to Congress. But his program as it emerged in the broadest of outlines could almost be called Nixonomics without Nixon: it contained little that had not been advocated by the previous Administration. Whether that signified a barrenness of ideas or a realistic appreciation that inflation cannot be conquered except by dogged persistence in pursuing painful policies, only time and future presidential action will make clear.

What is altogether too clear is that events will give the President and his advisers, old and new, no leisure in which to think out the details of economic strategy. Dismal crop forecasts last week made plain that food-price inflation is gathering speed again. A union plan to shut down the nation's coal mines this week underlined boiling labor unrest. The stock market, reflecting investor skepticism that anything much will change, plunged to new lows. The success or failure of Ford's presidency will be judged largely by whether in the months ahead he can produce a different kind of economic news.

Target: "Public Enemy No. 1"

Opening his attack on inflation last week, President Ford came on like a curious mixture of two radio programs from the 1940s: *Gang Busters* and *Fibber McGee and Molly*. In the best *Gang Busters* fashion, he told cheering Congressmen that he considered inflation "public enemy No. 1" and pledged a resolute fight against it. Yet what he disclosed of his arsenal of weaponry for the battle seemed a Fibber McGee closet crowded with familiar ideas that have been tried, or at least noisily advocated, before.

In his speech to Congress, Ford made three specific economic proposals, all of which had been embraced by President Nixon before his resignation:

1) He dedicated himself to what Nixon aides called "the oldtime religion" of budget cutting by announcing that he had told White House staffers and Cabinet officers "to make fiscal restraint their first order of business" and flatly promising to recommend a balanced budget for fiscal 1976 (the official estimates for fiscal 1975, now in its second month, project a deficit of $11 billion).

2) He asked Congress to resurrect by Labor Day the Cost of Living Council, a Government agency that once administered wage-price controls but died on June 30, two months after the controls. Ford's COLC—like one that Nixon proposed in his last weeks—would be empowered to monitor price and wage increases and officially decry those that seem excessive, but it would not be able to order those rises rolled back or even delayed.

3) He promised to call an "economic summit" of top Government officials, corporate executives, bankers, labor leaders and private economists to seek agreement for a concerted attack on inflation—and pledged to preside over its sessions in person. Administration officials later suggested that the meeting might be televised and named Sept. [illegible] as the earliest date on which the "summit" could be held.

That hardly adds up yet to a comprehensive program, which of course would be unfair to expect of Ford in his first week. The proposal for an economic summit, in particular, seemed designed to convey an impression of action, openness to ideas and determination to unite the nation against inflation rather than to yield any specific results. Even Administration officials do not expect the summit to turn up any things that have not already been aired.

Still, there were signs that even if the ideas are old, they will be pursued with a new vigor. A tight budget and tight monetary policy, to be pursued by the independent Federal Reserve with White House encouragement, will undoubtedly be the core of Ford's program as they were at least in the rhetoric of Nixon's. But while Nixon gave the

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JOHNSTON, WASHINGTON POST

to swing, Ford appears to have
ched a hard and controversial deci-
to resist deep cuts in the Pentagon
get and take the heaviest slices out
civilian programs.

In his speech to Congress, the Pres-
nt proclaimed opposition to "unwar-
ted" defense cuts and later expressed
ppointment over reductions of $5.1
lion in military authorizations and
0 million in foreign aid proposed by
ate committees. On the other hand,
the House narrowly passed a bill
viding $20.4 billion in federal aid to
transit over the next six years, Ford
ed amendments that would slash the
l to $11 billion (congressional Dem-
ts are proposing to meet him half-
by cutting the bill to $15.8 billion).
d is expected to veto another mea-
already passed by Congress, that
es education benefits for veterans,
to ask the lawmakers to repass the
after several hundred million dol-
have been cut from it. Some aides
dict that Ford will veto every spend-
bill that provides more money than
Administration requested.

Some other parts of Ford's emerging
gram seemed to be a bit more than
vigorated Nixonism. Jawboning, in
form of direct presidential criticism
specific price increases by specific
panies, made a surprise reappear-
e. What jawboning existed under
on was mostly performed by lower
ials rather than by the President.
Ford did not hesitate to take on Gen-
l Motors, the world's biggest auto-
ker and the largest employer in his
e state of Michigan. On the new
sident's Inauguration Day, GM had
nounced a price boost of almost 10%,
about $500 a car, on 1975 models.
week Ford pronounced himself
ery disappointed" that GM would
e prices that much when business
labor should be practicing self-re-
nt and said that he hoped the move
uld not be "viewed as a signal by oth-
auto companies or other industries."

New Faces Among the Advisers

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Every new President likes to turn to trusted confidants for advice. So the unfamiliar faces of two old friends of Gerald Ford's have begun to appear in the circle of men with whom the President discusses economics. Like Ford, both are conservative Midwestern Republicans—and neither is an economist.

The more important of the two is L. William Seidman, 53, son of a Russian emigrant and now the millionaire managing partner of Seidman & Seidman, an international accounting firm that his father and two uncles founded. Seidman served as an adviser on Ford's vice-presidential staff, and is now a key member of the transition team. Last week he began sitting in on the daily 8 a.m. meetings of Administration economic officials at the somewhat reluctant invitation of Economic Coordinator Kenneth Rush. The reluctance is perhaps understandable: Seidman is a prime candidate to take Rush's job.

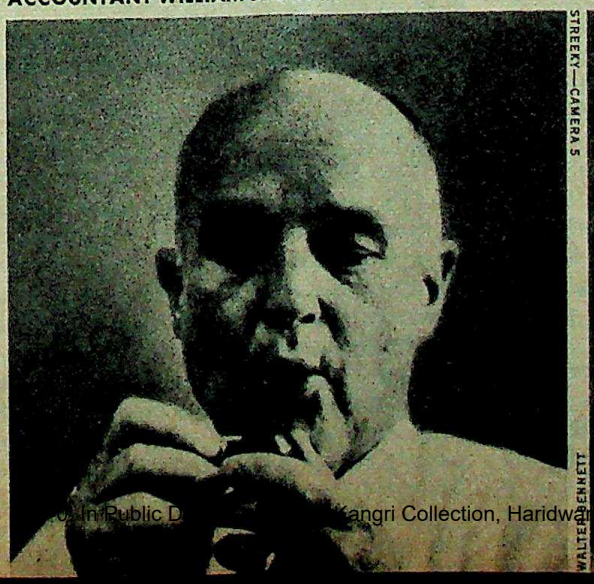
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Like Ford, Seidman grew up in Grand Rapids—though on the "better" side of town—and has lived for the past 22 years on a farm just outside the city. He has been a highly successful accounting executive: since he took over in 1968, Seidman & Seidman, which specializes in tax matters, has expanded from 14 U.S. offices to 47. Seidman, a jogger and avid antiques collector, is also something of a frustrated politician: he lost a campaign for Michigan auditor general in 1962, headed the Romney for President office in Washington in 1967-68, and withdrew early last year from a race for the congressional seat Ford vacated to become Vice President. Seidman so far has had little to say about his economic views: he describes himself as a conservative but adds that "I don't think those labels mean very much" and says that he is seeking ideas far and wide. "We are giving $5 in 1919 money to anyone with a quick and easy answer to inflation," he jokes.

A still less familiar name is that of William G. Whyte, 58, U.S. Steel vice president in Washington for public relations (in charge of lobbying). Whyte does not seem to be headed for an official post, but Ford has said that he will ask Whyte's advice. The two have been friends since U.S. Steel sent Whyte to Washington in 1952 during Ford's second term in Congress: they golf together, their families have vacationed together, and Whyte's younger son Roger has dated Ford's daughter Susan. Whyte says that he and Ford are "pro–free enterprise." Among his opinions: new wage-price controls would hamper steel production; the U.S. should "close the gates" on exports of steel scrap (presumably because they tend to keep supplies down and prices up at home); it would be a "tragedy" if the U.S. reimposed an embargo on imports of Rhodesian chrome; and there is only one way that American industry can raise the capital it needs to expand—"more profits."

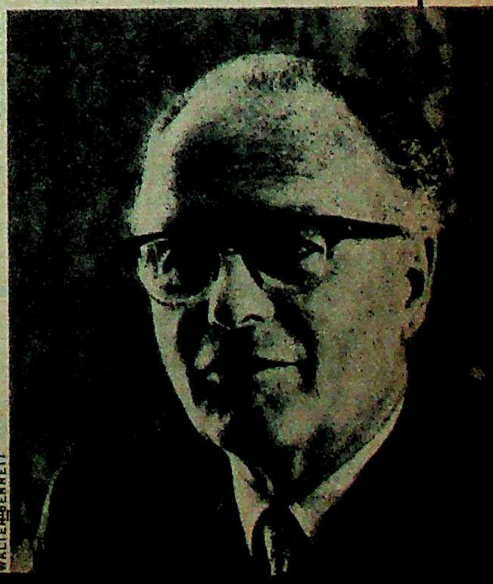
A third old friend from whom Ford may get at least unofficial advice is Paul McCracken, the University of Michigan economist who served as the first chairman of Richard Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers, from 1969 through 1971. McCracken turned "game plan" into a celebrated Washington phrase for Nixon's original strategy of combating inflation by gradually slowing the economy through use of budget and monetary restraints and still insists the policy was right; he vehemently opposes wage-price controls. He met several times with Ford during Ford's vice presidency, but says that he has no intention of returning to the Government ("I'll take Sherman's oath on that"). Some of his colleagues, however, would like to see him return. Says Alan Greenspan, who is awaiting Senate confirmation as CEA chairman: "The more people like McCracken there are around, the better." Greenspan would like a conservative ally who has Ford's ear.

ACCOUNTANT WILLIAM SEIDMAN



STREEKY—CAMERA 5

U.S. STEEL'S WILLIAM WHYTE



WALTER BENNETT

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made illustrated the extent to which the new Administration is feeling its way on economic policy. Press aides began wondering what they would say if reporters asked what Ford thought of the GM boost. Press Secretary J.F. terHorst got a presidential statement approved by Ford and issued it. No one seems to have figured out what White House pressure, if any, should be applied in the event GM doesn't back off from its price increase, and the whole issue of how much jawboning there should be under what conditions by the new Administration is still being debated by Ford's advisers. The consensus seems to be that any further jawboning should be done by a revived Cost of Living Council, not by the President.

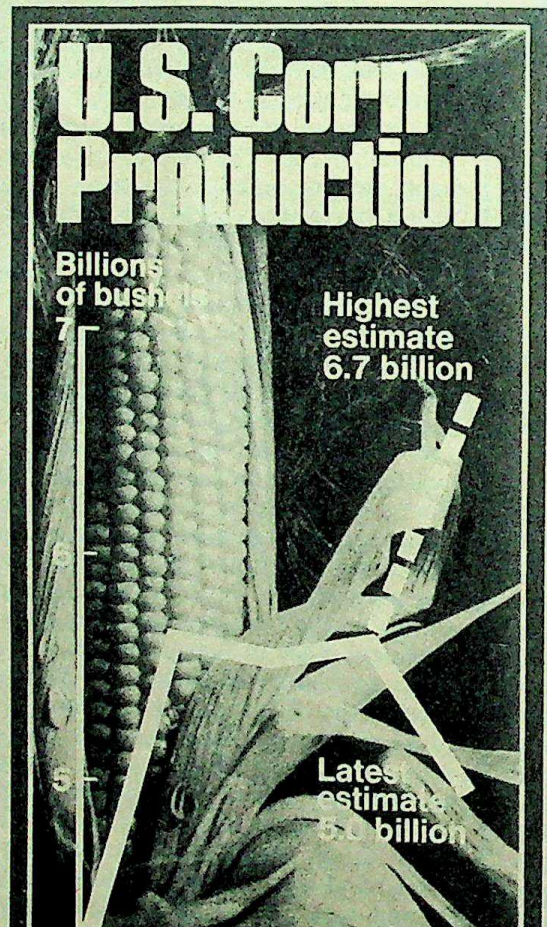
The incident, however, did illustrate the impressive public support that Ford can command for tough anti-inflationary action. It drew praise from an unexpected source; the National Automobile Dealers Association went on record as strongly backing Ford's "sharp disapproval" of GM's increase. James Gilmore, owner of Cadillac and Pontiac dealerships in Kalamazoo, Mich., and sponsor of Champion Race Driver A.J. Foyt, wrote to GM President Edward Cole complaining that "you're doing a great disservice to your dealers, who must face public criticism for such enormous increases."

Labor Detente. Ford moved to solidify his backing in another quarter by re-establishing a long broken communications link between the White House and Big Labor, whose cooperation will be vital to any anti-inflation campaign. He invited AFL-CIO President George Meany to the White House for a 45-minute chat that terHorst called "very friendly and very constructive." Meany was once friendly with Nixon but later turned into a bitter critic; he had not been in the White House for more than a year. Ford described Meany as a "great labor leader," although Meany's organization had rated Ford's congressional voting record as almost 100% wrong on matters of interest to unions. Later in the week the President conferred with Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons, who suggested to Ford that the nation should be "shocked back into reality" by a complete freeze on all prices and wages. Ford, said the union leader, had no comment.

Whether Ford, as his economic program is thought out and unfolds, can continue to effect such reconciliations is anybody's guess. Parts of it will be bitter medicine; fiscal and monetary restraint will undoubtedly cause unemployment to rise above the present 5.3%. But for now, Ford has the nation in a mood to go along with almost anything he wants to try. As New York Republican Congressman Barber Conable puts it, "It's kind of like taking castor oil. Nobody enjoys it. But I suspect that Jerry is going to be more able to administer it than most people."

A Bumper Year— For Prices

Nothing has hurt the U.S. consumer more in the past three years than wildfire food-price inflation. Last week what little hope remained that it would be eased by bumper crops this year vanished. On the fourth day of the Ford Administration, the Department of Agriculture released new crop forecasts that seemed to confirm the worst fears about the effects of the blistering drought that has gripped the Midwestern Farm Belt this summer after heavy spring rains spoiled the planting season (TIME, Aug. 12).



The Department now figures that the U.S., and the vast world market that its farmers help feed, will have to make do with an American corn crop of only 4.96 billion bu.—12% less than last year's harvest and a startling 26% below the record production predicted earlier *(see chart)*. The soybean crop will be down even lower: it is now projected to be 16% below last year's record output of 1.6 billion bu. and 15% under earlier estimates. The wheat harvest, estimated at 1.84 billion bu., will still top last year's, but by only 8% rather than

the spring. Total U.S. production of crops is now expected to drop back the level of two years ago, about 6% low last year.

It is possible that these estimates a bit too pessimistic. The rains finally come to most of the Mid leading one weather forecaster in Moines, Iowa, to announce that drought was over. If so, farmers m yet squeeze higher yields out of corn ready planted. But most farm experts main discouraged. "So much dam has already been done," says Billy Gowdy, commissioner of agriculture Oklahoma, where farmers are worr that there will not be enough rain f good sorghum harvest and that the will be far too dry to plant a crop of winter wheat.

Oddly, consumers could some initial benefit from drought. As the prices of corn soybean feeds rise, farmers bringing cattle, hogs and livestock to market early, ca a temporary glut that could to keep meat prices down first. By next winter or sp though, that oversupply will be hausted and meat prices prob will rise with a vengeance. T are some signs, too, of a re of the panicky export buying in the past has done much to p up U.S. food prices. Foreign b ing so far has been no more moderate, but enterprising Ja nese buyers have approached number of farmers in downs Illinois and offered to purch soybeans for $1 a bushel above going market price (curre $7.75).

Earnings Needed. The F Administration has one opt that could ease the price cr in the U.S: export controls would in effect ration the amo of U.S. food made available to increasingly hungry world. proposal for such controls has been made to the President, some Administration officials vor them. Secretary of Agricult Earl Butz is opposed; he ar persuasively that controls w sabotage world trade by un mining confidence in the willingness the U.S. to fulfill its agreements, and the nation sorely needs large exp earnings from farm goods to pay for ports of high-priced oil. His argume were underscored last week by a re that the U.S. balance of payments, cording to one measure, swung from $1 billion surplus in the first quarter a $4.5 billion deficit in the second. Butz is a strong Nixon man who is wid ly expected to leave the Administrat by Christmas—and Ford is described some friends as a President who is l ly to give the domestic economy first ority if its needs seem to clash with

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ED MINE WORKERS' PRESIDENT ARNOLD MILLER (CAPLESS) TALKING WITH UNION MEMBERS IN WEST VIRGINIA

umblings from he Mines

Much more than friendly chats be-en Gerald Ford and George Meany l be required to reduce the labor mil-ncy that is producing a rash of strikes, d kiting wages up at an inflationary e this year. A strong indication of la-'s mood: the United Mine Workers, resenting 110,000 members who dig % of the nation's soft coal, plans to t down all unionized mines through-this week. Officially, the closing is a e-day "memorial period," called by M.W. President Arnold Miller to mmemorate the 100,000 coal miners lled on the job in this century. But ller's intention is to give the nation a minder of how seriously the U.M.W. uld cripple segments of the economy, pecially the steel and auto industries d electric utilities, if it calls a full-ged strike when its three-year con-ct expires Nov. 12.

The shutdown will cost the U.S. 10 illion to 12 million tons of coal pro-uction. It thus will reduce stockpiles a time when the nation's energy sup-es are still only in precarious balance th demand, and coal prices are shoot-g up. Some "spot" (immediate-deliv-y) coal has sold lately for as much as 5 a ton, v. $8 a year ago. Coal stock-es now stand at 23 days for steel mills, days for utilities and 39 days for in-stry generally. All are on the low side. rinking stockpiles will put pressure on e coal-mine owners, with whom Mill-will begin the year's most important ntract bargaining by the end of this

Tony Boyle in an election in 1972, has never negotiated a contract, and needs a fat pact to solidify his position. Among his desired concessions: a "substantial" wage hike, sick pay and a cost-of-living escalator clause, a pension raise and stricter safety regulations.

The U.M.W.'s unusual contract permits the "memorial" shutdown; in fact, it allows ten days for memorial close-downs during the life of the pact. Thus Miller can and probably will call another five-day "memorial" walkout in the middle of bargaining, and the nation could lose considerable coal output, even without an official strike. The coal industry's bargaining arm, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, tried to talk the U.M.W. out of the shutdown, contending that it will cost miners and other employees $25 million in wages and $7 million in royalty payments to the union's welfare and retirement fund. Though the appeal failed, the figures indicate how costly a formal strike could be to the union, which has no strike contingency funds, as well as to the U.S.

The Stock Rally That Wasn't

A stock market adage barnacled with age counsels investors to "buy on the rumor, sell on the news." Traders have followed it to the letter in the past two weeks and thereby made the explosive rally that was once expected to follow President Nixon's departure from office become Wall Street's non-event of the year. Shortly before Nixon's resignation, the Dow Jones industrial average days as investors bought on a plethora of rumors. But once the news broke, they started selling and drove the Dow down to a close last week of 732, the lowest in four years and about 30% below the all-time high of 1052 in January 1973.

No Stimulus. The reversal left analysts wondering: If the removal of uncertainty about who will be in the White House could not ignite a lasting rally, what could? The answer: nothing immediately foreseeable. The market's drop reflects an unsentimental appreciation of the fact that the change in Administrations cannot quickly halt inflation. Referring to this summer's recently ended Midwest drought, which is sending up food prices, one broker quips: "What is he [President Ford] expected to do? Chew out the Lord for not providing rain?" Meanwhile, high interest rates continue to draw money out of stocks into such investments as Treasury notes and utility bonds, and trading is too light for many brokers to make a profit. Robert H.B. Baldwin, president of New York's Morgan Stanley & Co., predicts that "between 100 and 200 [brokerage] firms will merge or go out of business if short-term interest rates do not decline substantially, if the stock market does not improve markedly in price and volume, and if negotiated commissions [which permit investors to bargain with brokers over what fee they will pay to buy stock] become effective May 1, 1975." The stocks of companies that produce commodities in short supply, including issues of oil, heavy chemical, metal and lumber concerns, may do well. But Harris, Upham & Co. now sees the Dow Jones average ranging no higher than 780 in the next six months. Its "worst case" assumption is a drop to 680, the lowest since July 1970.

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An Amnesty for Citizen Nixon?

To the Editors:

There is nothing to be gained by further punishment of former President Nixon. He has already suffered enormously, and our society would not benefit from prolonged vindictiveness.

If the public believes that equal justice is violated by prosecution of the underlings and immunization of the alleged No. 1 conspirator, however, then either the former President should be prosecuted or immunity should be extended to all Watergate defendants now caught up in the criminal justice system.



The Watergate episode has vindicated our faith in the collective wisdom of the American people. Public pressure has helped force several vital developments in the case, from the appointment of Leon Jaworski to the collapse of congressional support for the President and his ultimate resignation. Now the public must also determine the Nixon immunity question. It is not a problem that should be dumped solely on Mr. Jaworski. After a period of contemplation, the Congress should gauge public sentiment and advise the special prosecutor.

Politically, it's a no-win situation for the Congress, similar to the impeachment vote prior to the last tapes revelations. But the problem must be faced. An appropriate attitude for Jaworski would be: "I'm going to proceed with the criminal investigation of Ordinary Citizen Nixon until I hear differently from the Congress." In that way, even congressional inaction will represent acquiescence with a course of prosecutorial conduct.

Unfortunately, unfairness is bound to result. Last year not a single witness who admitted giving money to former Vice President Agnew was indicted, because the Justice Department believed it would be grossly unfair to prosecute one-half of the bribery conspiracy while pardoning the other half. It is too late to be as consistent now in Watergate.

The problem shouldn't be decided immediately, in this time of high emotion, but studied soberly and determined on the basis of what best serves the national perception of fairness and justice.

William D. Ruckelshaus
Washington, D.C.

The writer was Deputy Attorney General of the U.S. until Oct. 13, 1973, when, in the "Saturday Night Massacre," he was fired by Richard Nixon for refusing to sack Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox.

A Gross Insult to Justice

That our country has had to go through the agonies of the recent months is depressing, and yet how fortunate that the very circumstances once again bring to the forefront the basic rights our Constitution guarantees. There comes a time when the only way an unwholesome situation can be treated is by facing it and proceeding through the appropriate legal system if we want to retain our individual rights as well as law and order. Now that President Nixon has resigned rather than subject this country to the trauma of a trial in the Senate, to want to go even further and offer amnesty or "off the record" equivalents would be a gross insult to our system of justice.

To make a "deal" with the former President would be a breach of faith with the future. The American people have had enough secret deals and plea bargaining. There must be no more deals. Now I think we have to go back to Harry Truman's statement, "The buck stops here," and apply it to the prosecutors and the courts. If any deals are made with the ex-President, I fear that much of our agony has been in vain.

Norton Simon
Los Angeles

The writer, a retired industrialist (he was head of Norton Simon Inc.), is an art collector and philanthropist.

On the Side of Mercy

President Ford would be wise to nounce that Mr. Nixon will be giv general grant of amnesty because noted jurist once said, there are when "forgiveness is deemed more pedient for the public welfare than ecution and punishment." To make a move palatable to those who be that justice should be evenhanded, ident Ford should couple amnesty Mr. Nixon with amnesty for the sands of Viet Nam–era draft evaders at large. Let us err on the side of me Unless this quarrel between the past the present is quelled, we shall lose future.

Bill Sm
Swampscott, M

Historical Perspective

Mr. Nixon's presidency has pro ed us all with an invaluable lesso and respect for, constitutional gov ment. And the conduct of the A ican people has equally been a cred the vitality of our Constitution. T have given Mr. Nixon the benefit of doubt; they have not been swayed the vocal minority or the powerful dia; they have presumed the man nocent until proven guilty.

Mr. Nixon has always stressed historical perspective. It would be tr ic now if the people or their repres tatives in government were to lose sense of history and constitutional tice and fail to prosecute fully all s pected criminals, including Rich Nixon.

Paul Seliga
Berkeley, C

After the Storm: Restoring Trust

What must be asked of those now in charge is whether they have the capacity to act, and can one trust what they say about what they are going to do. What has happened reminds me of a parable about a disciple who comes to his rabbi and asks him how to become wise. The rabbi advises, "Study and work hard." The disciple says, "But Rabbi, a lot of people study and work hard and they are still not very wise." "Study, work hard and experience," adds the rabbi. "But a lot of people do that and it doesn't make much difference," counters the disciple. Exasperated, the rabbi exhorts, "Study and work hard and experience and have good judgment!" Persisting, the disciple asks, "How do you have good judgment?" "By having bad experience," intones the rabbi.

in this country. Perhaps we have tak the first step toward getting good ju ment. Whether we have learned a thing will be seen if this new Adm istration ends the practice of twist major administrative agencies to po ical purposes. The building of trust come when we see what kind of m Gerald Ford sets for everyone else. T will be restored when we feel that public rhetoric and private transcr match each other. While we will have such transcripts to deal with erally now, people will be watching more closely and reporting on him.

This close scrutiny of our leade must be accompanied by a closer sc tiny of ourselves. We have all, and includes the press, worked on a do standard vis-à-vis Nixon. Now that have been rough with him, we mu

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gain from recent events, it may be greater awareness of this double stan- ed as well as the double dealing.

Daniel Bell
Cambridge, Mass.

The writer is a professor of sociology Harvard and author of the recent The ming of Post-Industrial Society.

■

ason for Despair

Institutions get the people they de- e, and people like Richard Nixon, R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman into power with the plaudits of an erican majority, who were buying st of the vices they got with their eyes en. The voters did not foresee the de- s of a Watergate, but they got the es of people that our system in its sent state is likely to get.

I doubt very much that the Ford Ad- istration will fill the present vacu- of confidence. If the American peo- took a good hard look at what they as a result of the Nixon Adminis- tion's fiasco they would have more se for despair than for confidence. e nation that resoundingly voted n Barry Goldwater has managed to itself survive to be governed by his in- or without an election.

What we need is a much greater fil- ng down of decision-making compe- e to lower levels of government, and eefing up of municipal government er than state or national govern- t. In the future, we are going to have e of a true federalism, with more co- nation among governments and far more of the important decisions g made at lower levels. Through h a process, there may be some hope a more broad-based political partic- ion by groups that have been frozen of it for many years. But if that sn't happen, I see things getting pro- sively worse. If power doesn't go k down to a level where people can a better handle on it, then we will subject to increasingly abstract de- ions made by increasingly powerful ple, and the decisions will be increas- y bad.

Anthony Amsterdam
Stanford, Calif.

The writer is a professor at Stanford Law School.

■

e Resignation: No Disaster

While this historic time is one of per- al tragedy for Richard Nixon, it ld be a mistake to consider it one of onal disaster or disgrace. I can think national tragedy more serious than have overlooked or tacitly accepted deceptions of his Administration. In the face of all the ethical obit- s written on our society, it is heart- g to realize that we obviously have derably more than just a passing ntance with morality. We're hear- ing a lot about the wisdom of our found- ing fathers. It would appear that we have almost come full circle. Rather fitting on the eve of our 200th anniversary.

Carolyn S. Wright
Ft. Bliss, Texas

■

True to Form

How true to form that this man who removed honor, dignity and outright cash from his office as President would deny his countrymen the peace of know- ing that their great constitutional pro- cesses had worked justly. How tragic that a President of the United States had not the moral fiber to provide us with a moment of truth.

Ruth Reynolds
Palo Alto, Calif.

■

In the Driver's Seat

I suppose that now some "bleeding- heart" conservatives will say that the press drove Richard Nixon from public office. Let us remember that Nixon was in the driver's seat and he chauffeured himself through the morass of Water- gate. I hope that the new model Ford will lead the nation to a more settled America.

Marjorie Cunningham
El Paso

■

They Finally Got Him

Something about Richard Nixon has always seemed to spur his opponents on to unusually harsh attacks. During the whole Watergate affair, the prime thought was not on any real crime the President might have committed, but on how to "get Nixon." Well, they finally "got him," and it makes me sick.

I liken this assassination of Nixon to the assassinations of John F. Ken- nedy and other great men in our his- tory. Yet an overwhelming majority of Americans have delighted in it. As an American, I am ashamed.

Peggy Ashcraft
Westminster, Calif.

Cohen's Forebears

You identify Maine's William Co- hen as the son of "a Jewish baker and an Irish mother," implying that a re- ligious identity is one and the same as an identity of national origin. I would not wish to nitpick over a matter of se- mantics, but this sort of writing could lead to some interesting analogies: Rich- ard M. Nixon, son of a Quaker mother and an American father; Barry Gold- water, son of a Jewish merchant and an American mother; Lyndon B. Johnson, son of a Protestant mother and an American farmer; John Kennedy, son of a Catholic mother and an American politician. I'll quit, if you will.

Faye Anton
Abilene, Texas

■

Jordan's Manner

I was more than a little surprised to read that you found Congresswoman Barbara Jordan's "cultivated accent and erudition surprising." She is a lawyer and a member of Congress. Did you ex- pect maybe Aunt Jemima?

Judie Weintraub
New York City

The Only Solution

The solution to the Cyprus crisis is not *taksim*, the partition of the island into Greek and Turkish enclaves. Nor is *enosis*, union with Greece, feasible. As long as a Turkish minority resides in the midst of a Greek majority only strife and bloodshed will be the legacy for fu- ture generations. The mutual hatred that developed during the long centuries of Ottoman domination cannot be easily forgotten.

The 119,000 Turkish Cypriots should be compensated for their prop- erty and repatriated to the Anatolian mainland among their Moslem breth- ren. This is the only lasting solution.

Thomas Spelios
Port Chester, N.Y.

Sheathing the Sword

Reader Peeleman's letter about how Napoleon judged a woman who accused one of his officers of raping her [Aug. 12] reminded me of a similar story about a praetor in Caesar's army who also had a woman complain to him that she had been raped. The praetor handed the woman his sword and asked her to sheathe it while he moved the scabbard. The woman took his sword and lopped off his hand, causing the scabbard to fall to the floor. After that she had no prob- lem sheathing the sword.

It may indeed be difficult to "thread a moving needle," but it takes a person of incredible naiveté to imagine that a woman can avoid violence by simply stepping out of the way. Given the choice, most women would submit to a rapist rather than face being disfigured or even murdered. Either way, the vic- tim loses and she gets the added treat of reading letters written by men who ei- ther have no understanding of the prob- lem or sympathize with the rapist.

Nan Taylor
Lake Ronkonkoma, N.Y.

■

Revealing Attitudes

Peeleman's letter is a graphic illus- tration of what the revolt against rape is all about—not only the physical crime of violence, but the attitudes that per- petuate and nurture the crime. What woman—or man—would move when the gun at their head might go off or the knife at their throat might slip?

Mary Ann Largen
Coordinator, National Rape Task Force
Chicago

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"We had a big family meeting around our kitchen table with Mom, Dad and me," recalled Entertainer **Ann-Margret,** 33, last week. "We decided that I would drop my last name so they wouldn't be hurt. Sometimes things get printed that aren't very nice." Most of what has been written about the curvate star in recent times, at least, has been eminently printable. For her special this winter on NBC, the durable sex kitten is taking the step of readopting her full name: Ann-Margret Olsson. The highlights of the show will doubtless be her takeoffs on 1940s Pinup Queens like Betty Grable and Rita Hayworth. "I am attracted to that era because everything then was so innocent, so happy," she explained sweetly.

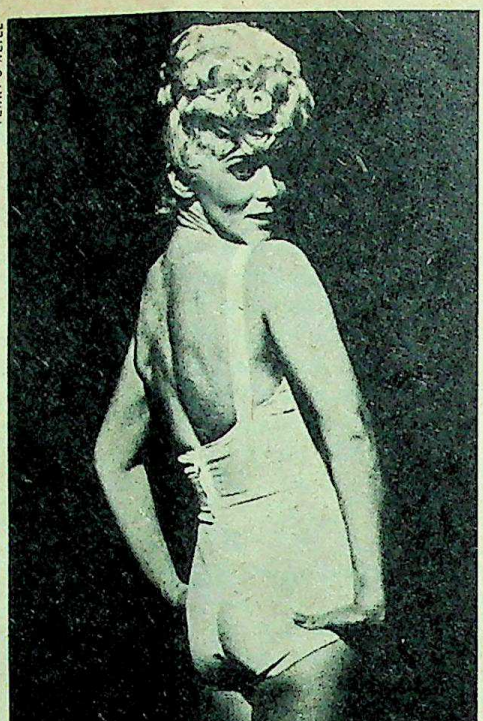
■

"It's a weird feeling, knowing that you can lose the guts of your act at any time," lamented rubbery-faced Impressionist **David Frye** last week. The guts of Frye's act, of course, were his look-alike impressions of former **President Nixon,** whose departure from Washington has sent Frye scurrying for tapes of **Gerald Ford.** He has already introduced the Ford voice into his nightclub act, but worries about the face. Muses Frye, "He looks like the guy in a science fiction movie who is the first one to see The Creature."

■

Alfred Hitchcock, Hollywood's well-rounded master of movie thrillers, stopped working on the script of his 54th film long enough to attend his 75th birthday party last week. On hand at Chasen's to toast the director of *Psycho* and *Frenzy* was a galactic gathering of 250 well-wishers, including Actors **Cary Grant** and **Paul Newman** and Director **François Truffaut.** Despite the guest list

TERRY O'NEILL



ANN-MARGRET AS BETTY GRABLE

and a cake adorned with 76 pastry tracings of the master's pudgy profile, Hitchcock was less interested in encomiums than work. "My new movie will involve kidnaping and the adventures of a medium," he explained. "The medium is actually a fake, and so is the victim who is actually the kidnaper. So we watch two stories go side by side until they go together," he concluded cryptically.

■

"The Pericles of Putney/ The Voltaire of Vermont/ He'll blush at titles like that/ But aptness they do not want." The man so honored by the maimed meter of Senator **Edward Brooke** last week was his Senate colleague, **George Aiken** of Vermont. It was a combination birthday (his 82nd) and farewell party given by former Texas Congressman Frank Ikard for the retiring dean of the U.S. Senate. Aiken admirers donned casual and Western clothes and gathered for an evening of corn on the cob and some country music. Among the guests: Senate Republican Leader **Hugh Scott** (in a patchwork shirt), Federal Reserve Board Chairman **Arthur Burns** (ye... blue and white sport jacket), Ser... **Abraham Ribicoff, J. William Ful...** and **Herman Talmadge.** In a pink ... suit, former Presidential Secretary ... **Mary Woods** forgot other matters ... led a bipartisan hoedown.

■

He is known simply as Marty ... Capitol Hill friends, a name that ... would not fit his famous father, the ... Rev. **Martin Luther King Jr.** Senate ... **Martin Luther King III,** 16, has ... spending his days running errands ... upper chamber and his evenings ... ning the base paths as a softball p... on the teams of Georgia Congress... **Andrew Young** and Massachusetts ... ator **Edward Kennedy.** At times, it se... the action is brisker on the mound ... on the Hill. "It's been a great lea... experience," says King diplomati... "But after a while, when the spe... cover the same things over and o... he adds, "you tune out."

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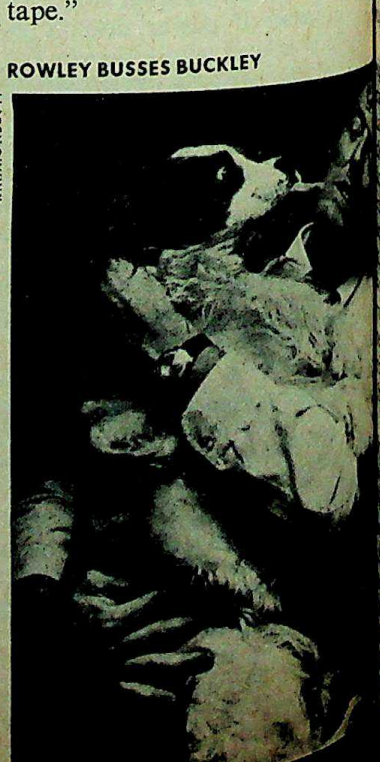
In the midst of a recent radi... terview by Liberal Columnist Nat ... toff, **William F. Buckley Jr.,** the eleg... acerbic conservative commentator ... denly stopped short the colloquy, k... down, and testily muttered, "Shu... Moments later he paused and cl... something below. Left-wing kibitzer ... the studio audience? No, Buckley's ... get was his King Charles spaniel ... ley, which he had brought to the st... Showing that he bore no ill will, ... ley then jumped into Buckley's la... planted a slurpy kiss on his cheek ... of which left Hentoff with some... more of an interview than he ha... pected. Said the show's prod... later, "You can hear barking on ... tape."

GRANT & HITCHCOCK CELEBRATE



CUTLER—GLOBE

ROWLEY BUSSES BUCKLEY



WARING ABBOTT

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ff to a Helluva Start"

The accession of Gerald R. Ford to presidency has brought few palpa- changes so far to the lives of most ericans. But to the press, the turn- in the Oval Office already seems the dawn of a new era, free of the oor of the Nixon years.

Among the first to experience and ress the new mood are the 40 or so mbers of the permanent White House ss corps. "It feels like someone threw en the window of the White House et in light and air," says Peter Lis- of the Chicago *Daily News*. "Ford not the insecure man that Nixon was. has never been traumatized by the ss, and he doesn't treat the press as enemy." Says NBC's Tom Brokaw: 's like New Year's Day."

The new President has moved swift- o get and keep newsmen on his side. s address to Congress last week con- ed this assurance: "I believe in the st Amendment and the absolute ne- sity of a free press." In his first of- al act, the President announced the pointment of Jerald F. terHorst, 52, popular old hand in the White House ss corps, as his press secretary. After cing for 5½ years with an often surly ald Ziegler and his agreeable but dom more informative deputy, Ger- Warren, many reporters have greet- terHorst's appointment with undis- ed pleasure. "To Ziegler, informa- n was something to be packaged and rchandized for his client," says Lis- r. "The feeling is that terHorst will at information as an objective com- dity." To Peter Kumpa, Washington reau chief of the Baltimore *Sun*, ter- rst is "sensible and moderate, a thor- h professional."

Extra Space. A short (5 ft. 7½ in.), e-smoking Michigander of Dutch ex- ction, terHorst was taken off the city beat at his home-town Grand Rap- *Press* to cover Ford's first congres- nal campaign in 1948. The paper had dorsed Ford against the incumbent, d terHorst's assignment, as he tells was "being sure that the Ford story s well covered." Ford won by a 2-to-1 rgin, and the President now amiably fers to terHorst as a man who "con- ed to get me a little extra space in e Grand Rapids *Press*."

The reporter maintained Ford's endship and the friendly coverage en he joined the Detroit *News's* shington staff in 1957 and became reau chief four years later. The friend- y is good-humored. TerHorst helps te some of the better ditties crooned Washington's annual Gridiron Club ner, and one recent effort included oof of Gerald Ford's close ties to ess, sung to the tune of *America*

Tel ... for Pontiac and Cadillac, and good ole Jerry Ford." TerHorst had written two-thirds of an unofficial Ford biography when he was tapped for his new job, and says he still hopes to complete the book this year.

He may have trouble finding the time. Ford is a professed admirer of the open-door policies of Eisenhower Press Secretary James Hagerty, and terHorst has pledged to give reporters better access to the President than they enjoyed in the Nixon White House. "President Ford is a believer in press conferences, and so am I," terHorst said last week. He did not say how many or when (aides have suggested that one every couple of weeks or so would be reasonable), but Ford can hardly fail to improve upon Nixon's dismal record of 37 press conferences during 67 months in office.

The daily news summary, a staff-written digest of the day's major events, will continue to be issued. The summary, which Nixon liked to read instead of newspapers and magazines, became a symbol of his self-imposed isolation. However, terHorst says that Ford supplements the summary by reading at least ten newspapers: the Washington *Post* and *Star-News*, the New York *Times*, the Los Angeles *Times*, the Chicago *Tribune*, the Detroit *News* and *Free Press*, the Grand Rapids *Press*, the Baltimore *Sun* and the *Christian Science Monitor*. Also on his list are TIME, *Newsweek* and *U.S. News and World Report*.

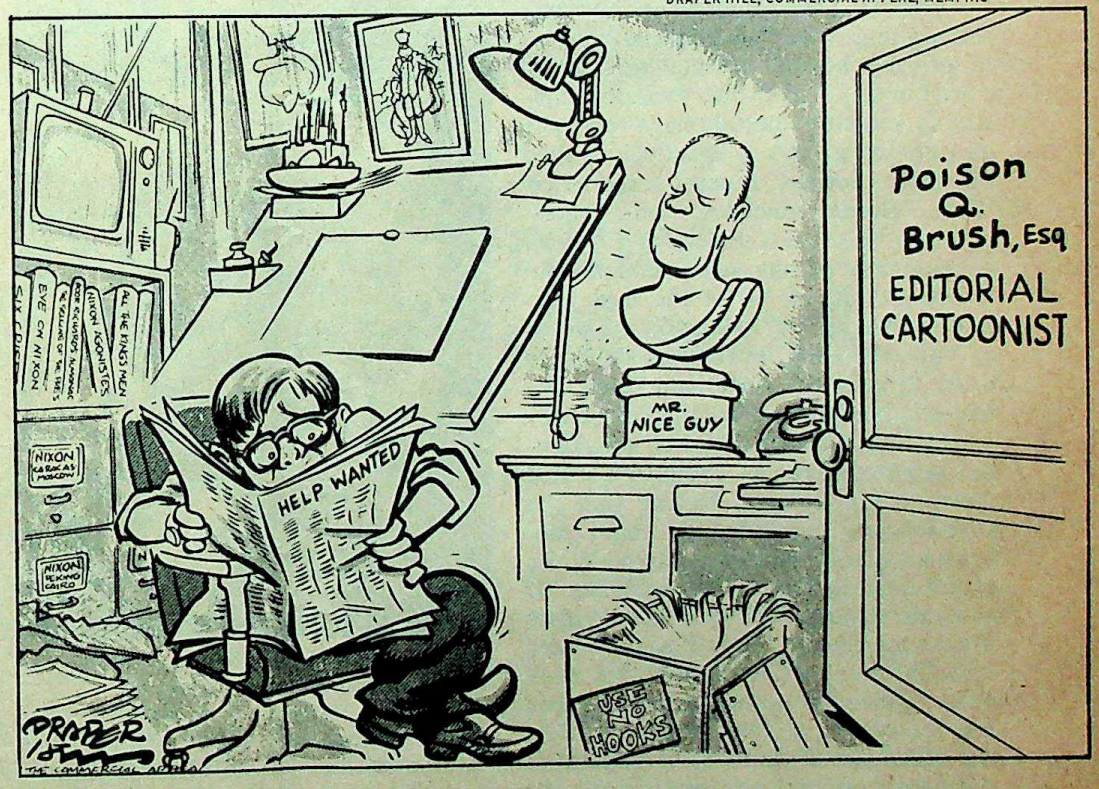
TerHorst's own performances so far at White House briefings have been relaxed, businesslike and occasionally jovial. When a Dutch-born correspondent asked last week if the press secretary's fore-

voked laughter by replying in fractured Dutch. When he confessed that he simply did not know the answer to one question, instead of trying to evade it, a few reporters burst into applause.

Evasion may not be necessary. Ford has long been one of the friendliest news sources in Washington. "He was always available," recalls Marjorie Hunter of the New York *Times*. "I'd call him on the House floor and he'd always come and answer questions. It's been the same during the last few months." As Vice President, Ford would stroll into the back of the plane on his frequent travels, double-olived martini in hand, and spend hours jawing with the reporters who regularly covered him. The camaraderie was strained only once, when a newcomer printed a remark about Watergate that Ford considered off the record, forcing other reporters to follow suit. "After that, his relationship with us became very professional," recalls CBS's Phil Jones. "But he has a thick skin. He's proud that he has lots of adversaries in Congress but no enemies. The same goes for the press."

Still, a number of newsmen wonder about the future. As President, of course, Ford will hardly have the time to cultivate journalists as he once did. Says Lisagor: "I can't picture him becoming a devious man, a trickster, but he may become more inaccessible." Says John Osborne of the *New Republic*: "I'm waiting and seeing." But one journalist has high expectations. Says Pierre Salinger, press secretary to President Kennedy and now a roving editor for France's *L'Express*: "The intent is there. The competence is there. I think the thing is off to a helluva start."

DRAPER HILL, COMMERCIAL APPEAL, MEMPHIS



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A Modest Proposal

As Washington newsmen got acquainted with Jerry terHorst in his new job, and speculated about the treatment the press can expect from President Ford, one voice reversed the question: How should the press treat Ford? Veteran Washington *Post* Columnist David S. Broder had some pointed advice for his colleagues. "We can play a helpful part in bringing the presidency back to human scale," he wrote, "if we back off just enough to let Jerry Ford have room to be himself." Broder then offered three self-restraining reforms.

First, Broder told the press corps, the Ford family should be spared "the massive publicity that has made their predecessors a version of American royalty." Ford's succession to the presidency does not convert his wife and children into public property. Not only are their intimate domestic details none of our business, Broder insists, but they "won't help us one bit to evaluate [Ford's] work as President."

Walled Off. Broder then extends the argument for the essential "degree of privacy normal people require" to Ford himself. An off-duty President constantly trailed by battalions of reporters and photographers is effectively walled off from normal human experience. "Sure," Broder concedes, "some reporters must be present in case of a sudden development or untoward incident. But it doesn't require 60 of the best journalists in America to stand on the slopes at Vail when Mr. Ford goes skiing, in order to keep the American people informed about the work of the President."

Finally, Broder suggests, presidential press conferences should be scaled down to human size. Noting that the wire services, networks and major publications combined have 30 to 40 White House correspondents, he concludes: "If those three dozen White House regulars are not competent to ask President Ford 95% of the pertinent questions each week, they ought to be replaced. If they are competent, as they surely are, then the other 200 of us ought to stay out of their way, and not go jamming into the East Room for the presidential press conference."

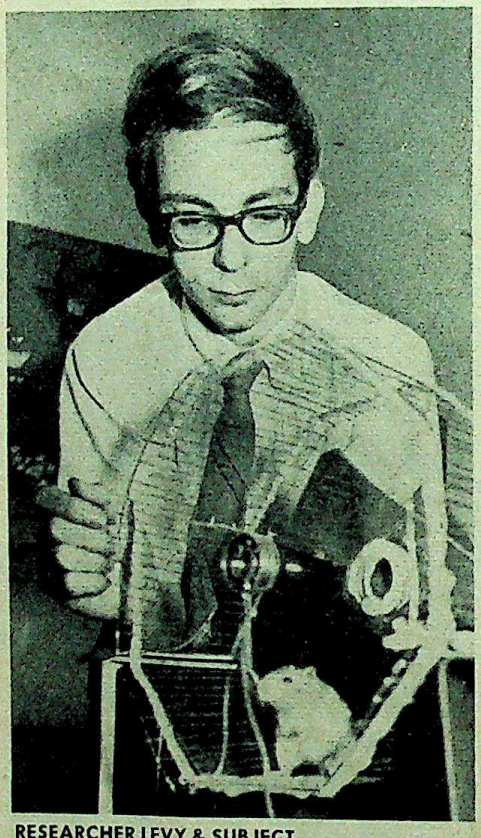
Like most rational suggestions, Broder's may seem hopelessly utopian. Who will take the first step toward disarmament? What reporter will be the first to stop pressing the Ford children for snappy quotes? All Broder asks is that Ford and his family not be constantly badgered into making copy. And surely a means can be found to create manageable press conferences without barring smaller news organizations from the White House forever. Such thinking deserves more than helpless shrugs. As Broder says: "Journalism, which helped topple the last two Presidents, owes this one a reasonable chance to keep his own eminently down-to-earth view of himself and his work."

The Psychic Scandal

The world of parapsychology has more than its share of frauds, charlatans and opportunists. But even those critics who were openly skeptical about the phenomena reported by the Institute for Parapsychology in Durham, N.C., seldom questioned the sincerity or integrity of Dr. Joseph B. Rhine, the institute's founder, or his staff. Last week a shaken Rhine was preparing to acknowledge publicly a scandal that has already rocked the entire psychic establishment.

In the parapsychological equivalent

JIM WALLACE



RESEARCHER LEVY & SUBJECT
Three assistants ran a check.

of the famous case of the painted mice at Manhattan's Sloan-Kettering Institute (TIME, April 29 *et seq.*), Walter J. Levy Jr., 26, the bright, recently appointed director of Rhine's institute, resigned after admitting that he had falsified experimental data.

Rhine, who pioneered E.S.P. (extrasensory perception) research in the 1930s, has long recognized the need for sophisticated techniques, including the use of computers, to collect reliable data on psychic phenomena. Levy, a medical student who began working at the institute during his summer vacation in 1969, showed an unusual talent for automating experiments and recording data. After Levy graduated from the Medical College of Georgia last year, Rhine hired him as a full-time researcher; soon he was promoted to director.

Levy's research, elegantly computerized, was aimed at testing the ability of rodents to anticipate events (E.S.P.) or to effect physical changes by sheer will power (psychokinesis). He had electrodes implanted in the brains of rats in a zone where stimulation gave the animals intense pleasure. The stimuli were delivered at random intervals by a computer that in turn was keyed to the decay of atoms in a sample of radioactive strontium 90. Without any outside influence, the system would stimulate the rats' pleasure zones 50% of the time. If the rats could anticipate the computer by E.S.P. or influence the decay of the radioactive source by psychokinesis, their pleasure score would exceed 50%.

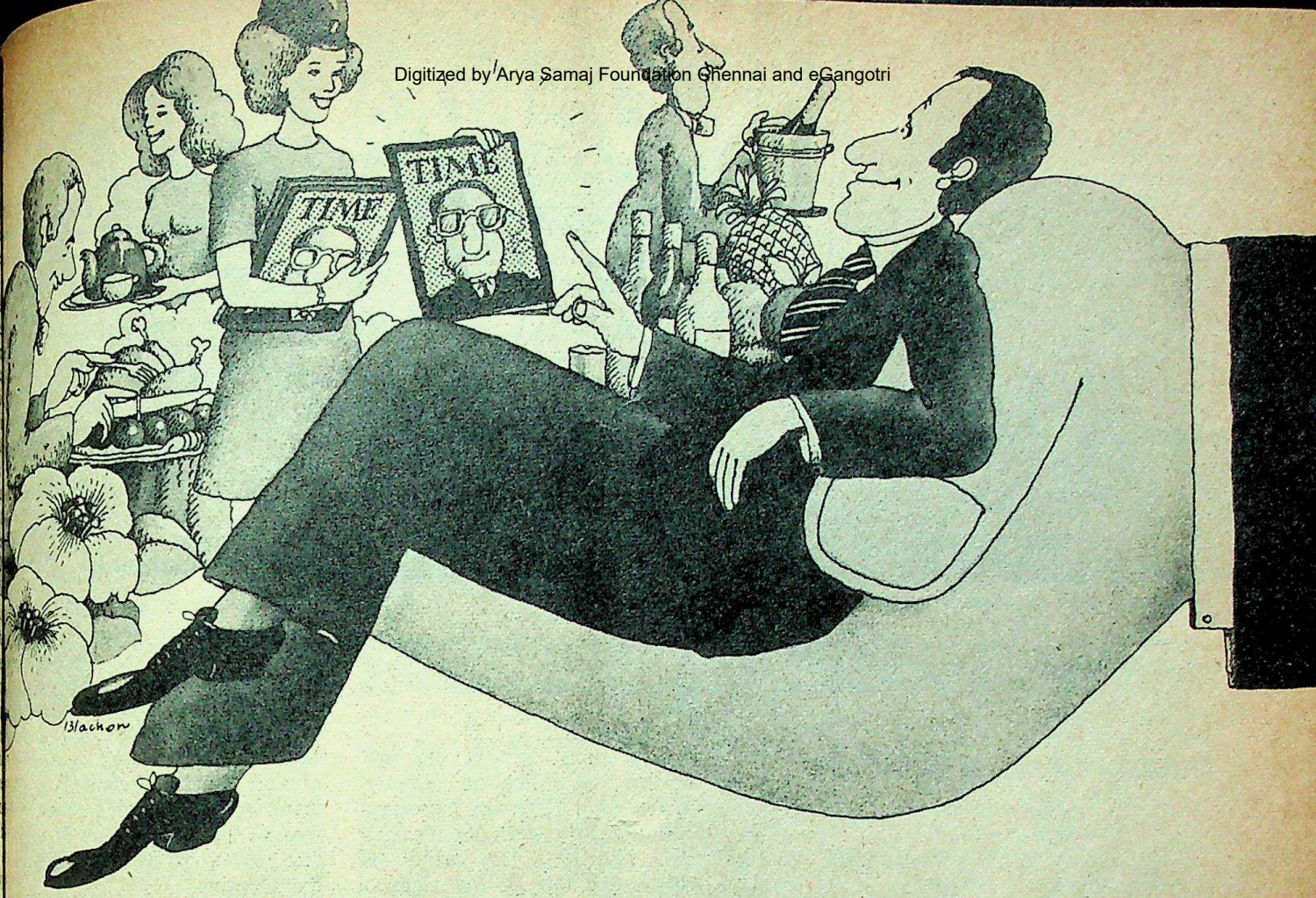
By early May, Levy was reporting 54% pleasure stimulus scores, indicating that the rats had psychic powers. Then one of Levy's assistants became suspicious when he noticed that the director seemed to be loitering needlessly around the equipment. With two colleagues, the assistant decided to check. From a hiding place one watched while the other helped Levy run a test. They saw Levy tamper with the recorder, causing the tape to score high. Another set of instruments—installed without Levy's knowledge—confirmed their suspicions by recording the expected 50% score.

Issue of Fraud. The three reported to Rhine, who confronted Levy. He confessed and resigned, later telling friends that he had been under great pressure to produce positive results and had been overburdened by administrative duties. He insisted that this was the only time he had falsified data; after failing to produce earlier positive tests, he had felt a need to force the data to reflect the results he expected. Following the discovery, Rhine set other staff members to work, checking the more important of Levy's earlier findings, and cautioned other psychic researchers not to rely on these data until they can be verified.

Levy's deception was a severe blow not only to his mentor but, as Rhine sees it, to all of parapsychology. Even before he had heard of the Sloan-Kettering painted mice, Rhine published a soul-searching article on "Security versus Deception" in the March *Journal of Parapsychology*. In it, he concluded that the long delay in acceptance of parapsychology as a reputable science can be traced in part to suspicions about the honesty of investigators. Rhine suggested that this "subtle, slightly distasteful, and sometimes embarrassing" issue of fraud might need more frank and forthright recognition and response." He even noted that "apparatus can sometimes be used as a screen to conceal the trickery it was intended to prevent." Rhine maintained his confidence in Levy for months after those words were written—evidence that Rhine lacks one of his own favorite phenomena: precognition.

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KEN PAIK—THE NEW YORK TIMES

BILLBOARDS CLUTTER HIGHWAY SOUTH OF ELDON, MO.

ENVIRONMENT

Beauty and the Billboard

I think that I shall never see
A billboard lovely as a tree.
Perhaps, unless the billboards fall,
I'll never see a tree at all.
—Ogden Nash, *Song of the Open Road*

The Highway Beautification Act of 1965 was one of Lady Bird Johnson's pet projects. Inspired by visions of landscaped and uncluttered thoroughfares, she spearheaded the drive that resulted in a law banning billboards along major rural highways. Skimpy funding slowed down the billboard purge until 1971, but since then some 265,000 have been taken down and another half million slated for removal. Now Lady Bird's accomplishments may well be undermined by legislation expected to emerge from the House Public Works Committee sometime this week.

Ironically, the sponsor of that controversial bill is Lyndon Johnson's former friend and fellow Texan, Representative Jim Wright. Sympathetic to the billboard lobby, Wright has proposed several "beautification" amendments to the 1974 Highway Construction Act that take the teeth out of earlier legislation. The 1965 law prohibited signs within 660 feet of the right of way. Advertisers responded nimbly by placing jumbo signs just beyond the 660-ft. limit; they were even more unsightly than the smaller signs adjacent to the road. To counter this violation of the spirit of the law, the Senate Public Works Committee recently reported out a bill extending the ban to the limits of legibility. The amended House version, however, provides for control of signs beyond the 660-ft. limit only if they are "erected with the purpose of their message being read from the main traveled way." As critics of the amendment have pointed out, advertisers could easily slip a billboard between the lines of this vaguely phrased loophole. For example, they could ostensibly erect it for the benefit of motorists on a secondary road, but place it so that it was easily visible from the nearby interstate route.

The House bill would also p six "directional" signs per mile— facing each side of the highway the amendment is worded, "directio is an umbrella term covering stops, camping grounds, food, ga automotive services, lodgings, n wonders, scenic and historic a tions." The American Institute Architects contends that by def directional so loosely, the bill legiti 80% of the signs outlawed by the Act. John Francis, highway bea cation coordinator for the Depart of Transportation and the bill's v vociferous critic, estimates that it result in the proliferation of more a million billboards along inter highways.

Maine Chance

Five years ago, after decades stunted growth, Maine seemed po on the edge of the American dr Oil companies, hunting for ports t commodate supertankers, were bid to bring their business to Maine's d water harbors. Land developers revving up their bulldozers to push urbia into rural Maine. Scores of ur weary Americans were bringing s and capital to Maine as they fled megalopolis.

But at what cost such sudden p perity? The question, which began an ecological whisper, eventually to a roar as Maine residents took s of their land and life-style. An oil finery would bring jobs to poor co towns like Eastport, but a single might pollute the water from Ca to Kittery. Land developers c expand the tax base, but the quiet, s town shops on Maine's streets m be run out of town by tacky shopp malls.

The issue is not yet resolved, two recently published books make oquent pleas for preserving the be and pleasures of unspoiled Maine.

With *In Maine* (Dutton; $6.95 anthology of his newspaper colu John N. Cole, a flinty ex-New Yo who founded and edits the crus liberal weekly *Maine Times*, makes

FARM SCENE FROM JOHN COLE'S *IN MAINE*



STEPHEN BROWN NICHOLS

DRAWING OF AN OLD MILL, FROM *MAINE PILGRIMAGE*



POLLI WARREN

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...ique case for limiting growth. He ...s so in the form of eloquent de... ...ions of the state that he clearly ... There is the January morning ... the bay near Cole's house in ...swick becomes a 30-sq.-mi. ice ... and he glides across it alone, ...ching the sun and clouds pass in ...fect reflection under his skates. With ...ashed enthusiasm, Cole explains ...lifetime love affair with *Roccus sax...* (striped bass), that "master of tum... ...currents and white-water turbu... ...e." Like a poet, he extolls the virtues ... northwest wind and wonders ... city dwellers can live without ...owing which way the wind blows, ...ich way the rain falls, how the sea ...ges, the land lives and the forests ... There are no environmental or ...rical polemics here, just a vivid ... often lyrical journey through one ...'s Maine.

In *Maine Pilgrimage* (Little, Brown; ...). Richard Saltonstall Jr. has more ...ubious designs. The author, a for... TIME correspondent, has summered ...the down East island of North Ha... ...for decades and traveled extensively ...roughout the state in recent years. ...s advice is that the state must re... ...power and build upon traditional ...ades, crafts and industries—such as ...t building—that do not leech the ...d.

Measured Growth. The Salton... ...l plan is imaginative, to say the ...t. It proposes that the dour city of ...rtland, overlooking Casco Bay, be ...ed into a radiant East Coast San ...ncisco by restoring the historic wa... ...front and attracting new, clean in... ...tries, including publishing and tour... ...n Maine's dying farms, Saltonstall ...ms, could be revived as the hub of a ...fitable beef industry. Landowners ...ng the precious coast must selflessly ...d their property to prevent convulsive ...elopment. Instead of importing oil ...teries, the state should develop a vast ...aculture industry along its shores. ...rists could be whisked from town to ...n on a network of trains, buses and ...ries, thus keeping beaches and sce... ...s relatively free of cars. Through ...ese actions, the enthusiastic author ...gests, Maine could not only save it... ...f from reckless growth but might be... ...a model of measured development ...the other 49 states.

Saltonstall nonetheless leaves some ...ubt about the practicality of his ...ams. Asking citizens in an economic ...pression to put their hopes in a boat... ...ilding boom or the chance that an aq... ...ulture industry may some day flour... ...does not seem an adequate program ...r a realistic one.

Maine's problems do indeed have ...gional environmental implications. ...t, like so many summer visitors with ...od intentions, Saltonstall essentially ...uses the land and toys with its fu... ...leaving the natives to struggle ...h another long winter.

Skirts and Stripes

With her short hair, decisive manner, and well-pressed Army greens festooned with ribbons, Colonel Nancy Hopfenspirger, 43, is every inch an officer. As she strides across the U.S. Army base at Würzburg, West Germany, each day, G.I.s snap to attention and the local employees murmur a respectful *"Guten Morgen."*

As the new deputy commander of Würzburg and of various support units in an area covering nearly one-third of southern West Germany, Hopfenspirger is one of a growing number of women to step into important command assignments. Colonel Frances Weir, 47, issues orders to a mostly male outfit at the support battalion in Fort Jackson, S.C. Colonel Georgia Hill, 49, is head of the sprawling supply depot at Cameron Station, Va.

Until a year ago, female officers could command only other members of the Women's Army Corps (the WAC). The Army, however, is now reassigning women permanently to previously all-male branches. Brigadier General Mildred C. Bailey, chief of the WAC, last month finished turning over all its personnel files to the women's new units. At the same time, the Army has reclassified 136,000 jobs, opening them to women. Thus there have recently been a myriad of female firsts on various bases: the first female parachute rigger, the first turbine-engine maintenance woman, the first female drill sergeant. Actual combat is still barred to women, though that too may change if the Equal Rights Amendment is passed.

Female integration into formerly male units is not easy. As a former battalion commander at Fort Carson, Colo., explains: "A soldier's day doesn't end at 5 p.m. There are assignments like guard duty with a rifle, charge of quarters, and special police handling of burly drunks." Women formerly rose through the ranks only within the WAC. Now they are competing directly with men for promotions. The seeding into various Army branches of senior WAC officers, some of whom have been lieutenant colonels for more than a decade, is especially difficult. Many fear a hostile reception in the regular Army; a few are even retiring rather than make the switch. Younger women, however, seem to welcome the new challenges.

This quiet revolution came about chiefly by necessity. With only volunteers to choose from, the Army needs all the recruits it can get, female as well as male. The response has been excellent: 14,000 women have joined the Army this year, up from 5,200 in 1971. In the other armed services, too, women have been given a broader spectrum of jobs. The Air Force now has 17,800 women, compared with 12,265 five years ago. There are 16,500 women in the Navy, up from 8,636 in 1969. Only in the Marines, which needs fewer volunteers, has the number of women remained relatively constant (about 2,700).

Few of the new female recruits are signing on to become commanders. Military life is often the best deal they can get in a tight job market. A high school graduate who enlists as an Army private can get a salary of $326.10 a month, on-the-job training, free room and board and security. Re-enlistment rates are very high, partly because every servicewoman earns the same pay as a male of the same rank—an equality rare in the civilian world.

PIERRE HONEGGER



COLONEL HOPFENSPIRGER WITH ASSISTANTS
A quiet revolution in the military.

From Russia with Love

For frigidity, try caviar and red peppers, both rich in the reputed aphrodisiac vitamin E. Even better are "limited doses of dry wines." Or for a special lift turn on suitably sensual, rhythmically erotic background music such as Ravel's *Bolero* and Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring*. If all else fails, why not shudder a little with an electric vibrator, used sparingly, of course, so that "a woman

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will not become more attracted to it than to her husband.

Such advice to the sexlorn might arouse little more than a smirk from U.S. and Western European readers accustomed to more sophisticated counsel. The Russians, however, are virtually panting for the suggestions, which appear in an astonishingly frank sex survey sponsored by the puritanical Soviet government. *Female Sexual Pathology,* a 189-page paperback illustrated with a handful of blurry photographs of lesbians and transvestites, sold out in its first few days in Soviet bookstores and is currently the hottest-selling item on the Moscow black market, where curious Communists are shelling out more than 50 times the book's official 87¢ purchase price for a copy. Says one female *aficionado:* "It's fascinating to read what before I'd only guessed about." But another reader, more sure of her skills, sniffs: "Someone showed me a copy and I don't need it."

That may well be true for most Soviet women if the author, Leningrad Sexologist Abram Svyadoshch, is right. In dry technical language (the book was intended as a guide for doctors treating sex problems), Svyadoshch contends that Russian women achieve greater sexual satisfaction than their sisters in the West. After an analysis of reports from six experimental sex clinics in the U.S.S.R. and foreign surveys, he concludes that only 18% of Russian women suffer from *nyet orgazm,* compared with 40% of French and 41% of English women. Moreover, he finds that 16% of Russian women have an orgasm during every or almost every sex act, with as many as 44% making it more than half the time.

Still, there are problems under Soviet sheets. Svyadoshch says that "men often overestimate a younger woman's needs for sex while they underestimate an older woman's needs." Part of the trouble, he thinks, is that Russian women rise to their sexual peak around 30 and often stay fairly high until their 60s; men, however, slip into a "slow and gradual descent" after 30. To perk up those in need, he describes the various erogenous zones of the body and suggests ways and means of using them to maximum effect. "In love," according to Svyadoshch, "everything is permitted that may bring a couple to full harmony."

Of course, the reader cannot escape without some stern Soviet moralizing. Premarital sex, warns the author, "can be a source of severe psychic disturbances and can lead to social impoverishment of the personality." For marital sex, his prescription is not more than once per night nor should it "last too long." If intercourse occurs in the morning, the couple should take a long snooze before getting out of bed. That way they will emerge at full strength for a day of socialist labor.

Flourishing Academies

In a time of shrinking enroll... half-filled classrooms and budget c... at many colleges and universities, ... nation's three largest service acade... —West Point, Annapolis and the ... Force Academy—are not only survi... but flourishing. This year's comb... freshman classes of all three acade... are the largest in their history, and ... plications to West Point numbered a... ord 11,000—or 10% higher than in ...

Last week, with classes alread... session at the Air Force Academy ... summer military training coming t... end at Annapolis and West Point, a... emy officials were elated—but not ... prised—by the growing popularit... their institutions. They admit that ... nomics play an important role. Tu... costs are rising rapidly at both pr... and public schools, but the acade... still offer a free education. Also ... academy graduate, unlike his civ... counterpart, is guaranteed a job; the... vices can take all the ensigns and ... ond lieutenants the academies can ... vide. Then, too, the antimilitary ... timent of the Viet Nam War years ... fast fading among the nation's yo... Besides, the academies offer a ... rate and increasingly broad educa...

"Even during the turmoil on the ... lege campuses, some of them came ... because they wanted an education," ... Navy Captain Ronald A. Camp, ... who is in charge of recruiting and co... seling potential midshipmen. As ... added attraction, Annapolis offers a ... jors program in which midshipmen ... earn bachelor's degrees in nonte... fields as well as traditional areas such ... electrical and mechanical engineer... naval architecture and marine engine... ing. West Point, which sends more t... 70% of its graduates on to graduate ... school, does not offer a majors progra... but it has liberalized its electives. Cad... in the social-studies department ... take political philosophy, microeco... mics and political and cultural anth... pology. During the summer, as part ... their military training, midshipmen ... out on nuclear submarines and can ... can earn helicopter-pilot or parach... wings or take ranger or arctic train...

One of the traditional, and ... criticized, aspects of academy life—... ing—has been sharply curtailed. "We ... tried to get the Mickey Mouse, the ... pid things out of the system," says ... Admiral William P. Mack, superin... dent of Annapolis.

Until recently, the military ... also made the service academies an ... tractive alternative. But the new ... men, unpressured by the draft, are ... the words of Admiral Mack, "all ... because they wanted to come here ... the start."

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...e of Two Cities

There can hardly have been two dis- cities whose fate was, for good and ore intimately linked than Venice Constantinople. Soon after the Em- Constantine the Great established Constantine Christian Rome by the Bospo- new Christian Rome by the Bospo- In 334 A.D., Constantinople, the fa- golden city of Byzantium, became matrix of European civilization. ing Constantinople's rise, Rome was cor of ruins and Venice only a clus- of wattle huts on a lagoon mudbank. In the 6th century, Venice allied it- with the Byzantine Empire, and the 9th to the 13th centuries the ging Venetian culture was saturat- with Byzantine prototypes. Venice, fact, was the main valve through ich Byzantine influence in art, archi- ure, literature and scholarship was ed into Italy. By one of the treach- ns ironies of politics, it was a Vene- n doge who, in 1204, diverted the rth Crusade to sack Constantinople m end to end, destroying the Byzan- hegemony forever.

The ancient and Oedipal bond be- en the two cities is the subject of what st be the most beautiful exhibition e seen anywhere in the world this mer. "Venice and Byzantium," a ection of some 130 works ranging in e from the 4th to the 17th centuries, on view at the Doges' Palace in Ven- ntil Sept. 30.

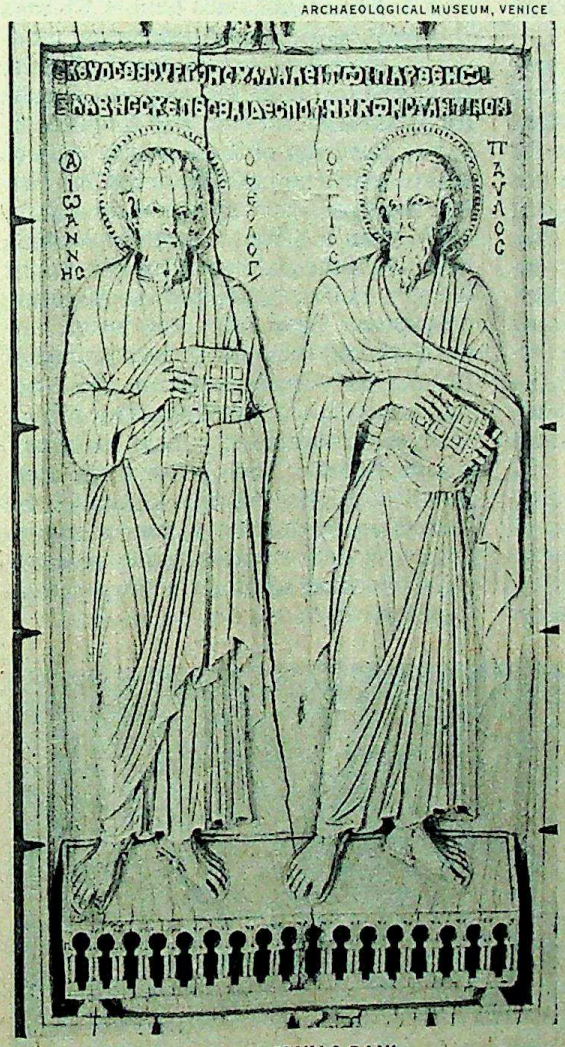
Aloof Abstraction. The material ostly drawn from Italian museums churches, and it has its gaps, caused the inimitable pigheadedness of Ital- art bureaucracy. Thus Ravenna uld not lend the most important sin- Byzantine object in Italy, the 6th cen- ivory throne of Maximian. All the e, one could not wish for a better in- duction to Byzantine influence in —not only the works made in Con- tinople and then imported or loot- but also the ones made by the art- of the Adriatic coast. All the canons Byzantine style are there: the litur- al stateliness of form, the encyclope- chness of ornament and material ld, silver, precious stones, enamel), sublime monotony of pose and ges- by which the human figure was de- ght only as the dwelling place of a ught or a doctrine, the flat mantle of ack colors, the linear arabesques. ivory carving like the 10th century *Apostles John and Paul*—their long-toed under the prismatic ripple of drap- as articulate as hands—shows the ost neurotic tenderness that the By- ine style could muster. But the more al tone of high Byzantine art was an abstraction.

...uch figures as the majestic green- ...ered angel and the rigid Madonna ...

in Formis are flesh-made-geometry. Even when a mosaicist tried to be more "naturalistic," as the Venetian artist who executed a *Head of an Apostle* in Rome around 1218 seems to have done, the medium itself—thousands of glass cubes like colored teeth—automatically formalized the work.

From the resources in Venice it would have been easy to put together a glamorous exhibition aimed at the Volpone in every tourist: much dazzle, little information. But for Art Historian Sergio Bettini, who chose the objects and wrote a provocative catalogue essay, "Venice and Byzantium" offered a less obvious opportunity: chiefly, that of presenting early Venetian art as a paradigm of its city, the incomparable Serenissima. There was, he proposes, a sort of abstract original will-to-form that pervaded all Venetian design from chalices to *campanili*, and he treats the art on view as "emblems of the city's period of formation," their look determined as much by environment as by the imported canons of Byzantine style.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, VENICE



10TH CENTURY *APOSTLES JOHN & PAUL*
Emblems of the Serenissima.

Paolo Veneziano, the greatest Venetian artist of the 14th century, was manifestly not a Byzantine, though he may have studied in Constantinople. In his *Discovery of St. Mark's Body in San Marco* the figures have lost their frontal stiffness, they are united by a wonderfully rhythmic and supple line. For all the impacted geometric splendor of costume and marble inlay, this is a painting and not an icon. But why should Venetian art up to and including Paolo have been so exclusively preoccupied with flatness, arabesque and color, instead of following Giotto's path toward monumental solidity and the "real world"?

Visual Experience. Because, Bettini suggests, the Venetian world, though just as real, was different. The entire visual experience of the Venetians, living on low mud islands and gazing across sheets of water whose colors shifted under that immense dome of Adriatic sky, predisposed them toward color and flatness.

Even in architecture, the classical Italian experience of solid and void does not quite apply to Venice: the Doges' Palace, no less than its contents, is a construction of colored surfaces. One of the pleasures offered by "Venice and Byzantium" is to step outside the gallery and see the ideas of the art replicated and magnified in its macrocosm, the city itself. Both reveal a unique and now lost way of giving shape to the world.

Venice was always revealing its curiously heteroclite taste. At first, one might suppose a device like the 12th century perfume burner from the Treasury of St. Mark's was the very essence of Byzantinism. Given the chance, the Byzantines would certainly have built their churches in gold and silver to emulate the Bible's description of the New Jerusalem. So one might read this perfume burner, with its Greek plan and five pierced and bubbling domes, as a fantastic architectural model for the greater fantasy of St. Mark's Basilica. Even the plaques in its base, depicting centaurs, sirens and griffins, suggest the antique bas-reliefs that remain embedded in the walls of St. Mark's. Yet the domes and the sinuous palm-leaf decorations are not Byzantine in form but Arabic, and the whole thing was made in southern Italy. The Venetians made a church out of it by soldering crosses to its conical towers and gave it years of use as a reliquary for some dried gouts of Christ's blood before burning incense in it again.

Piling use on use, like layers of Adriatic silt left by successive tide-flows, itself the prototype of civic eclecticism, Venice lent its rich, illusory profile even to the works of art it imported. They, like everything else in the city, have endured sea changes.

■ Robert Hughes

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A.B.A.: No Show

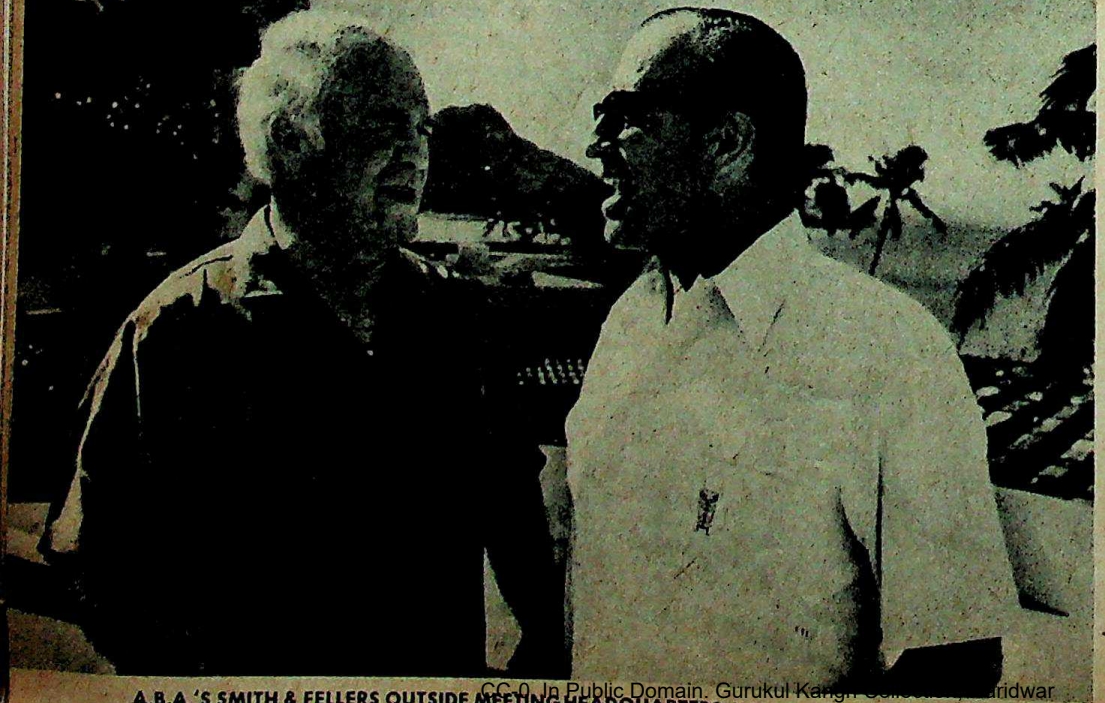
In the wake of the Supreme Court's extended term, Chief Justice Warren Burger begged off his scheduled state-of-the-Judiciary speech. Then Vice President Gerald Ford suddenly discovered that he had another commitment. They were not the only dropouts. Of the 11,000 lawyers expected, only 6,200 made it to Honolulu for the week-long annual gathering of the American Bar Association. "Nixon's resignation took the tension out of this meeting," said Lawyer Carl Nielson of Hartford, Conn. And after the tension went, the Pacific sun and balmy air apparently softened all remaining resolve. As a result, at one afternoon meeting a 200-member quorum could not be mustered for the first time in memory.

Where were the lawyers? In the surf, on Waikiki beaches or strolling along Kalakaua Avenue with their families, decked out in colorful sports shirts for the men and matching muumuus for their wives. Outgoing A.B.A. President Chesterfield Smith of Lakeland, Fla., called the no-show performance "deplorable, disgraceful and regrettable." All this past year Smith had been doing his feisty best to stir colleagues into facing up to the public suspicion and derision heaped on lawyers since Watergate. The beach bliss-out was a response the profession can ill afford.

Some business was accomplished by the members of the A.B.A. House of Delegates. They voted unanimously to back "fair, just and impartial application ... of the law regardless of the position or status" of an alleged wrongdoer. That less-than-bold proposition was the A.B.A.'s way of opposing special legal treatment for Richard Nixon. In a more forthright action, the delegates voted 117-110 to support "earned" immunity from prosecution for Viet Nam draft resisters (it could be earned by service in the armed forces or in other public-service employment). Talk about legal ethics pervaded the convention. But little was done. On the other major leadership concern—prepaid group legal services—there was also scant progress. (If and when the A.B.A. sets advisory guidelines, such insurance programs will help give the middle class greater access to legal advice.)

Deeper Appreciation. Incoming A.B.A. President James Fellers, 61, says that he is "a bit more cautious and moderate" than Predecessor Smith, but he promised last week to continue the push for group legal services and a refurbishing of the code of legal ethics. A general practitioner in Oklahoma City, Fellers was president of the state bar in 1964 when a bribery scandal involving nearly half the Oklahoma supreme court led to a Fellers-appointed investigating committee. Final tally: one justice impeached and removed, two convicted of income tax evasion, and one dead before action could be taken. "Out of that emerged a number of judicial reforms," recalls Fellers. Now, he says, "Watergate has supplied the momentum for the profession to develop a deeper appreciation of their responsibilities as attorneys." Perhaps so, after the lawyers take their leis off.

PAUL L. SEAMAN



A.B.A.'S SMITH & FELLERS OUTSIDE MEETING HEADQUARTERS, WITH DIAMOND HEAD BEHIND THEM
Top-ranked absentees, thousands of truants, and matching muumuus for the wi

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The Time to Go

Neither state nor federal statute tomatically strip a public official office after a criminal conviction stead he usually resigns. If he does he faces the impeachment proces if he is a legislator, he can be ex by his colleagues. But when should vote, when should a convicted offici sign? After the jury pronounces its dict or after the last appeal is exh ed? The troubles of U.S. Appeals Judge Otto Kerner and Califor Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke given the questions new importance.

Kerner stood down from his cial duties even before he was tri charges growing out of race-track backs during his 1961-68 term as nois Governor. But he refused to re Indeed the House Judiciary Comm in the initial stages of its Nixon was also thinking about an impe ment of Kerner. Last month, only days before he went behind bars one day after his last appeal failed, ner finally did resign. In the 14 mo since his conviction, Kerner had col ed nearly $50,000 in federal pay.

Challenged Status. Reinecke convicted only three weeks ago on a tergate-connected perjury charge too plans to keep his job. He too is being paid ($2,916.66 a month). But plans to do his work as well. "I am Lieutenant Governor," he said, "an will be until December 31 [the ex his term] or until all post-trial mo are exhausted and a judgment is tered"—which can come no sooner Aug. 30. Republican Attorney Gen Evelle Younger backed Reinec view. But he added: "Every signific official act you may perform in meantime may be challenged in courts by persons who disagree with legal conclusions ... This practical p lem should be considered by you."

Last week an attack material People's Lobby, a California citizens tion group, petitioned the state supr court for the right to challenge R necke's status. The question may be moot before the courts can deal the basic issues. Meanwhile Reine continues at his various jobs, which clude voting positions on the Univer of California board of regents and state lands commission. Although ser rious complications now seem lik Ronald Reagan's frequent out-of-s speechmaking trips technically shi governorship to the next in line. A one such recent trip, James R. Mill state senate president pro tem, c plained, "for the first time in hist no one knew who the Governor was Ed Reinecke didn't legally succeed the powers of the Governor, then it

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itter Sweetener

The U.S. Food and Drug Administration was under heavy attack last ek. In Washington, eleven FDA phyans and other researchers told a Sen- subcommittee that they had been ha- ssed, transferred to other projects and metimes overruled when they recom- ended against approval of new drugs y had tested. Another devastating w to the FDA was the publication of book *Eating May Be Hazardous to ur Health* (Simon & Schuster; $7.95). is an exposé of the agency by one of own employees, Biochemist Jacque- e Verrett, who got her doctorate at rdham University.

In her outspoken book, Verrett rges that the American people are protected against both known and spected harmful effects from the 3,000 0,000 food additives, dyes and sub- tutes now in use. "The FDA's perfor- nce, certainly of late, has been out- geous," she asserts. As she sees the a, it is a regulatory agency charged law to protect the public's health but o much concerned with the interests big business. It flouts the law by cov- ng up health hazards with evasions, stortions and misstatements.

Danger to Fetuses. Recounting e cyclamate flap that shook the agen- in the late 1960s, Verrett notes that as dy as 1954 a National Academy of ences panel voiced doubts about the ety of the sweetener, which Abbott oratories had been authorized to rket in 1951. But no further steps re taken by the FDA, and by 1968 a to- l of 17 million pounds of cyclamate s being consumed annually. Japanese searchers had already reported finding at in some people's bodies cyclamate eaks down in part to cyclohexylamine HA), which is known to be dangerous, pecially to fetuses and the newborn. rrett and others who had tested the weetener had been circulating adverse ports within the FDA. In December 68, the associate commissioner for sci- ce stated that cyclamates "will be re- oved from the GRAS [Generally Rec- ized As Safe] list."

By then the scientists had, in effect, en overruled by a bureaucratic device. A referred the question of cyclamate ety to the National Academy of Sci- ces and its working arm, the Nation- Research Council. The prestige of ese bodies gives a false aura of ob- ctivity to their findings, says Verrett, ecause the NRC passes the buck to an visory panel of "experts," most of om are partly supported by the in- stry concerned or institutions that it nces. Such men, says Dr. Verrett, e sometimes jokingly referred to as rtz Rent-a-Scientists.' "

cyclamate consumption was remarkably impractical. It recommended labeling foods containing cyclamates to indicate a maximum daily safe dose of 3.5 grams for adults and 1.5 grams for children. How the committee expected cyclamate users to read a fine-print label and calculate their intake in grams, it did not say.

On Oct. 1, 1969, Dr. Verrett announced that she had injected 13,000 incubating eggs with cyclamate and CHA and produced grotesque abnormalities. The defects in the baby chicks included the seal limbs associated with thalidomide; some of the abnormalities, she says, were "actually worse than any I had seen with thalidomide." She reported her research on a national television interview and was promptly and publicly rebuked, even though she had checked with her superiors before going on the air. Largely as a result of the furor that Verrett raised, Robert H. Finch, then Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, declared that cyclamated "general-purpose foods and beverages" would soon be taken off the market but allowed almost a year's latitude for canned fruits.

Even then, the FDA proposed to sanction continued sale of cyclamates for diabetics and the obese "under medical supervision" on a "nonprescription-drug basis." That action would have circumvented the Delaney Amendment to the food law of 1958, which forbids the use of any food additive or substitute known to cause cancer in animals. "It was," says Dr. Verrett, "the FDA's greatest moment of low comedy." The agency's own attorneys protested that the scheme was patently illegal. Even so, it took almost a year for another advisory group, which considered "additional evidence"—actually available more than a year earlier—to condemn cyclamates. The questionable sweetener was banned at last on Aug. 27, 1970.

Next, Saccharin. The battle is not yet over. The cyclamate lobby is currently pressing other studies in the hope of winning a repeal of the ban. And now the safety of saccharin, which, despite its bitter aftertaste, came back into general use after the cyclamate ban, is also in dispute. Verrett condemns saccharin because it produces deformities in developing chicks; other investigators have found that it causes bladder cancers in mice and rats.*

The trouble with the FDA, says Verrett, is the same as that in all regulatory agencies: too many of its personnel are recruited from the industries it is supposed to control. Furthermore, she says, during the cyclamate episode and others, there was evidence suggesting political dictation from the White House or from the office of the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. It will not be surprising if the FDA now moves to defend itself against Dr. Verrett's charges far more swiftly than it ever acted to ban dangerous drugs, dyes, additives or sweeteners.

*The FDA has just approved a new artificial sweetener, aspartame, for use on the table and in many ready-mix products, but not for soft drinks, or foods that have to be cooked. Despite some reservations about its safety, it should be generally available if saccharin is eventually banned.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

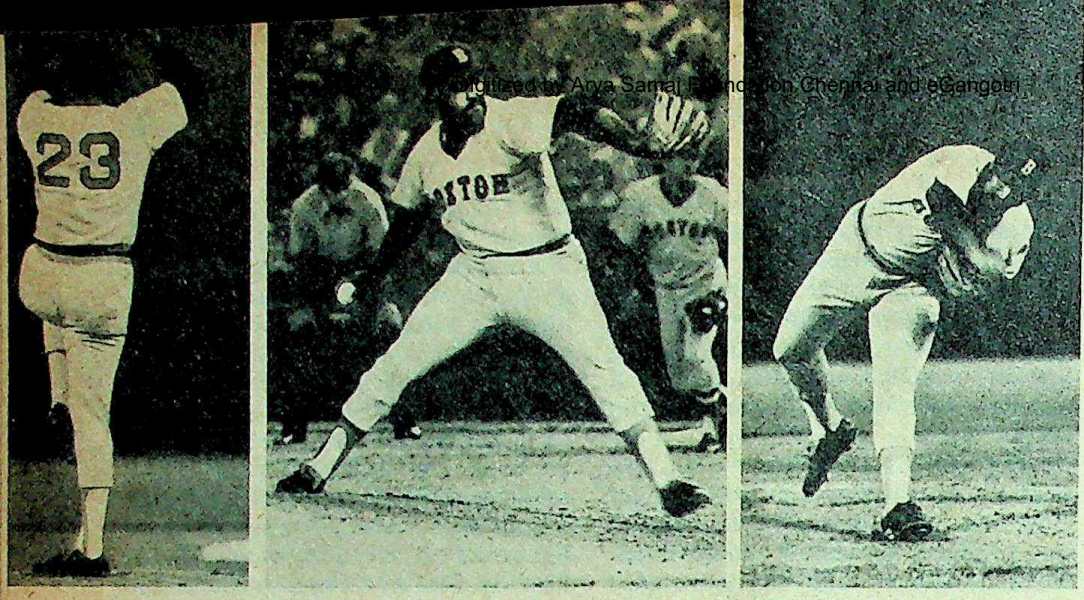


BIOCHEMIST JACQUELINE VERRETT IN HER FDA LABORATORY

Harassment, evasions and distortions.

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JIM FLORES

TIANT TRICKERY: WINDUP WITH BACK TO BATTER, STRETCH AND SNEAK RELEASE

Boston's Conquistador

There is no other delivery like it in baseball. After winding up with a spasmodic ensemble of twitches, hesitations and jerks, Boston Red Sox Righthander Luis Tiant turns his back to home plate, kicks toward third, then spins around toward the batter like a pirouetting ballerina high on amphetamines. As if that were not enough, Tiant finally releases the ball anywhere from over his head to just above his knee. The motion is so wild that Comedian Don Rickles has incorporated it into his act. "I think I confuse the hitters," Tiant explains. "They can't tell where it's coming from."

He is so right. The latest team to swing at Tiant's pitches was the California Angels. Like nine blind mice, they managed to scratch out only four hits and no runs last week. That gave Tiant his 18th victory, practically assuring him of a second consecutive season as a 20-game winner, with a good shot at 25 victories by October. By no coincidence, at week's end the Red Sox had a firm hold on first place in the American League's Eastern Division.

Being one of the best pitchers in baseball is not bad for a man whose age is officially listed as 33 but could be 36, 37 or whatever. His success is even more remarkable for a pitcher who was floundering in the minor leagues only three years ago. Excess weight and a cracked shoulder blade had apparently ended Tiant's career after several solid years in the majors, including one 21-victory season with the Cleveland Indians.

Being signed by the Red Sox in 1971, he says, "was like coming back from the dead." He brought back with him a high-octane fastball—still his best pitch—a good knuckler, curve and a blooper ball that floats by hypnotized batters. At the same time, he began refining the twists and twitches that he has now developed to a rubbery art. The gregarious Cuban also brought along an inexhaustible sense of humor, a special brand of English and an omnipresent cigar that he smokes, or chews, even in the shower. Red Sox teammates used to douse Tiant's glowing stogies in the whirlpool bath; currently, they are more respectful. "Now that Luis buys those expensive 8-inch Colombians," reports Outfielder Tommy Harper, "we can't dunk 'em like we used to."

Tiant now eases along on a salary of $75,000 a year. But it is not only money that keeps him going. His father, now a gas-station attendant in Havana, was a star pitcher for the New York Cubans in the old Negro Leagues. "Baseball is part of my life," says Tiant. "For us Latins, baseball is in the blood." After all, he adds, "I can't complain about this game. I have good life."

Gaining a Cleathold

In Oregon, fans of the World Football League's Portland Storm press together in a 27,500-seat stadium built for baseball before the Hoover Depression. On Randall's Island in the middle of New York's East River, the quarterback of the city's Stars tosses passes into darkness as his team plays under lights first used 35 years ago at Ebbets Field, where apartment houses now stand. ("This is the only stadium, and the only league," says Star Defensive End Gerry Philbin, "where they decide on the coin flip whether they'll take the well-lit side or the dull side.") Despite such antique facilities and some equally antique players, the twelve teams of the maverick World Football League played the sixth game of their 20-game season last week. They are clearly gaining a cleathold on the U.S. sports scene.

There was no doubt that the W.F.L.'s debut got a lift from the bitter and protracted strike by National Football League players. Until last week, when the walkout halted for a 14-day "cooling off" period and striking veter-

ans began reporting to training
the established league's exhibitio
son had been a disaster with rook
free agents playing humdrum fo
in half-empty stadiums. Even
strike is settled soon, the rancor be
owners and strikers—not to me
bad blood between strikers and
ans who crossed picket lines—pro
to linger through the season ahead.

The W.F.L. has its own woes
a scandal that surfaced recently w
officials of the Philadelphia Bell and
Jacksonville Sharks confessed to fr
inflating attendance figures with a
giveaway of tickets. Some 44,000
bies were handed out to Shark fan
the team's first two home games
whopping 100,000 went to Bell spo
tors. "The second game was on TV,"
plained Bell Executive Vice Presi
Barry Leib shortly before his 48-
suspension by League Founder-C
missioner Gary Davidson. "How w
it have looked if no one was there?"

The disclosures not only smu
the league's credibility but helpe
scure signs of genuine fan support.
ball enthusiasts in Birmingham,
who tried unsuccessfully for eight
to land an N.F.L. franchise, have tri
bad weather to greet the Birmingh
Americans with an average paid a
dance of 43,000. The W.F.L. has
drawn respectable TV ratings (aver
ing about 8 million viewers per w
with its midweek evening games on
an independent television network.

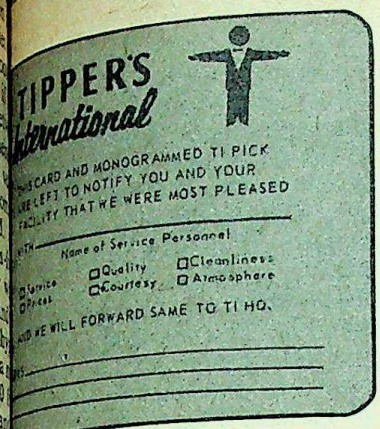
New Stars. Part of the league's
peal lies in its promise to supply more
tion than the defense-oriented N.
After each touchdown (worth 7 poi
there is an extra "action point" (a
or pass) instead of the automatic p
kick. Restrictions against movement
the backfield have been eliminated
an extra period has been added to fr
ties. So far the new rules have produ
some high-scoring contests, even tho
the W.F.L.'s play has not been nece
thrilling.

Not surprisingly, the new league
introduced a mini-galaxy of new st
Bell Quarterback Jim ("King") Co
ran, a castoff from five N.F.L. tea
has finally found a home in Philadel
with his shrewd passing game. In B
mingham, Matthew Reed, a black qu
terback from Grambling, replaced
injured George Mira for two games
coolly led the undefeated American
late fourth-quarter wins.

For all their public optimism,
W.F.L. owners are predicting q
profits. Chicago Fire Owner Tom
iger has said that he is ready to ab
losses of $5 million before making a
Most owners are counting on the e
tual higher value of their franchises
recoup their heavy initial outlays. W
such N.F.L. superstars as Larry C
ka, Calvin Hill and Jim Kiick s
uled to come aboard next year, t
W.F.L. investments may well turn

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ERS' EVALUATION CARD

pper's Revenge

The soup arrives lukewarm, dessert does not arrive at all, and the bill bears little relation to what was ordered. Even so, the restaurant patron is likely to add 15% to the check for the waiter or waitress, then go home grumbling about the injustices of tipping. For the dissatisfied diner who is too timid to complain aloud, there is a palatable remedy: a union of restaurant victims called Tippers International.

Tippers

Founded two years ago by John Schein, a traveling nuts-and-bolts salesman from Oshkosh, Wis., Tippers International now claims 2,700 members in the U.S., Puerto Rico and Canada. "I think tipping is a way of life," says Schein, 63, "but I think we have control it a bit." Schein's control takes form of blue and yellow report cards members skewer with a monogrammed T.I. toothpick and leave with instead of) their tip. A blue card comments the service and food. A yellow contains a check list of complaints: service, quality of food, cleanliness, ces, courtesy and atmosphere. The system, claims Schein, provides ers with a "diplomatic, dignified and ective means of letting people know en you're satisfied with their service, when you're not."

For their $10 yearly fee, members Tippers International receive a gen- helping of cards and toothpicks, a cket guide to tipping and a batch of elopes addressed to T.I.'s Milwaukee adquarters. Members' evaluations of staurants, hotels and motels are iled in and passed on to the T.I. ranks a monthly newsletter.

The comments are forwarded to the ending eateries as well, because res- ant owners seldom get the benefit the constructive criticism on the cards T.I. members lay on the table. Wait- and waitresses surreptitiously pock- the telltale yellow complaints even er than they snap up tips.

California's Funeral Sails

The idea is old and really quite romantic. In the 9th century, deceased Viking VIPs were laid out in their own longboats and floated off to Odin in funerary flames. Today's cremation and deep-sixing are no longer simultaneous, somewhat diminishing the dramatic impact. But in California, burial at sea is once again becoming the with-it way to go.

Californians by the thousands are registering for membership ($15 per person, $25 per couple) in burial-at-sea clubs that for an additional fee provide pick-up, cremation and the scattering of ashes at sea. Such clubs as the Telophase Society (the largest, with 9,000 members) and the Neptune Society (7,000) each conduct an average of 50 seafaring funerals every month.

Romantic appeal aside, the big reason for the sudden chic of sea burial is economics. Says Charles Denning, founder of the Neptune Society: "For the past hundred years undertakers have made a rich living by selling tin boxes that rust in the ground, pink gowns and booties, and scenic plots overlooking freeways." These standard "hole-in-the-ground" funerals, he notes, cost $1,200 to $1,900. Burial at sea runs a mere $250 a throw.

50 a Trip. For that sum, says Denning, Neptune offers "a real first-class service. The crew is at full dress, the ship is pointed into the wind, and all the engines are dead." The flag is lowered to half-mast, and the captain reads Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar" (the 107th Psalm is optional), while a black-draped crew member sprinkles the loved one's remains into the Pacific from a ceramic Grecian urn. For an additional $250, as many as 20 relatives and friends can attend the scattering from the deck of Neptune's bar-and-galley-equipped yacht *K'thanga*. Telophase eschews even such limited funeral frippery. It charters a boat, makes no provision for guests, stores ashes in boxes and scatters 50 to 60 people per voyage.

With Neptune and Telophase enjoying such good business, old-fashioned undertakers are jumping aboard. In San Diego, all 32 licensed mortuaries will now provide sea service if requested, some for as little as $187.50. In Huntington Beach, Dilday Bros. Funeral Directors estimate that some 30% of their trade now involves a watery finale. Dilday charges $350, but because the scattering is done from a private plane, three family members are allowed along for the ride at no extra charge.

Other funeral directors, incensed at having the ground so suddenly cut out from under their industry, are trying to blockade the burial-at-sea societies in the courts. Telophase is currently facing charges of unfair competition and a civil suit for not complying with the regulations of the California Cemetery Board. What is unfair, it seems, is that Telophase does not hold title to either a cemetery or a crematorium, has not posted a $25,000 endowment bond insuring proper plot care, and refuses to hire a licensed staff cemetery broker. "We have a chapel and an embalming room, and they cost money," objects one San Diego funeral director. "We have to provide certain things, and so should they." "All we want to do is haul ashes to sea," counters Telophase Attorney Tom Sherrard, "and brokers want to sell plots and mausoleum crypts."

In an effort to stem the legal assault of the Cemetery Board and the funeral directors, Neptune's board of directors recently acquired a full-time mortician, an embalmer and a broker. But Telophase refuses to bend, and has boldly filed a countercomplaint against the Cemetery Board, charging excessive harassment. Says Neptune's Denning: "Telophase is a real maverick. We applaud them in their fight."

JULIAN WASSER



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LABOR

At Last: Pension Reform

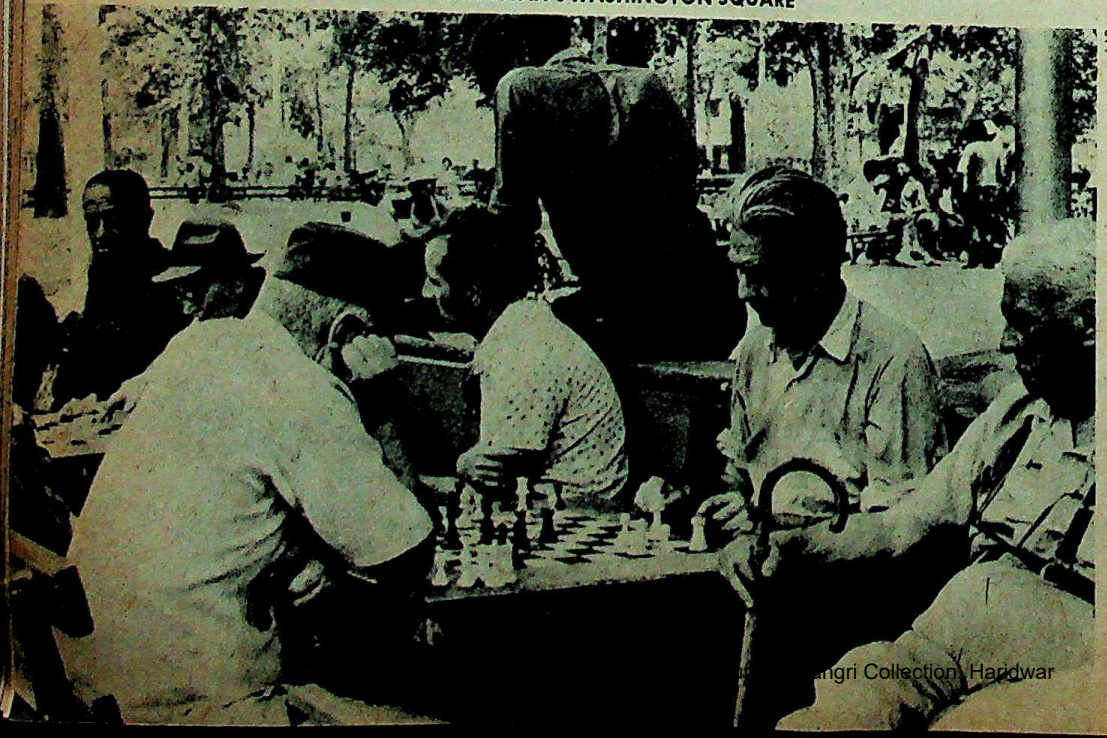
Private pension funds constitute one of the largest unregulated pools of capital in the U.S. economy not subject to strict federal regulation. Estimates of the money paid into those plans go as high as $185 billion, and 23 million or more Americans are relying on those dollars to help provide a comfortable standard of living after they retire. Unfortunately, all too many of them have had no real assurance that they will ever see a cent of the money. Now workers can breathe somewhat easier: Congress is set to enact this week a long-overdue pension reform bill designed to make sure that employees collect the benefits they earn.

Left Out. Many scrupulous employers, of course, have set up pension plans that protect their workers. But since the first private pension plans were established about 100 years ago, inequities have been common. Some workers have discovered that after years of service to an employer they had somehow failed to qualify for benefits. Others found that changing jobs or being put on layoff could deprive them of their benefits. The disappearance of a company through collapse or merger, or the bankruptcy of its pension fund because of inept or corrupt management (some pension officers have been known to lend money to friends or relatives at low interest) could leave veteran workers with little retirement income or none. In one celebrated pension catastrophe, when the Studebaker auto factory in South Bend, Ind., closed in 1963, 4,500 workers under age 60 were able to collect only 15% of the benefits they were entitled to after an average 23 years of service.

The complex, 501-page Employee Benefit Security Act would create a Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp. (officers: the Secretaries of Labor, Treasury and Commerce) to insure pensions in much the same way that the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. protects depositors in banks that go bust. With only a few exceptions, an employer who sets up a pension plan must buy insurance from the PBGC. If a company or its pension fund goes broke, the federal agency can pay up to $750 a month to the workers who were "vested"—that is, had gained rights that could not be forfeited even if they left the company. Generally, the bill requires that employees be fully vested after ten or 15 years of service. In addition, employers must make specified minimum annual contributions to the fund, give the Secretary of Labor an annual audit certified by an independent accountant, and follow new rules aimed at honest management.

Those provisions are enough to make the act "landmark legislation" in the view of Bertran Seidman, Social Security director of the AFL-CIO. But the law does not go far enough to please many advocates of pension reform. No employer would be required to set up a pension plan. Many blue-collar workers take their first jobs at 16 but would not have to be included in pension plans until they are 25 (though they must then be given credit for three years' ve... Karen W. Ferguson, a Washingto... torney and ally of Ralph Nader, ... plains that not requiring full vesti... ten or 15 years is unfair, given the ... mobility of the U.S. labor force. "A... ployee fortunate enough to stay und... single pension plan throughout his ... life will always be better off than ... low worker who changes jobs." N... that the bill allows employers to ch... the vesting plan that costs the leas... therefore provides the least prote... to the employee, Ohio State Law ... fessor Merton C. Bernstein calls ... measure "a grave disappointment" ... worries that its passage will destro... impetus for pension reform in the ... ture. He has a point: the present bi... eight years in the drafting, under in... lobbying pressure all the while. Sti... act should go far toward assuring ... workers of a more pleasant retire...

RETIREES PLAYING CHESS IN MANHATTAN'S WASHINGTON SQUARE



UPI

...ngri Collection, Haridwar

PRICES

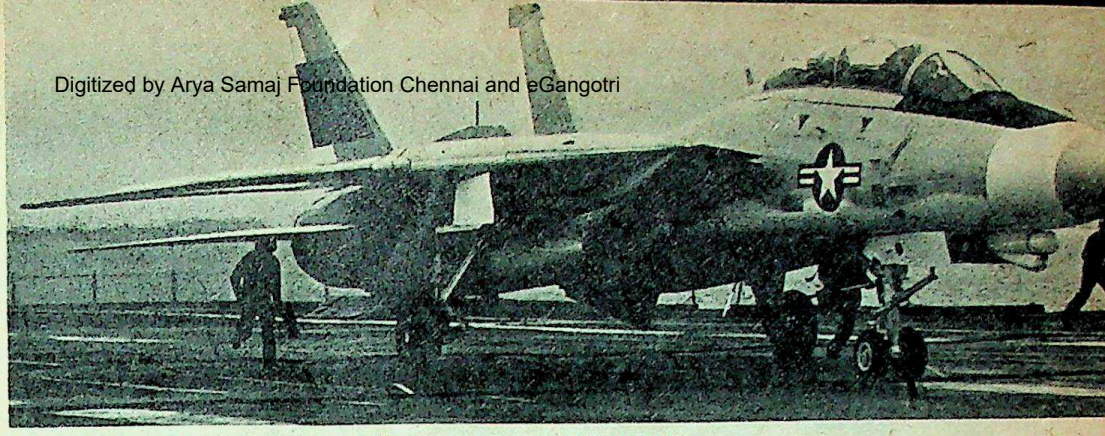
Oil Stays Up

By the law of supply and de... the sky-high oil prices that are dis... ing Western economies should be fa... right now. Oil supplies are exceeding ... mand on world markets by 3% to ... creating the classic condition for a p... drop. Saudi Arabia continues in its ... spoken position as the one produc... country whose officials have consiste... argued that it is unrealistic for Mi... East states to maintain posted price... oil that are four times as high as ... were last fall. Richer in petroleum ... serves than any other nation, Saudi A... bia announced last month that in e... August it would auction off some cr... without setting a minimum price. ... plans aroused high hopes, especially ... the U.S., that this month would see ... beginning of the long-awaited price ... But it is now clear that those hopes ... be postponed. The auction is off.

Why? The Saudi government ... not said. Indeed, it has not officially ... celed the auction, but neither has it ... sent out invitations to Western oil co... panies to bid. Possibly the Saudis ... waiting for some indication from ... new Ford Administration of just ... much the U.S. values Arab cooperat... But most oil analysts suggest a differ... reason: however sincere the Saudis ... be in their desire to cut oil prices, ... are reluctant to disrupt the powerful ... tel formed by the twelve members of ... Organization of Petroleum Exporting ... Countries. King Faisal's government ... parently feels that it cannot move ... less it gets the support of at least ... two other O.P.E.C. countries.

That it has signally failed to ... fact, after plans for ...

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U.S. NAVY

CARRIER CREWMEN PREPARING TO CHECK WHEELS OF F-14 TOMCAT

announced, government ministers other Persian Gulf oil-producing ns hurriedly declared their readi- to cut back petroleum production, ecessary, to keep world prices from ping. Abdel Rahman Al-Atiqi, Ku- 's Minister of Finance and Oil, ded: "If there is any attempt to un- ine oil prices by any party through king them in an unnatural way, .C. has a specific plan in hand to ter any such attempt. And when I O.P.E.C., I mean all the member s without exception." His statement an obvious exaggeration, since Sau- Arabia is a leading member of .C., but it nonetheless made a point. To some Europeans, who have nev- hared the U.S. optimism that oil es would soon drop, the affair proved e again that oil prices are not de- ined by economics alone. "The fact e surplus means nothing at all," says Frankel, a London oil consultant. gh official of the European Com- n Market adds: "Prices will contin- be determined by political, not eco- ic factors."

If oil prices do eventually drop, it bably will not be as a result of the t O.P.E.C. meeting in Vienna in Sep- ber. At the latest meeting in Ecua- in June, Saudi Arabian Petroleum ister Ahmed Zaki Yamani pressed a cut of $2 per bbl. in the posted e of $11.65 per bbl. for light crude. e posted price is a theoretical figure, t helps to determine the actual price use it is the number on which tax- and royalties levied against the oil panies are based.) Yamani had all ould do, however, to keep the other .C. members from raising prices higher. The Saudis are not likely to better in Vienna. It seems that con- ers in oil-burning countries would well advised not to hold their breath.

ONEY

gal Gold

Beginning Jan. 1, American gold- s, who have long been limited to pur- sing coins or jewelry, can legally buy e real stuff: gold bars. A bill signed week by President Ford ends a 40- r ban against private ownership of on by U.S. citizens. Administration cials insist that the lifting of the ban l not affect U.S. international mon- ry policy, since the value of the dol- is no longer closely tied to gold. Be- e gold pays no interest, it makes easure sense only to people who ex- the price to rise sharply or who dis- st other standards of value. But some ks and companies are making plans service would-be American Midases. ers at Sterling National Bank in w York City, for example, will sell sizes of gold bars over the counter for the minispeculator, half-ounce costing about $80.

AVIATION

Help for Grumman?

Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi of Iran has such an appetite for American military hardware that some wags have wondered whether he might be willing to use some of his oil revenues to pay for the cost overruns that U.S. defense contractors often experience. Last week it appeared that he really might. The Shah's government offered a loan of undisclosed size to Grumman Corp. of Long Island to help it keep building the cost-plagued F-14A Tomcat fighter. Iran has ordered 80 of the planes, which cost $17.8 million each.

The offer came after the U.S. Senate voted down, 53 to 35, a proposal to have the Navy, which has ordered 374 Tomcats, lend Grumman $100 million. Grumman had claimed that it needed the money immediately to meet its payrolls. But Senators angrily noted that Grumman had reinvested an earlier Navy loan in high-yield, short-term securities and made a net profit of nearly $3 million. Some Senators also were annoyed that Grumman had paid dividends of 15¢ a share to stockholders in the last two quarters; Grumman last week postponed until next month action on another dividend, but conceded that it has the money to pay one.

The U.S. Government, of course, could well refuse to let Grumman take a loan from the Shah (whose government recently bought a fourth of the shares of West Germany's giant Krupp combine at a cost of about $100 million). Democratic Representative Otis Pike and Republican Senator Jacob Javits of New York are pressing the State Department to approve. But it scarcely seems in the U.S.'s interest to let an important defense contractor become financially dependent on a foreign government. The Pentagon is urging Grumman to seek financing from U.S. banks instead. There also is a serious political question of how much the U.S. wants to assist the Shah in expanding Iran's sphere of military influence. Though it can operate from land bases, the F-14 is designed to be flown primarily off aircraft carriers, and Iran does not now have any—but high Pentagon officials confirm privately that the Shah is in the market for two carriers. If he can buy them, they probably would be deployed not in the waters of the Persian Gulf but in the Indian Ocean, extending the Shah's power outside the Middle East.



AP

SHAH MOHAMMED REZA PAHLAVI OF IRAN
A customer comes to the rescue.

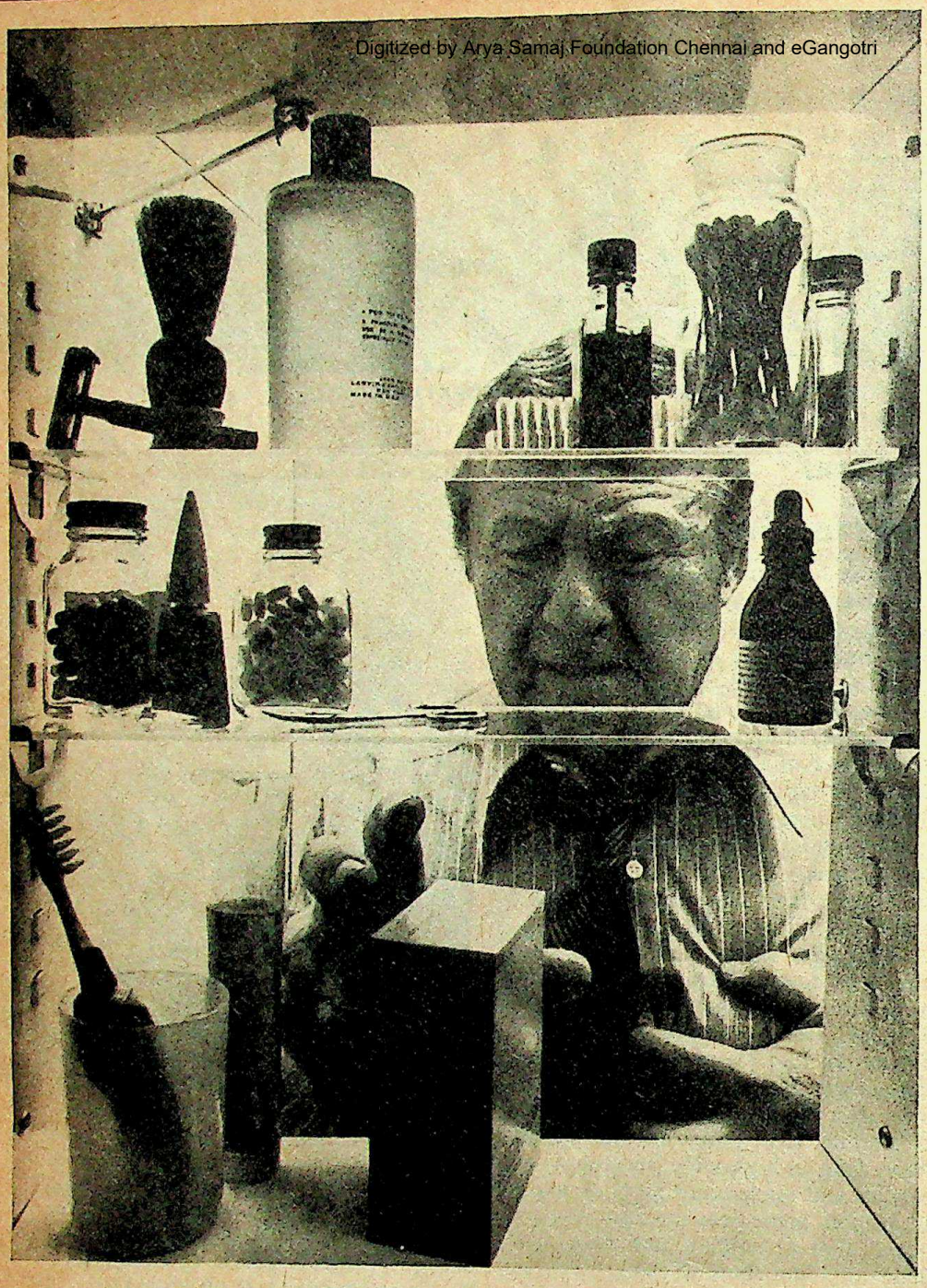
▪ ▪ ▪

A loud quarrel also appears to be developing over Pentagon purchases of another important weapon, the Trident atomic-powered submarine. In July, the Navy ordered the first of the mammoth subs from General Dynamics' Electric Boat Division for $285.4 million, the highest price the Defense Department has ever paid for a single item. Last week Defense confirmed that it had acted over the objections of the Navy's director of procurement, Gordon W. Rule.

The contract is for a so-called "firm price." Such contracts often cause trouble in the case of new weapons whose cost is hard to estimate; manufacturers find that they cannot deliver for the agreed price and ask for more money. Rule contends that the Navy should have signed a "milestone" contract, under which the manufacturer is paid legitimate costs plus a set fee. Democratic Representative Les Aspin of Wisconsin, a former Defense Department economic analyst, agrees and is demanding a full congressional investigation.

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You may think it's "heartburn" ...but you could be dead wrong

If you have these symptoms, you may be having a heart attack.

1. Prolonged, heavy pressure or squeezing pain in the center of the chest, behind the breastbone.
2. Pain may radiate to the shoulder, arm, neck or jaw.
3. The pain or discomfort is often accompanied by sweating.
4. Nausea, vomiting and shortness of breath may also occur.
5. Sometimes these symptoms subside and then return.

Don't wait. Call your doctor immediately and tell him your symptoms. If he isn't available, get to a hospital emergency room at once.

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Married. Marvin Mandel, 54, ernor of Maryland; and Jeanne I istone Dorsey, 37, descendant of Maryland's founding families; bo the second time; in a Jewish cere in Annapolis. Mandel and his firs Barbara ("Bootsie"), 54, who for months refused to leave the Gover mansion following her husband's lic declaration that he intended to Mrs. Dorsey, were divorced just h hour before the wedding. The brid vorced former Maryland State Se Walter B. Dorsey in 1969.

■

Died. Mrs. Park Chung Hee highly esteemed First Lady of S Korea (*see* THE WORLD).

■

Died. I. Robert ("Bob") Krie 60, Marine Corps veteran of World II and urbane president of the 21 Manhattan's lavishly appointed f speakeasy that offers social status with costly food and drink, younge the four brothers who steered "fr of the house" to the right tables the years; of a heart attack; in W hampton Beach, N.Y.

■

Died. Clay L. Shaw, 61, the only son ever to stand trial for the ass nation of President John Kennedy cancer; in New Orleans. In 1967 years after his retirement as manag director of New Orleans' Internati Trade Mart, Shaw was accused by Orleans District Attorney Jim Garr of conspiring with Lee Harvey Os to kill J.F.K. After many months noisy proceedings—during which G rison produced a motley assortme informants and witnesses—the jury less than an hour to acquit Shaw March 1969. Garrison then tried to ecute Shaw for perjury but was stop by the federal courts.

■

Died. Karl Earl Mundt, 74, for Republican Senator from South Dak in Washington, D.C. A college spe teacher before his election to Congre 1938, the stocky, amiable Mundt app his oratorical talents to the cau American isolationism before P Harbor awakened him to internati concerns. A supporter of the United tions and sponsor of the bill creating Voice of America, he became a le postwar anti-Communist. As a chairman of the House Un-Amer Activities Committee, he helped Richard Nixon push the investigation Alger Hiss. Elected to the Senate 1948, Mundt reluctantly chaired the Carthy-Army hearings six years l After suffering a stroke in 1969, he fused to resign and in February 197 became the first Senator ever to stripped of seniority and key com assignments by his fellow legisla

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The King of Swing

BABE: THE LEGEND COMES TO LIFE
by ROBERT W. CREAMER
443 pages. Illustrated. Simon & Schuster. $9.95.

For baseball fans it is a great moment in history—like the Pilgrims' landing at Plymouth Rock or King John's signing the Magna Carta. There stands Babe Ruth with two strikes on him, gorilla-chested, monkey-faced, pipestem-legged, pointing imperiously to deep centerfield. It is the 1932 World Series against Chicago in Wrigley Field, and when Cub Pitcher Charlie Root fires the ball, the Babe hits a vast home run to the very spot, winning the ball game. Unfortunately, things did not happen quite that way. But, as Robert Creamer demonstrates again and again in this book, what really did happen, though different, is in some ways better. Ruth did take two strikes. Then as the Cubs, who thought he had struck out, began surging onto the field, the great New York Yankee slugger waved them back with a gesture that would have done credit to the mythical Casey. Holding up two fingers, he shouted, "It takes only one to hit it." Then he slammed his historic homer.

Dozens of books have already been written about Babe Ruth. Four new titles will be in the bookstores before the end of this baseball season. The one that provides the most pleasure, and information, is unquestionably Creamer's. It is the first really adult biography of the Babe, as well as one of the best, and least sentimental, books about a great sports figure ever written. Though it is no hagiography, *Babe* will please worshipful sports fans. Sports biographies are rarely truthful, and when truthful they are customarily boring. Creamer, a senior editor of SPORTS ILLUSTRATED, does not disguise the fact that his hero was an overgrown child and far from a genius. Ruth, in fact, sometimes had trouble remembering the names of fellow players. But he played baseball —and lived—with a headlong joy that has rarely been matched.

Waterfront Kid. George Herman Ruth (Baltimore sportswriters nicknamed him "Babe" because Ruth at 20 was the baby of the old Orioles) was not, as rumored, an orphan. His parents ran a Baltimore saloon, but by the time he was nine Ruth proved too wild for his family or regular schools to handle. He was packed off to St. Mary's Industrial School, a combination orphanage and reformatory. That incarceration proved a break for baseball. At St. Mary's, the large and lumpish Ruth caught the eye of Brother Matthias, an equally huge Xaverian Brother who taught him to play every position. By the time Ruth signed out of the school at 20 to join the Orioles, his skills as both a pitcher and hitter were well up to major-league standards. He hit .315 in his first full year in the majors.

Ruth rapidly became not only the Sultan of Swat but an aspiring social lion awkwardly eager to say the right thing. The rude, uneducated kid from Baltimore's waterfront once convulsed guests at a formal dinner party by spurning a plate of asparagus. "Asparagus," he complained to his hostess in his piping tones, "makes my urine smell." Asparagus, though, was about the only food that Ruth would not eat. He loved to munch hot dogs during practice sessions with the Yankees, once put away a delicacy made of 18 eggs and three pounds of ham. He was equally omnivorous about girls. During a road-trip with the Browns, Ruth announced that he was going to bed with a certain hooker in a St. Louis whorehouse—and he proved as good as his word. He squandered his enormous salary ($80,000 in 1930) on clothes, women and cars which he often wrecked or petulantly abandoned, though he once gave a 1925 Cadillac to Brother Matthias out of gratitude.

He started his career as a pitcher and was good enough to win three games for Boston in the 1916 World Series. When he switched to the outfield in 1918, he almost singlehandedly changed baseball into a slugger's game. His single-season home-run record has been eclipsed, of course, and also the Ruth lifetime batting record of .342.* But the Babe had his best season for the Yankees, during which he batted .376, hit 54 home runs, 12 triples, 36 doubles, scored 158 times, batted in 137 runs and stole 14 bases. It was still the best year any major leaguer ever had. Ruth's slugging average (the total production of extra base hits), a spectacular .847, remains unsurpassed to this day, when an average of .600 is considered excellent (Hank Aaron's lifetime slugging average is around .569).

Ruth set another unbroken record. During the 1922 season, he was suspended

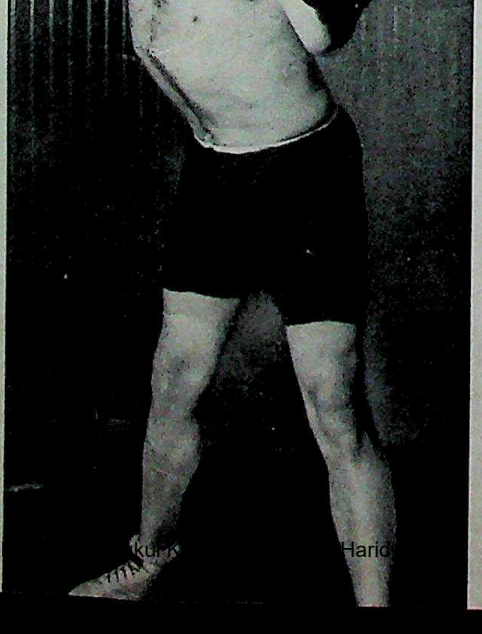
*Among the dozen players who have topped .400 are Ty Cobb (.367), Rogers Hornsby (.359), Tris Speaker (.344) and Ted Williams (.344).

RUTH WITH SECOND WIFE CLAIRE HODGSON



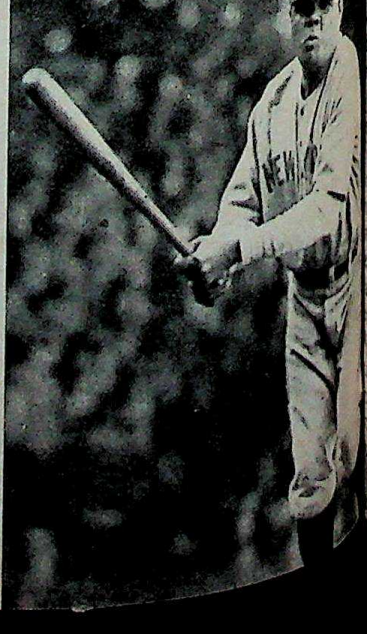
OFF-SEASON CLOWNING IN A GYM

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS



AT THE PLATE

UPI



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no fewer than five times—for drinking, being late to games, and disobeying the formidable commissioner of baseball, Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis. (He did not, as has often been reported, hold the Yankees' minuscule manager Miller Huggins off the rear platform of a train or threaten to drop him. But he might have.)

"He was the best-hearted fellow who ever lived," said former Boston Red Sox pitcher Ernie Shore. Apparently that was true, except when it came to his wives. (On road trips Ruth tended to forget that he was married at all.) Fans and teammates loved him, exulted in his excesses, empathizing with his small-boy penitence when disciplined by the ball club, and appreciating, as perhaps only those who follow baseball can, the way he cocked his bat, stepped into a pitch, swung as if to uproot the bases. Today only a handful of Americans can identify Roger Maris, who broke the Babe's season record by hitting 61 home runs back in 1961. But everyone, even those born after his death from cancer in 1948, knows about Babe Ruth. Maris was a highly skilled athlete. In more ways than one, Ruth was a Homeric figure. ■ Peter Stoler



JILL KREMENTZ

HILMA WOLITZER
Self-ministering angel.

...ebestod in Rego Park

...ING
...LMA WOLITZER
...0 pages. Morrow. $6.95.

The wedding of love and death has given literature some of its best—and most of its worst—moments. Consider, for example, the timeless tragic passions of *Tristan and Iseult* and the disposable clichés of *Love Story*. In *Ending*, Hilma Wolitzer's first novel, there is neither an immortal love cave nor an ivy-covered campus to enhance the relationship of love and death. The setting is Rego Park, Queens, a part of New York City where thousands pursue their lives in middle-income high-rises not far from one of the largest and dreariest cemetery complexes in the world. The story is about a young mother named Sandy Kaufman who must confront the irreversible truth that her 32-year-old husband is dying of multiple cancer of the marrow.

Jay Kaufman is a television cameraman, lanky, easygoing, well liked, focusing on the hard legs of show girls and the putty faces of comedians is only his job. His life is with Sandy, their two small sons, and with New York City itself. As an amateur still-photographer, he loves to roam the city and poke his lens into the varied faces of his fellow New Yorkers. Sometimes, when startled out of their reveries, they poke back. At home he arranges his photos on the bed and casually plans to publish them in a book.

Jay is ripe with innocence. He is old enough to have savored love and father-

accompany the onset of middle age. It is difficult to think of rebellious cells fanning out through his body, turning his blood to water. For Sandy, whose life suddenly becomes a ritual of baby-sitting arrangements and hospital visits, death infiltrates past the eggshell phrases of doctors, through false hopes, the increasingly embarrassed concern of neighbors, and even such things as her sudden piercing awareness that there is less laundry.

Death skins her eyes, allowing her to prepare for loss by making her more vulnerable and open to experience. And there is still plenty of that. Her best friend, who also lost a husband when he ran off with another woman, drags Sandy to a group-grope therapy session. It is not her thing, though in her own graceful way she learns to take risks with strangers. Riding a bus to Atlantic City during a brief stand-down from her deathwatch, she holds the hand of a grossly fat woman who has spilled out her troubles. She suspends the usual fear and suspicion when a middle-aged man keeps intercepting her in the hospital parking lot to make pathetic and harmless advances.

Under the trying circumstances, nothing Sandy does seems inappropriate. The secret of her appeal and depth is that she is a ministering angel who also ministers to herself. She has an artist's sense of what is real and what is merely tactful. When her husband's doctor cops out and leaves her to tell Jay that his illness is incurable, Sandy's instinct is to tell him while he was still able to walk. It seemed immoral somehow to tell a dying man the miserable and imminent truth when he was helpless, lying down in the very path of the words."

Ending could easily have been a dreadful book. Instead, it is an extraordinarily good one. Each of its 40 short chapters contains a quiet surprise or nuance that is all the more effective because it springs from the most familiar sources. Author Wolitzer, a Long Island housewife and mother of two, practices realism at its best. Her novel is not a direct imprint of close personal experience. It is an imaginative act that contemplates the world without the lachrymose bitterness that made an anxious Hemingway demean life by calling death an old whore. ■ R.Z. Sheppard

Lots of Lunch Meat

THE DEATH OF THE DETECTIVE
by MARK SMITH
596 pages. Knopf. $8.95.

At the outset, a wealthy and evil man named Farquarson lies dying in his mansion in Lake Forest, Ill. Years ago he railroaded his redundant wife into a mental institution, where she had a son by another inmate. Said inmate, a violent man named Helenowski, vowed deadly vengeance on the world. As the novel begins he has escaped and is busy killing people.

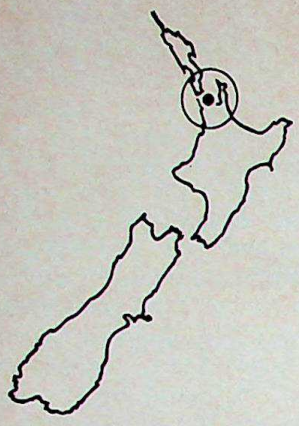
Farquarson telephones a middle-aged detective named Arnold Magnuson. A widower, full of regretful guilt and woe, Magnuson wants to atone for his life by catching the criminal. He roars about Chicago and its suburbs in an antique Duesenberg, arriving at the scene of murder after murder too late to do anything except get blood on his shoes. Over and over again, and very well, the author describes the Duesenberg, describes the rush of night driving, the murders, the blood and Magnuson's florid mental state.

Though the plot is like a Ross Macdonald garden of sin buried and retribution delayed, the book resembles a conventional detective story only when Mark Smith's whim turns to parody. Like the two dozen other fully drawn figures who crowd the story, Detective Magnuson seems something less than real, and neither the reader—nor the author—is sure just how seriously to take him.

Author Smith also offers two baroque subplots, one involving the lost identity of Mrs. Farquarson's son, now grown to adulthood and doubt, and the other an entirely self-contained gangster movie. They are irrelevant but great fun to read—a fragment of boozy conversation in a bar or a bedroom, a Polish picnic with a cast of thousands, a gangland execution in which the 400-lb. guest of honor is carted to a packinghouse and recycled as lunch meat.

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ANTHEA SMITH

MARK SMITH
Garden of buried sin.

of English at the University of New Hampshire and the father of four daughters. His large and eccentric melodrama is marked by lavish skill at doing what novelists always need to do—write scenes, weave narrative threads, hatch and construct characters, see and smell and feel and describe. Good sentence piles upon good sentence until the novel sags and cracks. What it sorely needs is a blue pencil and an artistic point of view.

■ John Skow

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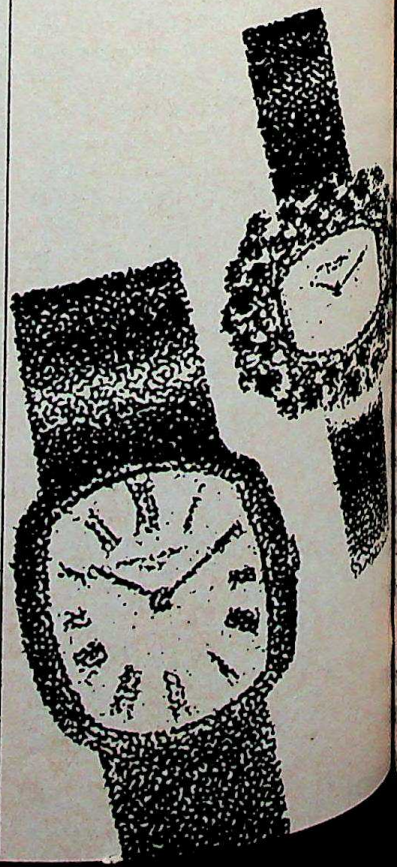
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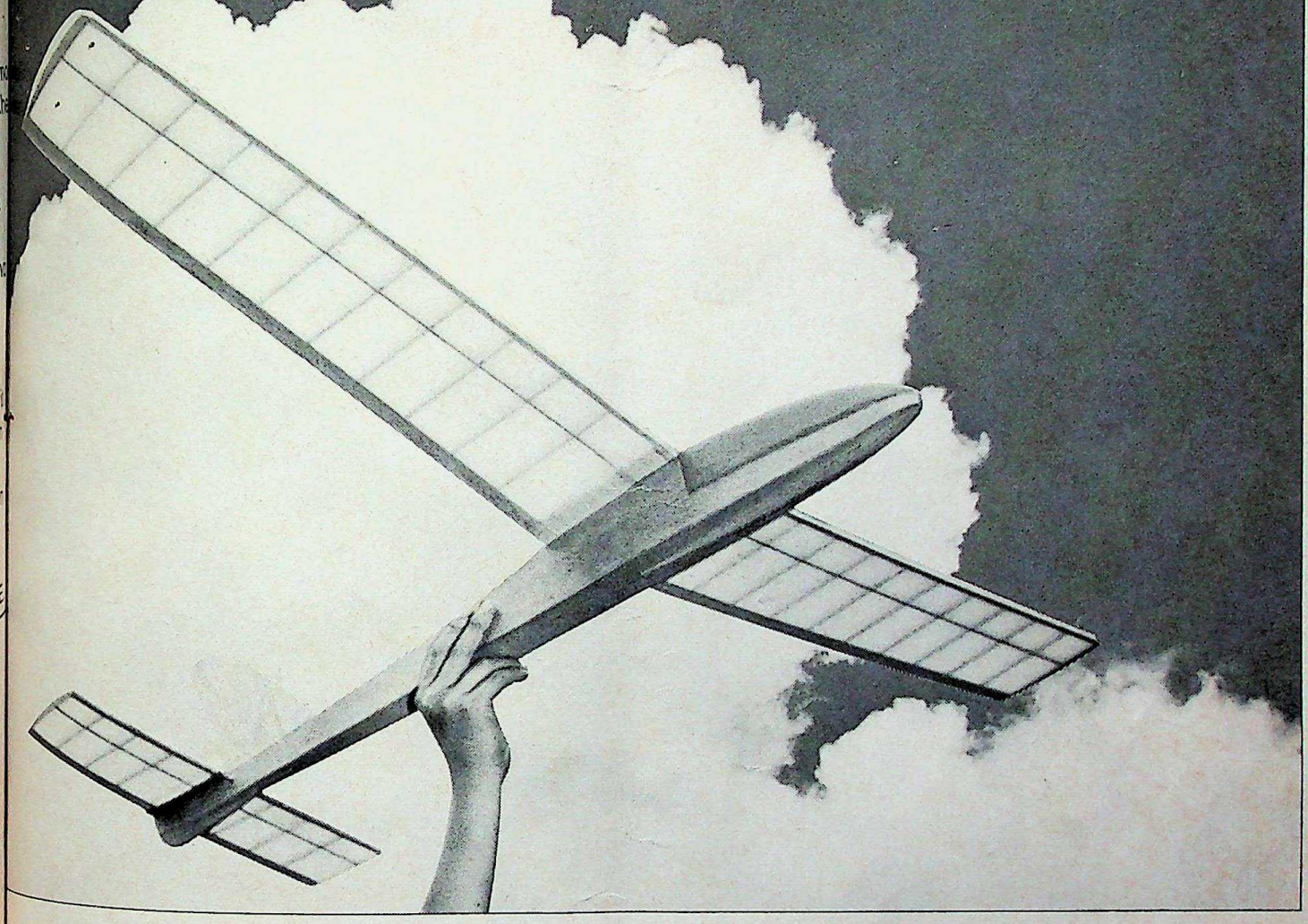
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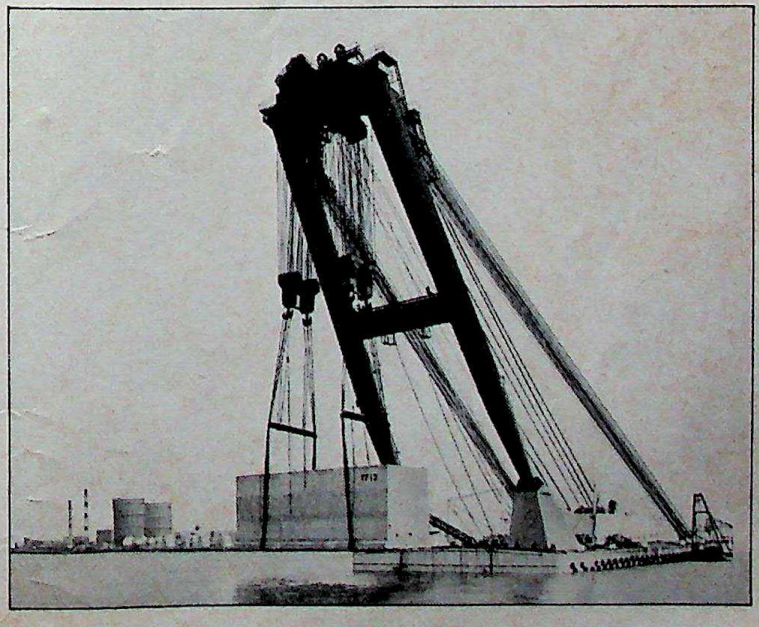
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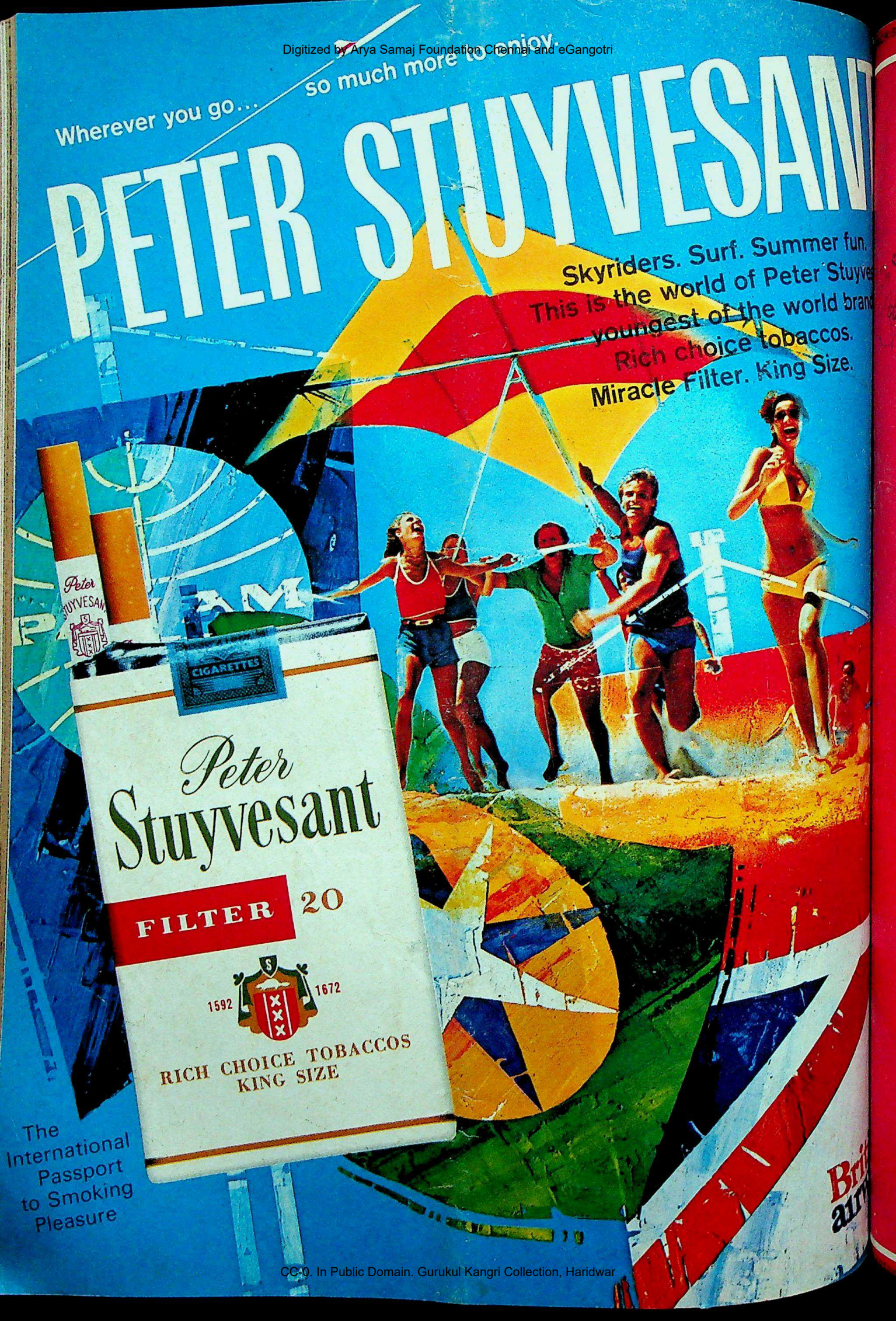
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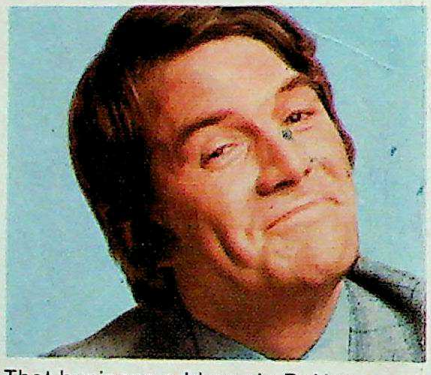


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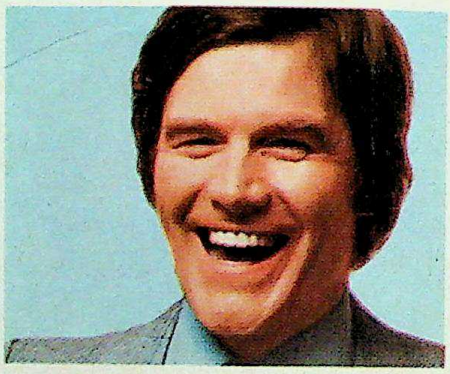
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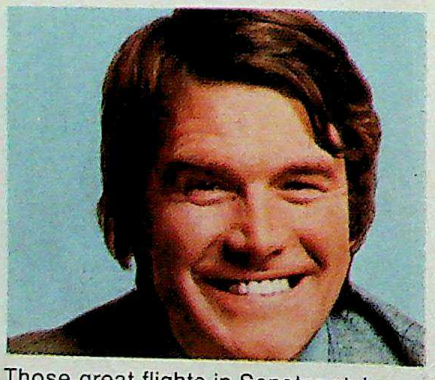
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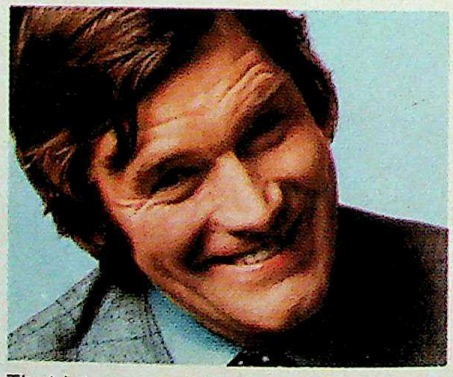
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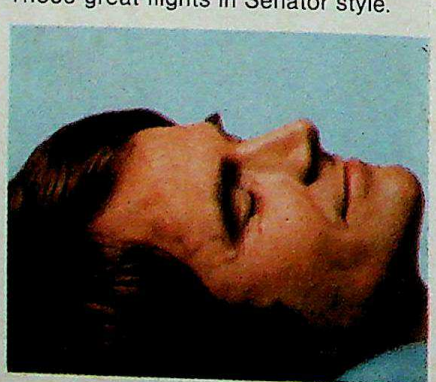
The wine festival we told you about.



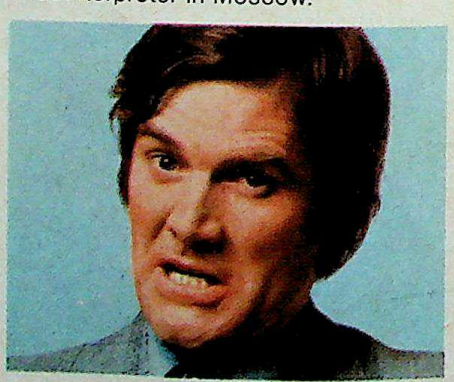
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Lufthans

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aking It

APPRENTICESHIP OF DUDDY KRAVITZ
ected by TED KOTCHEFF
eenplay by MORDECAI RICHLER

"You're a little Jew boy on the e," someone tells young Duddy itz. He has already been called the of "cretinous little money-grubber causes anti-Semitism," so there is thy something in Duddy's dervish ety to succeed that rubs people the ng way. It can be said, too, in favor his sharp, funny movie that Duddy's perate acquisitiveness is not senti-talized or apologized for. It is only understood.

The movie is set in Montreal from late 1940s onward into the first pale rs of the '50s, mostly in the Jewish ighborhood called St. Urbain's. Dud-'s father (Jack Warden) is a taxi driv-His older brother is a pre-med stu-nt practically numb with the wish to a WASP, to let the Jewishness drain of him and get a life-supporting fusion of blue blood. Duddy, just f high school, works in a summer re-t, is hoodwinked into smuggling her-for a fat-fingered hood, concocts on own all sorts of wild-eyed quick-ey schemes. The revenue from these rned enterprises goes partly to help rother through medical school and the country club, and largely to buy self a huge slice of lakeside real es-in the country. He has dreams of ing his own resort, and thinks of-of what his grandfather told him: man without land is a nobody."

Success eludes him, cheats him, s driving him. It is his only goal be-e he means to have it for a kind of ggon. He subsidizes his brother, just e acquires his property—as much sertion as an investment. Quixot-y. Duddy offers his grandfather, tends a poor garden in his back-any plot he wants. But the old man es. He is fond of Duddy, but he is on to him. Beautiful as it is, the was badly got, and so for him will n fallow.

Duddy does not understand and is hurt, but there is much else that es not understand. He loses his girl heline Lanctot) and a close friend

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DREYFUSS & WARDEN IN *KRAVITZ*
Success is measured in loss.

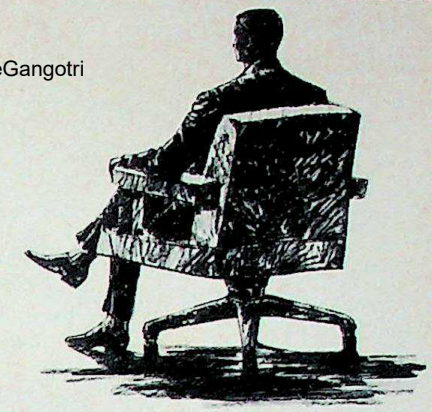
(Randy Quaid), but remains undeterred and adamantly unconfused. His apprenticeship is the kind of success that can only really be measured in loss.

Richler, adapting his own novel, portrays Duddy with the kind of wisdom that goes beyond explicit judgment. Like Richard Dreyfuss, the superb young actor who plays him, Richler is not afraid to make Duddy unlikable or even sometimes gross. Special attention should also be paid to one of Duddy's most elaborate schemes: hiring a perennially drunken and pompous British film maker in exile to make bar mitzvah movies for doting parents. The film maker is played by Denholm Elliott, who is hilariously disheveled and polluted nearly past the point of pretension, a characterization of enormous comic skill. His Bar Mitzvah production is a triumphant, unconscious (on his part) parody combining the most tiresome features of the anthropological and popular front documentaries of another time. Beethoven's Fifth provides the musical score, Elliott himself the pompous narration, holding together shots of the ceremony itself, African puberty rituals and Nazis on the march—all pottily proving that little Bernie Farber, the junk dealer's son, stands at the confluence of mighty historical forces.

Director Ted Kotcheff renders everything in a kind of documentary naturalism that weakens a wild sense of exuberance, and the movie seems to go through at least three different endings before it finally settles on one. But at its best, and that is most of the time, *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz* is fierce and clear-eyed, and shows toward its hero much the same attitude displayed by his grandfather—knowing but still affectionate.

■ Jay Cocks

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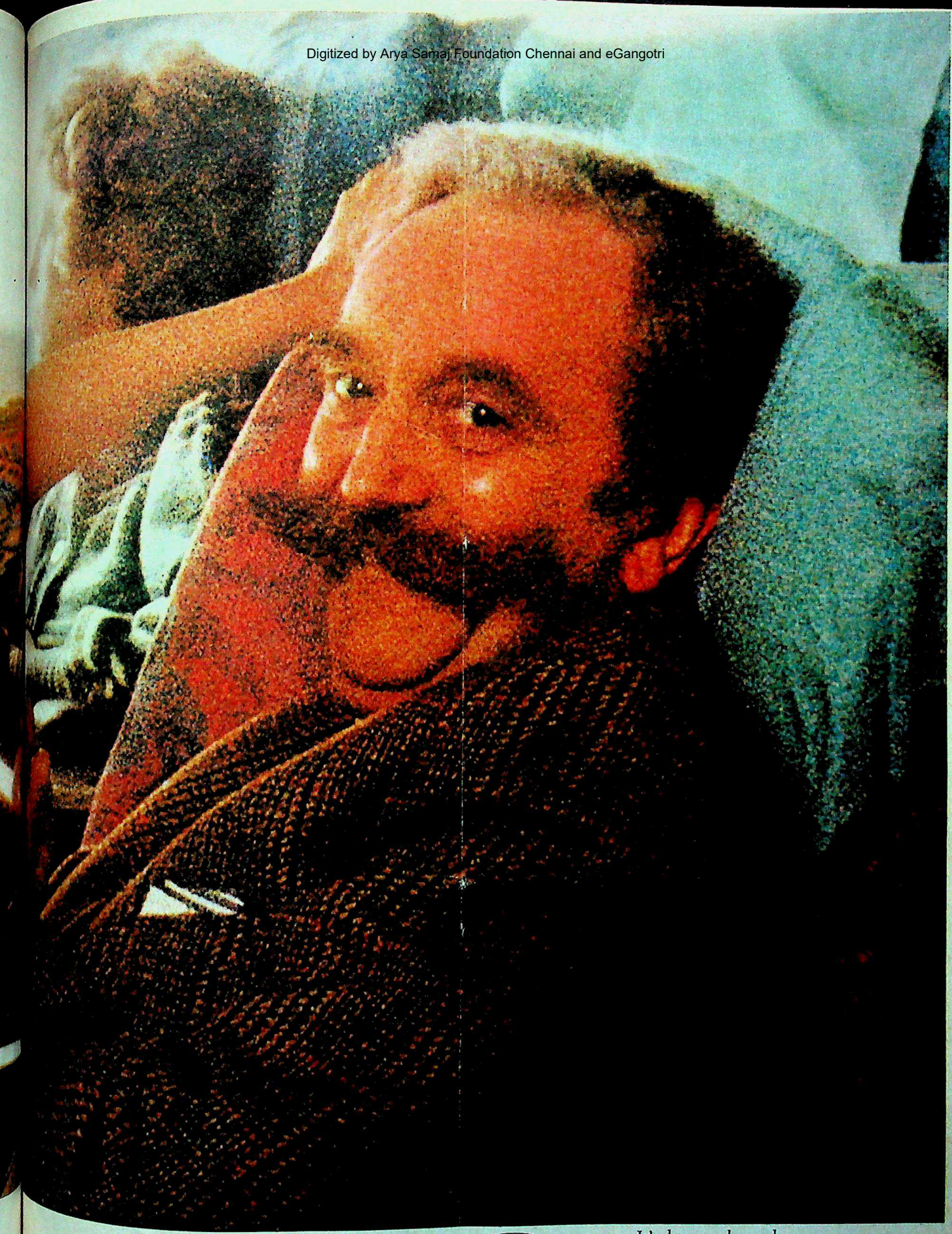
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You're as young as you feel

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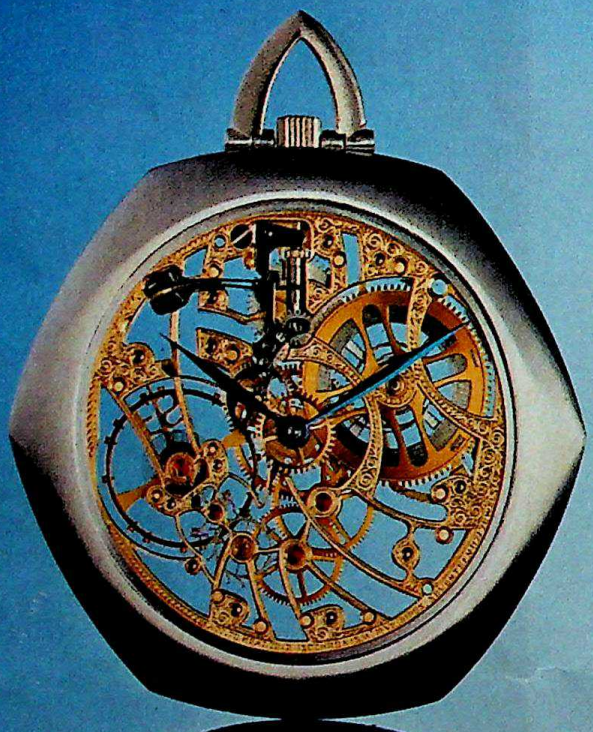
It's been a long day.
Flying across half the world and more. Yet somehow you feel so relaxed. With this girl.
So gracious in her sarong kebaya.
Gentle hostess of Singapore Airlines, caring for you as only she knows how.

A great way to fly

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The Gamblers

CALIFORNIA SPLIT
Directed by ROBERT ALTMAN
Screenplay by JOSEPH WALSH

All bets are off. George Segal and liott Gould, a pair of raveled gam need luck bad. They go to Reno, big, win even bigger, and come up ty. Granted, there does not seem much of promise here, but Robert man has made a funny, smart, and movie about luck and lowlife.

One of Altman's surest talents is creation of a whole world, slightly and off-center, so that his movies *McCabe and Mrs. Miller)* have a of surprise, of the familiar transp in some evasive but still palpable Once again he enjoys the collabora of his excellent art director, Leo icksen, who has constructed an e casino, brightly seedy and lit like a low-fever ward, which Altman p lates with 24-hour night people.

Like all his work, *California* (slang for high-low-split poker) ha own bent rhythm. It gives the feel having been made with a stoned handedness. In fact, there is a rel precision governing everything, eve liott Gould's mumbled throwaways

Segal's is the more kinetic per mance. He plays a magazine wr named Bill Denny, separated from wife, living out a drifting fantasy of and destruction. He hooks up Gould at a Vegas poker parlor, and two of them get their small winn beaten out of them in a fast parking brawl. From then on they become complices in misfortune. Gould in some sort of foggy half-world of the scuffle, keeping company with a c of soft-core hookers (Gwen Welles, Prentiss) who serve beer and F Loops for breakfast. Segal likes the likes the dead-end quality of the life he leaps into it with gusto. Winn the best way to work out of the ancholy that hovers over him like smoke, but once Segal and Gould big, they crap out.

California Split is a rejoinder to terse, glamorously tense world of *Cincinnati Kid,* where the green fe turned into a field of honor. It m the first movie about gamblers that not require any knowledge of the of a game. *California Split* is about pulsion, not betting, so the conven are disregarded. There are no lo closeups of nervously shifting sweaty foreheads and shaky hand scene depends on the turn of a c its punch. Altman's premise is that ting hooked on gambling is the k emotional brinkmanship that is by inches. No matter how much is there is no such thing as coming ahead. This knowledge runs thro *California Split* like a cold current is the source of the movie's stu

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Remember Kim Phuc?



You'd probably recognize her immediately in another photograph, the one where she is running down South Vietnam's Highway One. In that famous picture she is terrified and she is naked. She has torn off her clothes and is fleeing from the napalm which, seconds before, had burned her.

This is Kim Phuc at the Children's Medical Relief Hospital in Saigon. Her pain is gone and this happy smile has replaced the terror of that day on Highway One. Her burned back has healed thanks to the skill of the surgeons at the hospital, the only one of its kind in the country. After several operations, Kim Phuc is back home, completely recovered from her wounds.

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☐ **$U S 150,000 will construct a modern burns treatment unit**

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☐ **$U S 300 is the average cost for a child's stay in the hospital**

Anything you can send will help

Here is my contribution of $U S _____

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Thank you for remembering Kim Phuc

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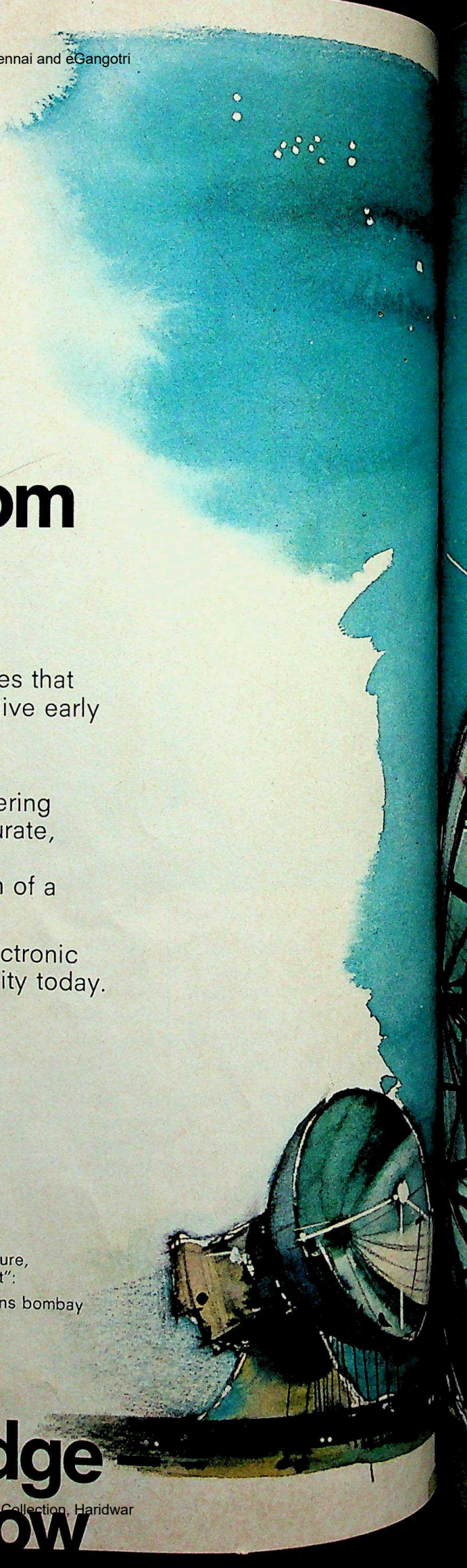
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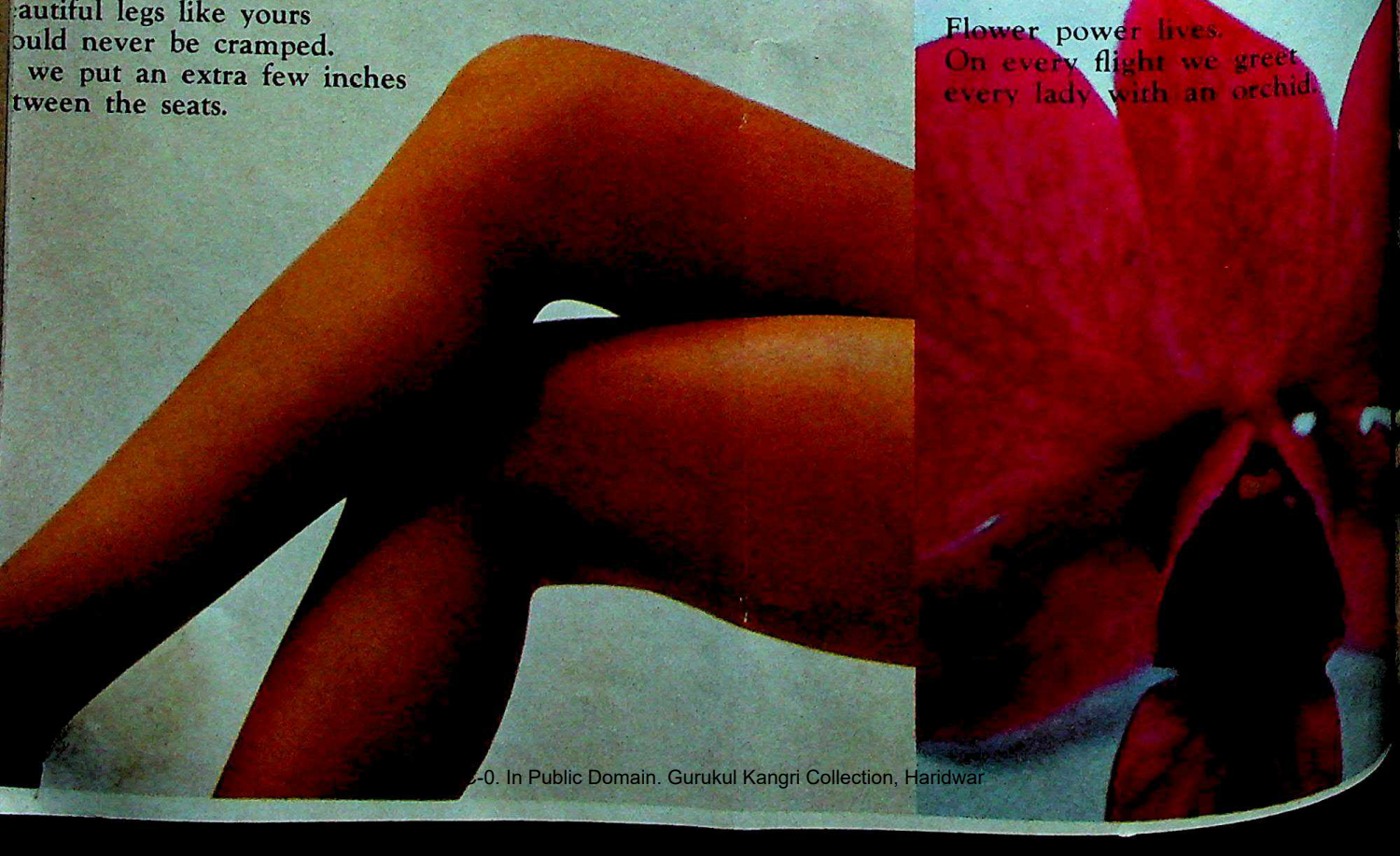
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MARKET WEEK

On a volume of 66,428,100 shares, the New York Stock Exchange Composite closed at 37.55, down 2.21 for the week ending Aug. 23. The Dow Jones 30 stock industrial average was 686.80, down 44.74; Standard & Poor's 500 stock index was 71.55, down 4.12. Among significant N.Y.S.E. stocks:

Stock	High	Low	Close	Net Change
Allied Chem..	35¼	33⅝	33⅞	−2
Alum Co Am..	47	44	44	−2½
Amer Airlines.	8½	7⅝	7⅝	− ⅝
Am Brands...	31¾	30½	30½	−1
Am Can.....	25⅞	24½	25	− ⅝
Am Motors...	6¼	5⅝	5⅝	− ½
AT&T.....	43⅞	41¾	43⅛	+1⅞
Anac Cop....	23¼	21⅝	21⅝	−1⅝
Avon Prod...	26¼	22¾	23½	−1⅞
Beth Steel....	31⅛	29⅞	30⅛	+ ⅛
Boeing.....	20½	18¼	19⅞	+1¼
Burling Ind...	18⅞	16⅛	16¼	−2⅜
Burroughs....	83¼	76⅝	77¼	−3¾
Cater Trac...	52⅜	46⅜	46⅜	−5¾
Champ Intl...	15½	14	14⅜	−1⅛
Chrysler.....	14	12¾	12⅞	−1⅛
Clark Equip...	29	27⅜	27⅜	−1⅛
Control Data..	21⅛	19	19¼	−1⅜
Corn Gl Wks.	55½	50¼	50⅜	−4⅝
Dow Chem...	62¾	59⅝	59¾	−2¾
DuPont.....	136¼	119¾	119¾	−15¼
Eastern Air...	5¾	5	5	− ½
East Kodak...	84¾	74⅞	75	−8½
El Paso N G..	10¾	10⅛	10⅛	− ⅜
Exxon.....	70⅝	67¾	68⅝	−2½
Ford Motor...	40⅛	39⅜	39⅜	− ⅞
Gen Dynam..	20	19	19	− ½
Gen Elec.....	41	35	35¼	−5⅞
Gen Foods...	20¼	18	18¼	−1½
Gen Motors...	41¼	38¾	38¾	−2¼
Gen Tel & El..	20⅜	19½	19½	− ⅜
Ga Pac.....	30¼	27⅜	28⅛	−2⅛
Goodyear...	16½	14¾	15	−1⅜
Great A & P..	11	10⅝	10⅝	None
Greyhound...	12⅛	11⅛	11¼	− ⅞
Gulf Oil.....	19⅛	18	18⅛	− ⅞
IBM.....	200½	189	190	−8½
Int Harv.....	21¼	20	20¼	−1
Int Nickel....	26⅞	25½	25⅞	− ⅛
Int Paper....	47⅛	40½	40⅝	−6⅜
Int Tel & Tel..	19	18⅛	18⅜	− ⅛
Johns Man...	16⅞	16	16	− ½
Kraftco.....	34	31¾	32⅛	−1¾
Kresge SS....	28⅜	24¼	25¼	−2
Litton Ind.....	6⅝	6⅜	6⅜	− ⅛
Lockheed....	4⅞	4⅛	4⅛	− ⅛
LTV Corp....	9¾	9¼	9¼	− ⅜
McD Doug...	11⅝	10⅜	10½	−1
Merck Co....	60⅜	57½	57⅝	−2⅜
3M.....	61½	57½	58	−3¼
Mobil Oil....	37⅝	36	36⅛	−1⅝
NCR.....	29¼	27	27⅝	−1⅝
Occid Pet....	9⅛	8⅜	8⅜	− ⅝
Owens Ill....	36¼	34¾	35¼	None
Pac Gas & El.	20⅞	20	20	− ⅞
Pan Am.....	3⅛	2⅝	2⅝	− ⅜
Penn Cen....	2	1¾	1¾	− ⅛
Penney J.C....	56	47⅜	47⅜	−8⅝
Philip Morris...	44¼	40¼	41½	−1¾
Polaroid.....	24⅜	18⅛	19⅝	−4⅞
Proc Gam....	88¼	81⅜	84¼	−2⅜
RCA.....	13¼	12⅝	12⅞	− ⅛
Reyn Ind.....	44	43	43½	− ⅛
Rockwell Int...	23¾	20⅝	21	−2¾
Sears Roe....	65⅛	55⅛	55⅛	−9⅜
Shell Oil.....	41	39⅜	39⅞	+ ⅛
Sou Cal Ed...	17¾	16¾	16⅞	− ⅞
Std Oil Cal...	25¼	23½	23⅞	−1⅛
Tenneco.....	19⅝	18¾	18⅞	− ⅜
Texaco Inc...	24⅞	23⅝	23⅝	− ⅞
Textron.....	17¾	15½	15½	−2⅛
Time Inc.....	32½	30	30⅛	−2⅜
TWA.....	8⅜	7½	7½	− ¾
UAL Inc.....	18⅜	16⅞	16⅞	− ¼
Union Car....	42¾	40⅞	41⅜	− ⅝
Utd Aircraft..	27⅞	26½	27	− ½
US Steel.....	45⅝	43	44⅛	− ⅜
Westinghouse.	12⅜	10⅝	10¾	−1⅜
Woolworth....	12⅞	11¾	11⅞	− ⅝
Xerox.....	81¾	74¼	77¼	−8⅛

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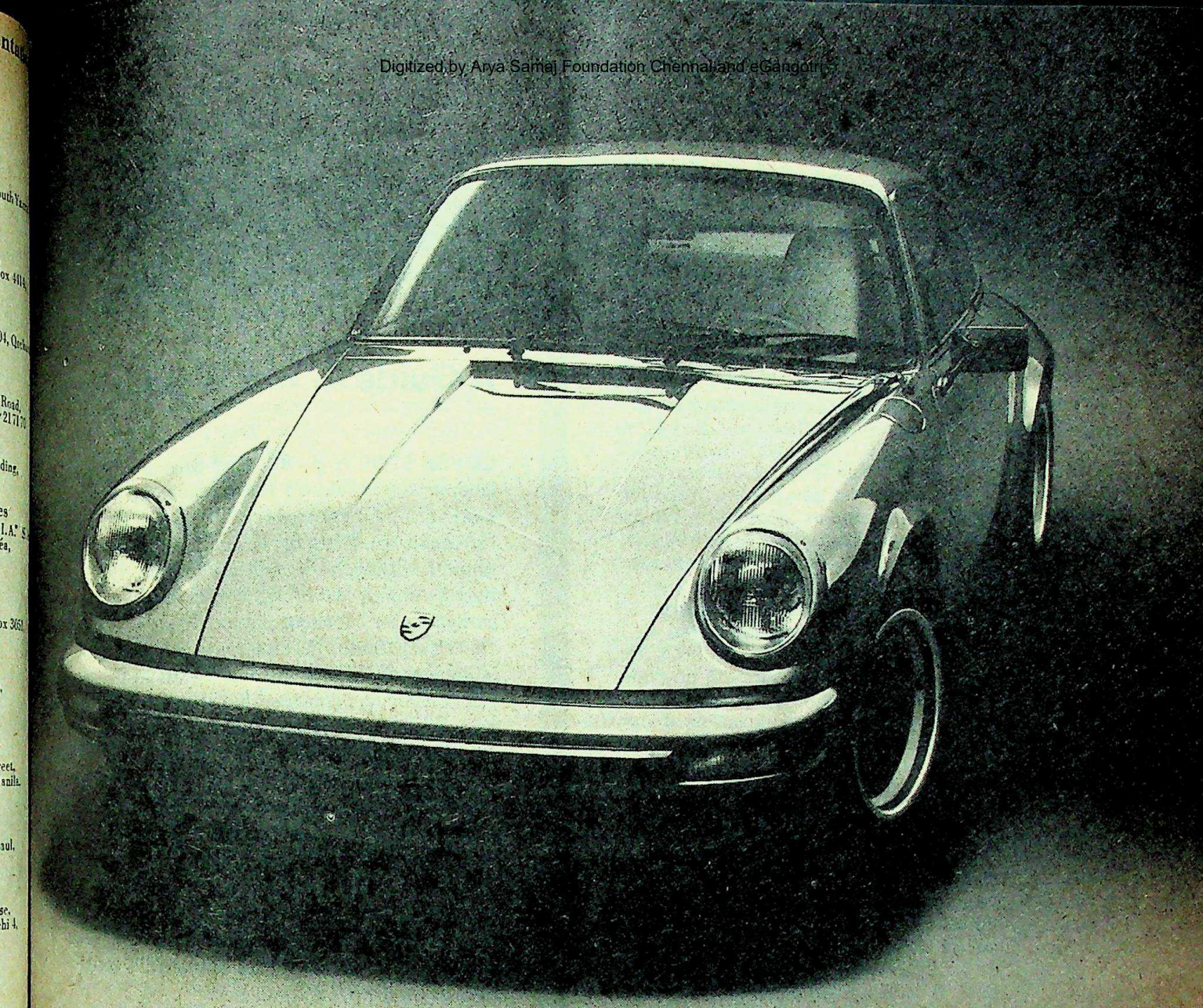
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Because performance and engi-
ring come first.
Our concept is that of evolution-
change. Which is why each
the improvements we make
seem subtle to the uneducated
But to us they are the mile-
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goal, the perfect car.

The 1975 Porsche puts us a year closer.

It is a car both exhilerating to drive and luxurious to own.

It is in the words of one Porsche owner "The Porsche Experience."

The experience begins the moment you enter the car and sink into the contours of the orthopedic bucket seats.

It goes on when you hear the roar of the engine.

And it comes to an overwhelming climax when you feel its enormous power and superiority.

This car is an ideal.

It is an ideal that does not allow one to change something for the sake of cost or caprice, but only for the sake of improvement.

That's it. Try it.

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PORSCHE

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A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

Journalists do not always work from the sidelines, as Contributing Editor Judy Fayard and San Francisco Correspondent John Austin demonstrated in handling their assignments for this week's magazine. Show Business Writer Fayard, working on her story on public-access cable television, found it "slightly unbelievable" that anyone who wants to can air his own TV show, so she signed up for one of the cable companies' minicourses in videotape making. When Fayard's editors learned of her interest, they asked her to immerse herself in the subject by making, for broadcast, a program of her own.

Newly armed with a knowledge of 8-to-10 pin cables, mike mixers and battery packs, Fayard recruited Reporter-Researchers Jean Vallely and Edward Tivnan, Production Assistant Leonard Schulman and Ray Kennedy, a ringer from SPORTS ILLUSTRATED's writing staff, to be the cast of "The Stickball Show," a celebration of New York City's favorite street game. With Reporter-Researcher Audrey Ball on hand as crewperson, Fayard taped a half-hour extemporaneous discussion of stickball paraphernalia, followed by a spirited demonstration of the game. After holding the 20-lb. camera for a while, says Fayard, "my unaccustomed arm began to tremble with fatigue. Thus the players sometimes looked as if they were carrying on in the throes of New York's first earthquake." Yet Fayard is enthralled by the new medium. "The immediacy of video tape is astonishing, and through public access, people can speak out as if they were at a town meeting, even in the big city."

Meanwhile, out in Wyoming, Correspondent Austin was reporting for our Sport section on another outdoor activity—rodeo. "The people at Cheyenne Frontier Days," he says, "want you to feel at home. In fact, they insist on it; they have a rule that anyone moseying around the arena has to wear a cowboy hat." Austin borrowed a gray Stetson that almost fitted, and instantly found the rodeo atmosphere infectious. Yearning to participate, he settled for a chance to display his equestrian skills on a horse named Dusty. "Despite the fact that my spurs kept falling off my Bass Weejuns, I gave a credible performance. The assembled cowpokes were obviously impressed. They tried to cover their envy by pretending to fall down in uncontrolled fits of laughter—but of course their act did not fool me." Someone in charge at the rodeo decided that the TIME correspondent's performance merited what he interprets as a high honor: renamed for the event, one of the orneriest brahma bulls around stormed into the arena after being loudly announced as "John Austin."

Ralph P. Davidson

The Cover: *Sculpture by Marisol, photographed by Robert S. Crandall.*

Cover Story 30
Essay 34
Books 60
Cinema 1
Economy & Business 52
Environment 49
Forum 40
Market Week 10
Medicine 50
Milestones 48
Music 45
People 24
Religion 42
Show Business & Television 43
Sport 47
U.S. 26
World 14



p. 30



p. 14

A Guide to This Week's TIME

COVER STORY: p. 30. The selection of Nelson Rockefeller as Gerald Ford's vice-presidential nominee caps a remarkable political career that spans almost 30 years and includes two efforts by Rockefeller to gain the presidency himself. Although the multimillionaire politician has his detractors among American conservatives, he is generally regarded as an excellent choice. In 15 years as Governor of New York State, he championed much progressive legislation while also reigning over a scandal-free administration. Rockefeller has considerable experience in foreign affairs, having once served as an Assistant Secretary of State. Should it ever become necessary for him to assume the presidency, few doubt that he has the capability to serve ably. Congressional confirmation of Rockefeller's nomination is likely to come quickly though. Analyzing the possible conflicts of interest that might flow from his immense wealth, estimated at around $250 million, will prove to be a time-consuming task; and congressional Democrats are in no hurry to approve Rockefeller since he is a gifted campaigner and would become active in this fall's congressional elections as soon as he is confirmed.

WORLD: p. 14. Badly defeated by the Turks, Greek Cypriot riots took out their frustrations on the U.S., storming the American embassy in Nicosia and killing the U.S. ambassador. The shocking murder had at least a momentary sobering effect on passions. But 180,000 Greek and 20,000 Turkish Cypriot refugees were wandering the island, many without adequate food, shelter and sanitary facilities. Washington officials admitted some blunders in handling Cyprus, which had enabled the Turks to go further than anyone suspected. Now the hope is for a cooling-off period so that diplomacy can take over.

p. 19. Cuba, which has been diplomatically isolated from Western Hemisphere nations during most of the 15 years Fidel Castro has been in power, is well on its way to establishing ties with many North and South American nations. Last week 30 Panamanian officials flew to Havana to sign a declaration restoring diplomatic ties. U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger says that he has "an open mind" on the question of recognizing Cuba.

p. 20. Like many other developed nations, the Soviet Union appears to be experiencing a major increase in the incidence of crime. No official government statistics pinpoint the crime problem, but a number of official statements indicate that it is reaching serious proportions. One possible cause of the apparent upswing in crime is that higher standards of living may have encouraged a greater degree of greed.

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p. 42 p. 50 p. 56 p. 60

p. 22. Amsterdam has become the new center for Eu-
's illicit drug traffic. The bulk of the business seems to
the hands of the city's small but tightly knit Chinese
munity, which has been part of the city since the 17th
ury. Heroin is brought in from Singapore and Hong
g and is shipped from Amsterdam to other European na-
s. There are few obstacles to the intra-European smug-
since border inspections have all but ceased within
Common Market.

p. 23. Jessica Mitford, the British author who became
American citizen, returned to Britain recently and spoke
mind about both countries in an interview with TIME.
says that the British left seems to have given up, that
"self-conscious tradition stuff is so maddening" among
ers but that class warfare has mainly settled down to eco-
ic warfare. "There are," she notes, "some fantastically
people around." Looking at her adopted country, she
s that in local American police departments "things are
al, rotten and horrible."

UNITED STATES: p. 27. Performing in a manner that
left politicians of all persuasions astonished at his sure
. Gerald Ford has already healed most of the deep
ds inflicted on America by his predecessor's secretive
divisive approach to politics. Ford last week called for
ency" toward the more than 50,000 Americans who
ded the draft or deserted the Armed Forces during the
Nam War. He also let it be known that he would "prob-
" seek election to a four-year term as President in 1976.
's style and sense of command even drew praise from
ocrats. "I don't think he's missed a beat," said Senator
ard Kennedy, who looms as a potential rival for the pres-
y in 1976.

p. 39. A new book on the state of the U.S. punctures
h of the gloom that has engulfed America in recent
. The book, *The Real America* by Ben J. Wattenberg,
ously argues that Americans have never had it so good.
erican workers," says Wattenberg, "are engaged in
interesting, more skilled and more productive work
any other workers, at any other time or any other
." The author notes that the great majority of Amer-
have achieved middle-class status, since 74% of the na-
's families now have incomes of $7,000 or more. Wat-
erg's examination of America will undoubtedly draw
are of criticism, but, by and large, the book is likely to
elcomed by a nation that has since the mid-1960s been
ssed in an orgy of self-criticism.

IGION: p. 42. America's Roman Catholic Church,
e vigorously opposes abortions, is cracking down on
h members who stray from official church ideology on
had supported an effort to set up an abortion-information clinic in her community suddenly found that her local church would not perform the holy rite of baptism on her three-month-old son.

SPORT: p. 47. Professional football, America's most popular spectator sport, has been jarred by a scandal involving professional gamblers and the orthopedic surgeon of one team, the New York Giants. Since the outcome of a football game can be strongly influenced by the physical health of key players, the surgeon was in an excellent position to know which players were in top shape and which ones were ailing. In exchange for immunity from prosecution, he admitted passing on this information to a group of gamblers who were booking large bets based on their inside information.

MEDICINE: p. 50. The highly refined flour used in American and British diets may be indirectly responsible for the increasing incidence of several common diseases, three medical scientists theorize. In the refining process, much of wheat's natural fiber is separated out, leading to fewer bowel movements and stools too low in bulk. The researchers believe that a number of disorders, including heart and gallbladder disease, appendicitis, varicose veins and cancer of the large intestine, are encouraged as a result.

ECONOMY AND BUSINESS: p. 54. When the U.S. was short of oil last winter, its Government launched Project Independence, a program designed to make the U.S. self-sufficient in energy production by 1980. The rhetoric was reassuring, but last week a key Government official acknowledged that the goal is unrealistic. The U.S. will still be importing a great deal of oil in 1980 and may have to import as much as 25% of its oil even in 1985, said Federal Energy Administrator John Sawhill.

p. 56. Japan's Tadao Yoshida, head of YKK Manufacturing, is broadening his program to share profits with employees. Yoshida has announced plans to extend YKK's generous profit-sharing plan to its 4,000 employees outside of Japan. YKK's 13,000 Japanese workers are already in the plan and own almost two-thirds of the zipper firm's stock.

BOOKS: p. 60. A Columbia University sociologist has produced a new book that analyzes 70 of America's leading intellectuals. The study shows the intellectuals to be surprisingly affluent (average income: $35,000 a year) and, not surprisingly, leaning toward the left politically. A very high proportion, roughly 50%, live within 50 miles of New York. Two poets and four serious novelists made the list, but Hen-
y Kissinger did not.

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GREEK CYPRIOT RIOTERS STORMING THE GATE OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN NICOSIA LAST WEEK

CYPRUS

Looking for Paradise Lost

"A month ago this island was a paradise. Now we have lost it. The island of Aphrodite is now the island of the devil." These bitter words of Peter Stylianakis, a retired civil servant, could have come from any other Greek on Cyprus. With the guns stilled and Turkish troops in control of more than one-third of the island, the once dominant Greek community had a chance last week to assess the damage caused by four weeks of war. The picture could not have been grimmer, and in their fear and frustration the island's Greeks lashed out at the U.S., which they blamed for their troubles. A group of demonstrators stormed the American embassy in Nicosia and burned the Stars and Stripes. In the confusion, terrorists fired automatic weapons into the building, killing Ambassador Rodger Davies *(see box page17)*.

"Everything is in an absolute shambles," said Stellios Garanis, head of the Cyprus Employers Federation. Approximately one-third of the Greek population—about 180,000 people—had fled their homes in terror of the advancing Turks and congregated in makeshift refugee camps in the Greek-controlled part of the island south of a line extending from Lefka through Nicosia to Famagusta. Twenty thousand Cypriot Turks —about one-sixth of the native Turkish population—sought similar haven with the Turkish army in the northern sector. Most refugees, both Greek and Turk had left their homes with little more than the clothes on their backs; their children were sleeping on the ground, without bedding or blankets in the cool (60°) nights. Sanitation was primitive: for much of the week only six chemical toilets were available to one group of 7,000 refugees.

Hampered Efforts. On much of the island, food was even more of a problem than shelter. Most food stocks happened to be stored in the Turkish-occupied area, and the Turks adamantly refused to open them to the Greeks. The Turkish military commanders severely hampered efforts of the International Red Cross and United Nations troops to give outside supplies to Greeks still behind Turkish lines. "We have personal pledges of cooperation from Turkish Premier [Bülent] Ecevit," fumed one relief official. "But the Turkish military on the island just doesn't give a sweet goddam." The Turks also said no to many Greek farmers who wanted to go through the lines to water and feed the livestock they had left behind.

Both Greeks and Turks feared for the safety of those who had remained in their homes during the fighting but were now trapped in territory controlled by the other side. At Aloa, the Turks showed newsmen a mass grave that held the remains, so they said, of 57 Turkish Cypriots who had been murdered by Greek extremists. They uncovered only five corpses however. The Greeks coun-

tered with their own accusations of r and murder. According to U.N. offic both sides were exaggerating their c of atrocity.

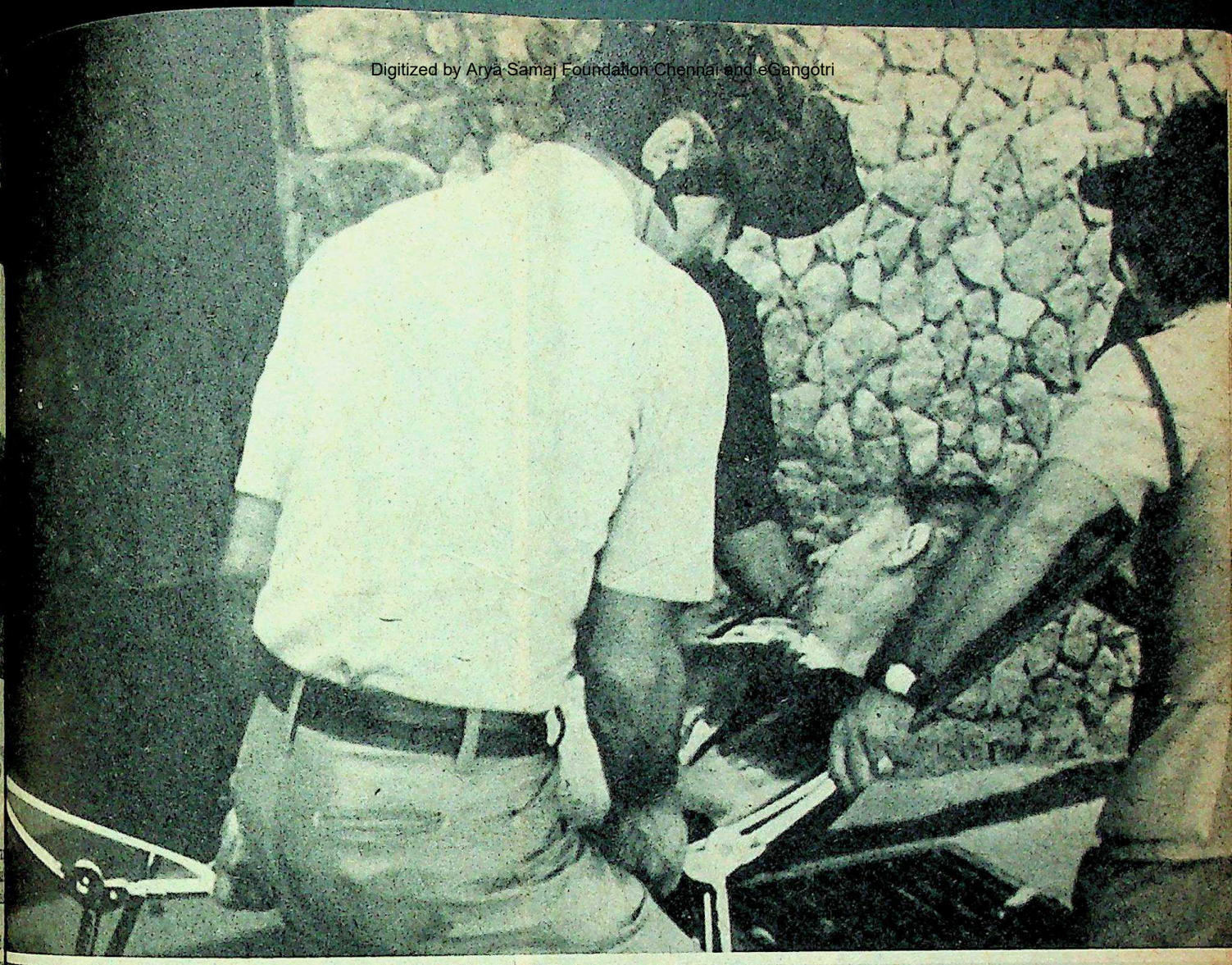
With Ankara in clear command all the territory it apparently wan the wheels of diplomacy, which h been stopped by the Aug. 14 breakd of the Geneva talks, once again beg turning. Cyprus President Glafkos Cl ides, the Greek leader, flew to Athe to consult with Premier Constan Caramanlis, while Clerides' oppos number on the Turkish side, Rauf Den tas, returned from Ankara after simi consultations with Premier Ecevit. I U.S. and Britain, meanwhile, were verishly working behind the scenes persuade Athens and Ankara to co to some kind of agreement.

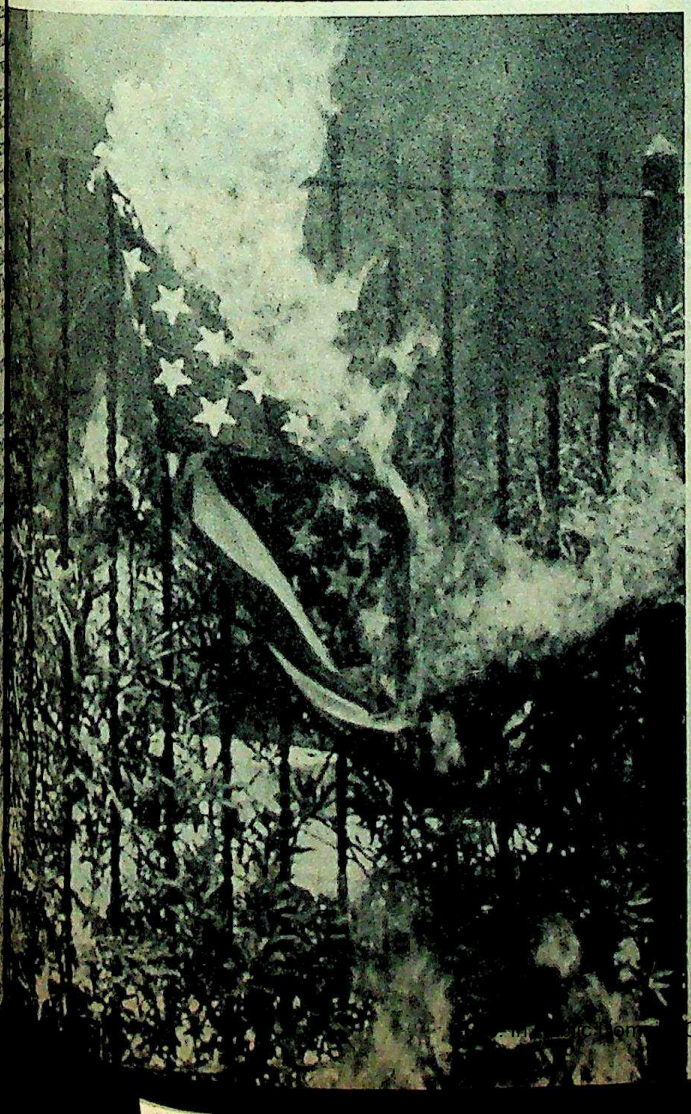
At week's end, the British-Ame can effort suffered a severe setback w Greece renounced any further parti pation in the Geneva talks and back a Soviet proposal that would shift the gotiations to an 18-nation confere consisting of the 15 members of the U Security Council and the countries in volved. "The Russian proposal ma the most sense to us," said a Greek eign ministry official. "If it is not cepted by the other parties, our next will be to take the issue directly to U.N. General Assembly." Greek Cy riot Leader Clerides was more adam

The Cyprus tragedy: body of wounded U.S. Ambassador Rodg vies carried from embassy in N after anti-American riot and draped coffin for journey home

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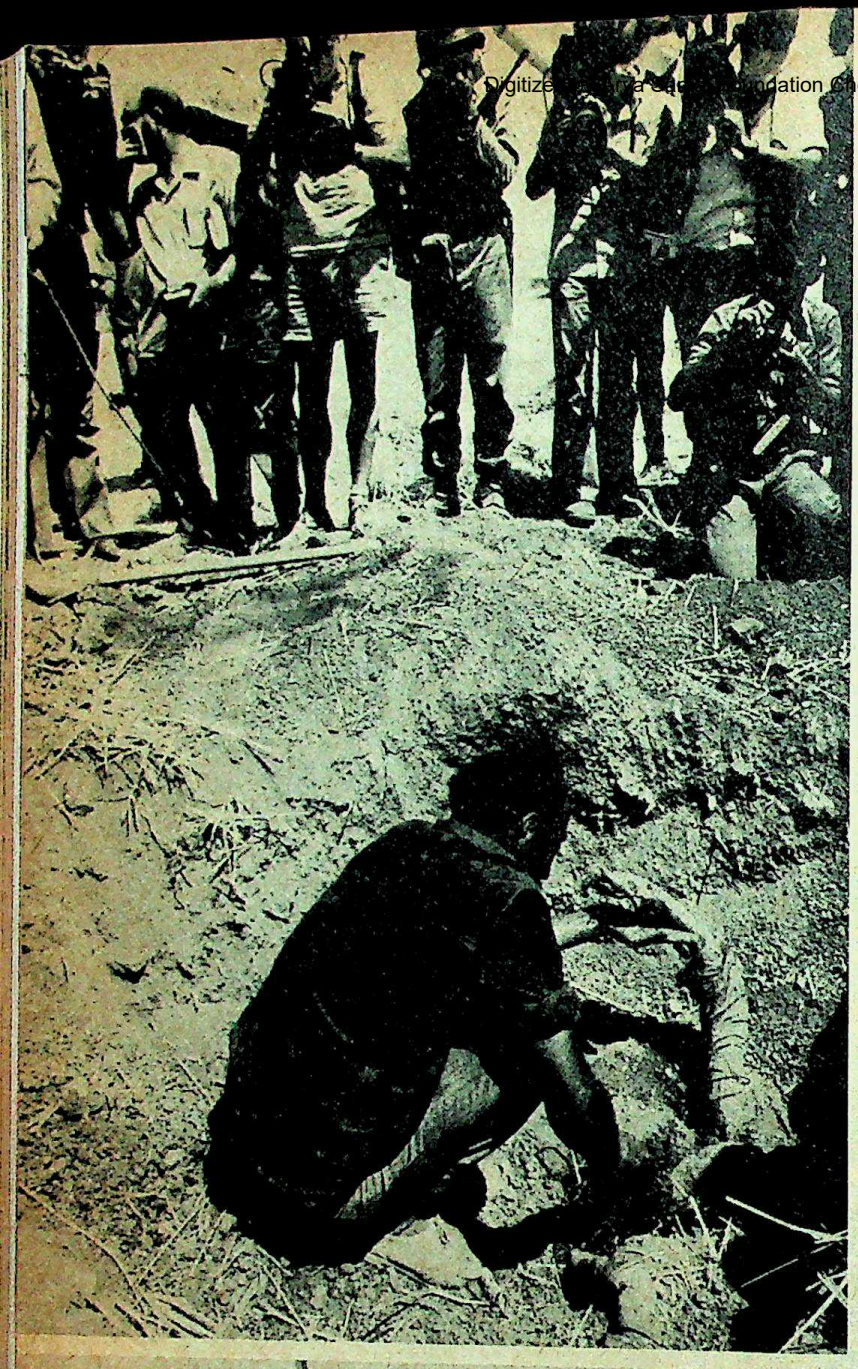
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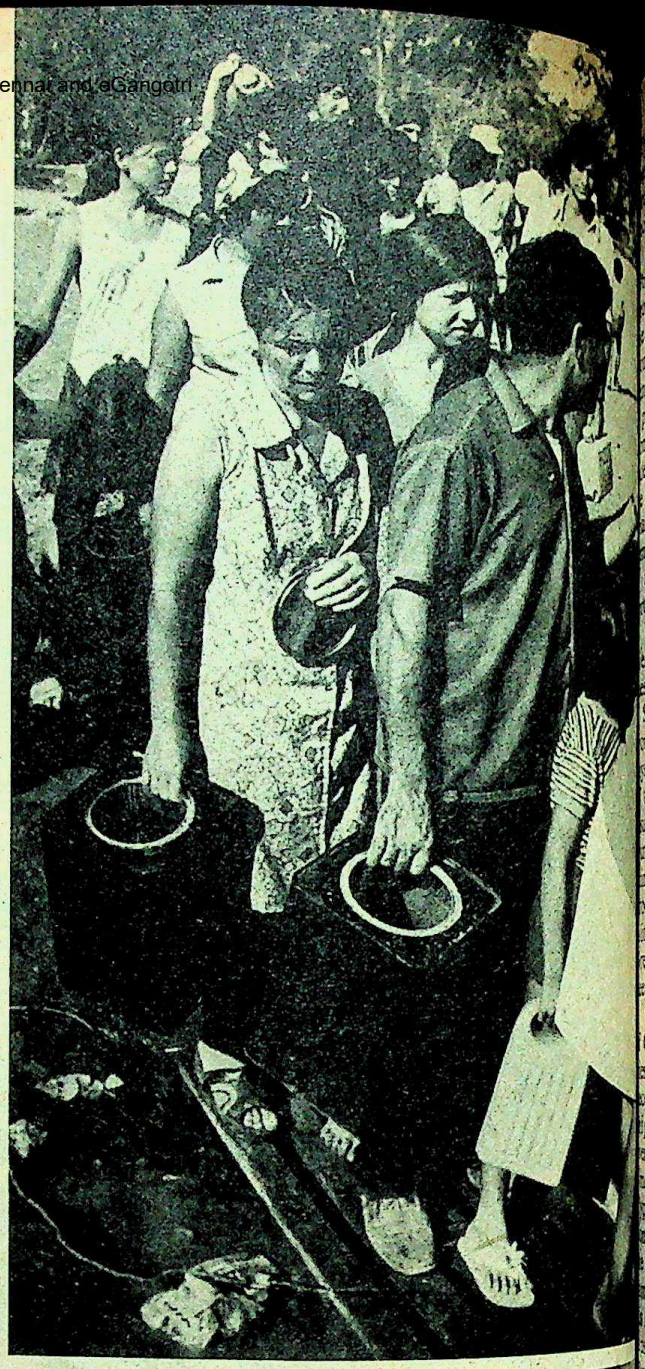


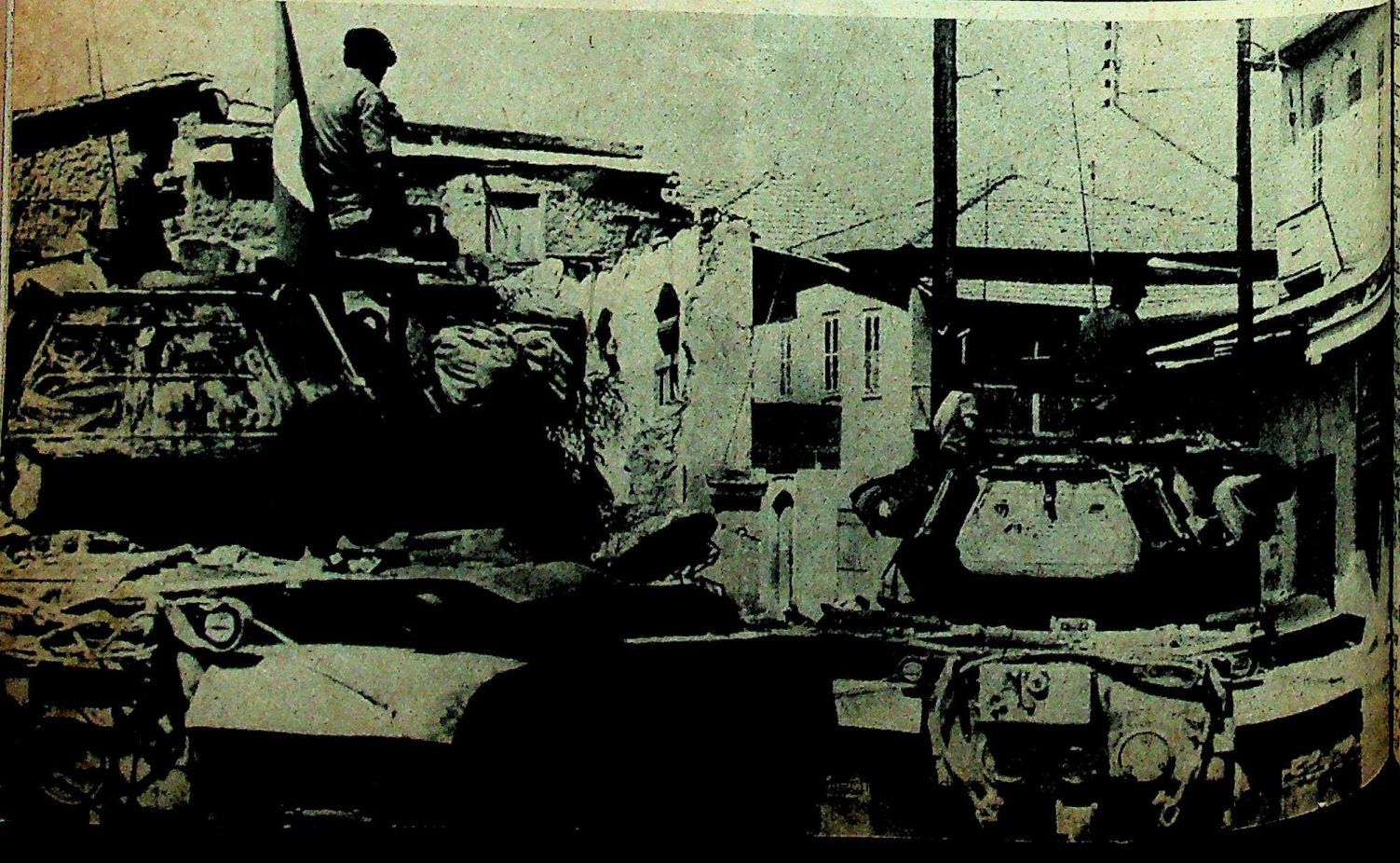




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Death of an Ambassador

At one time, the post of U.S. ambassador offered not only prestige but usually a genteel, comfortable way of life as well, with quiet diplomacy amid pomp and splendor. Today, in a world racked by guerrilla uprisings and civil wars, the American ambassador is often a target, a visible, vulnerable surrogate for his country and its policies. Last week's murder of U.S. Ambassador to Cyprus Rodger Davies—the third assassination of a U.S. ambassador since 1968*—was a tragic reminder of the dangers that America's envoys now face.

A Middle Eastern expert who had been working as a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in Washington, Davies, 53, presented his credentials in Nicosia just five days before the coup that ousted Archbishop Makarios, Cyprus' President, and launched the island on its path to disaster. A quiet professional, he sought to convince both Greeks and Turks on the island that the U.S. was interested in a just settlement and had tried to douse the wildfire of bitter anti-Americanism among the Greek Cypriots. In the face of the passions unleashed by the fighting on the island, the odds against him were insurmountable.

■

The embassy received word of impending trouble on the morning of the day Davies was killed and alerted the Nicosia police, requesting protection against possible demonstrations. When the call went unheeded, the appeal was twice renewed, eventually bringing 30 to 40 policemen to the three-story embassy and ambassador's residence. Shortly after noon, the demonstrators, variously estimated at from 300 to 600, arrived, carrying placards and banners that read KISSINGER—HITLER and NATO—MURDERERS OF CYPRUS. They threw rocks at the building and, climbing over the eight-foot spiked iron fence surrounding it, tore down and burned the Stars and Stripes. They then set ten cars afire in the embassy parking lot and in the street outside.

Davies calmly moved the 38 nonsecurity members of his staff away from the large blue-shuttered windows to the hallway of the second floor, mainly out of fear that one of the cars might explode and bombard them with debris. Eleven of the embassy's 14 Marines tried to disperse the crowd with tear gas, and everyone inside was issued a gas mask. The tear gas had little effect. Armed National Guard troops finally arrived to back up the police, and they began firing into the air to quiet the crowd, but to no avail.

Shortly before 1 p.m., the embassy building came under attack from automatic rifles firing armor-piercing 7.62-mm. bullets. The marksmen, stationed in a partially constructed apartment house 75 yds. away and at the base of a hill 100 yds. away, were obviously after the ambassador himself, and they carefully aimed at the two spots where he would most likely be, his office on the building's south side and his bedroom on the north side. Though the emergency plan in case of attack called for Davies to hide himself in his bathroom, the safest niche in the embassy, he remained with his staff. Gunfire raked both sides of the building. One high-velocity bullet ripped through the shutters of his office, went through three open doors, down a long hallway and struck him in the chest. He dropped to the floor with a groan, his gas mask half off his face, blood gushing from his wound. A Maronite Cypriot receptionist, Antoinette Varnava, rushed to his side. A second bullet blew off her head.

UPI



DAVIES

Assistant Public Affairs Officer David Grimland drove for help to Nicosia General Hospital 1½ miles away, but two ambulances dispatched to the embassy soon returned to the hospital, their drivers claiming that they could not get through the throng. Cyprus President Glafcos Clerides, who had broken off a news conference when he received word of the trouble, raced to the embassy and finally pushed through the rioters. He then followed a police car that had been commandeered to carry Davies to a nearby clinic, where the ambassador was pronounced dead. Clerides condemned the assassination as "an abominable crime" and ordered the police to find the killers, believed to be members of the EOKA-B organization, a group of fanatics who demand union of the island with Greece. At week's end, no one had been charged with the crime.

■

President Ford dispatched an Air Force 707 to bring the body back to the U.S. and pick up Davies' two children, Ann Dana, 20, and John, 15, who had been sent to Beirut for safety when the Cyprus fighting began on July 20. Their mother died of cancer only last year. Both Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger were waiting at Andrews Air Force base when the plane landed, and five howitzers boomed a 19-gun salute. Ford hugged the children and said that their father had embodied the "best of time, effort and competence." Posthumously, Davies was given the Secretary of State Award, the department's highest honor.

*The other two: Ambassador to Guatemala John Gordon Mein (1968) and Ambassador to the Sudan Cleo A. Noel (1973).

...re's no point in going to Geneva ...ely to sign what has been taken by ... For us, guerrilla warfare is a ...ssity."

...All parties privately agreed that the ...d constitution that had set up the in...endent republic was dead and that ...Turks, by their military might, had ...n their goal: geographic indepen... for the Turkish minority. Under ...an proposed by Washington and ...dom—and acceptable to Ankara—a ...eral government would be responsi... for defense, foreign affairs and ...ance, but in all other matters the two ...munities would govern themselves ...autonomous regions divided into ...thern and southern sectors.

...Where should the line be drawn? ...erything hinges on the answer to that ...estion. At the prompting of Secretary ...State Henry Kissinger, Ecevit has ...omised "reasonable" concessions and ...s that he is willing to give up some ...the ground won by his troops. The ...ue is complicated by the fact that the ...rkish-held territory contains some...ng like 70% of the island's wealth-...ducing farms, factories and tourist fa...ities, most of which are owned by ...eeks, not to mention the island's only ...epwater port, Famagusta.

Consummate Skill. The dilemma ...Caramanlis is one of exquisite iro... It was the arrogance of his pre...essors, the Greek military dictator...ip that had masterminded the ...erthrow of Archbishop Makarios as ...ove toward unification of Greece and ...prus, that led to the Turkish inva... of the island July 20 and the fall of ...e inept junta in Athens. Now, if Ca...anlis gives in totally to the Turks, ...new government may in its turn col...se and the military—or a much less ...ely dictatorship of the left—may once ...in come back.

...So far Caramanlis has shown con...mmate skill in unbalancing his foes. ...forestall another military coup he ...spatched most of the country's troops ...away from the capital on the un...ailable grounds that they were need... to protect the frontiers against the ...rks. Last week, in a follow-up move ...at showed his confidence, he sacked ...e country's ten leading generals and ...laced them with men of his own ...oice. He also purged former Strong...an Brigadier General Dimitrios Ioan...des, who had led the dreaded military ...olice under the junta and who was ...idely blamed for planning the move ...ainst Makarios. Partially to thwart the ...k and the left's leading figure, Andre...Papandreou, 55, he pulled Greece out ...f NATO and pointedly hinted that he

...h soldiers and photographers at ...e of Turkish Cypriots supposedly ...d by Greeks; Greek refugees queue ...rations at camp near Dhekelia; ...Turkish troops roll through the port ...f Famagusta.

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GREEK CYPRIOT LEADER CLERIDES
An ominous warning.

might close American bases in Greece. Both steps are long-sought goals of the left. "It was uncanny, I must say," said Papandreou, apparently not certain whether to be happy that his own aim was being met or unhappy that he had been deprived of an issue.

For lack of a better scapegoat, the U.S. became the target of Greek hatred, and long-smoldering Greek anti-Americanism came into the open. Most Greeks believe that the U.S. favored Turkey in the early days of the crisis, tacitly approving Turkish intervention. In retaliation, American cars were burned and American tourists abused, their cameras sometimes being snatched away and smashed on the ground. Athens' Constitution Square was the scene of occasionally violent anti-American demonstrations, and a mob of 15,000 had to be forcefully prevented from storming the U.S. airbase on Crete. The murder of Ambassador Davies seemed to have a sobering effect, however, and Caramanlis deplored "this sad event," promising to suppress acts of violence and anarchism in Greece itself with "merciless severity." To show that it was not blaming Greek-Cypriot authorities for the murder, Washington immediately dispatched William R. Crawford, who was Ambassador to Yemen, to take Davies' place.

Though they plead innocent to any bias toward either Turkey or Greece, even Washington officials admit in retrospect to some blunders in the Cyprus affair. Others credit them with even more. The first mistake was not taking sufficiently seriously reports in May that the Athens dictatorship was going to move against Makarios. The State Department sent a warning to Ioannides while Kissinger and former President Nixon were in Moscow in June, and it thought that the message had been taken to heart and the anti-Makarios movement dropped. Washington claims to have been as surprised as Makarios by the July 15 coup.

Washington's second error was to appear to accept Makarios' successor, Terrorist Nikos Sampson. With his long record of violence against Turkish Cypriots, Sampson was clearly unacceptable to them and to Ankara. "In the context of Sampson," says Britain's former Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home, "the Turkish invasion was inevitable from the beginning." The third error was for Washington, in the days following the coup, to state publicly that the Turks on Cyprus deserved greater autonomy, a statement that, although true, looked to Turkey like an invitation to invasion. State Depart... officials now privately admit that... statement should have carried a ... ing against the use of force. Once ... Turks had decided on interven... however, there was nothing Washing... could do to stop them without ... force itself. "Nothing anyone could ... said or done before the invasion—... of a total Greek capitulation—... have stopped the Turks from going ... says Douglas-Home.

Little to Gain. In fact, both Wa... ington and London have only limi... power in the matter now, and the ... really rests with Athens and, more ... portant, with Ankara. Turkey is not ... cerned only about the Turkish minor... on Cyprus. It also fears that the isl... which lies only 44 miles off its sho... might some day be used as a base aga... it by a hostile Greek regime. Toge... with the other Greek islands fring... Turkey's shores, an armed Cyprus ... believes, could cut off major access ... to the Aegean Sea and the open w... of the Mediterranean. With the Gr... claiming waters around the offshore ... lands, explains Haluk Ulman, an ... vit foreign affairs adviser, "we fel... couldn't breathe, even in our own w... ters." At the same time that it se... the Cyprus problem, Ankara would ... to guarantee a permanent demil... ization of the offshore islands, lea... them under Greek control but with... Greek guns.

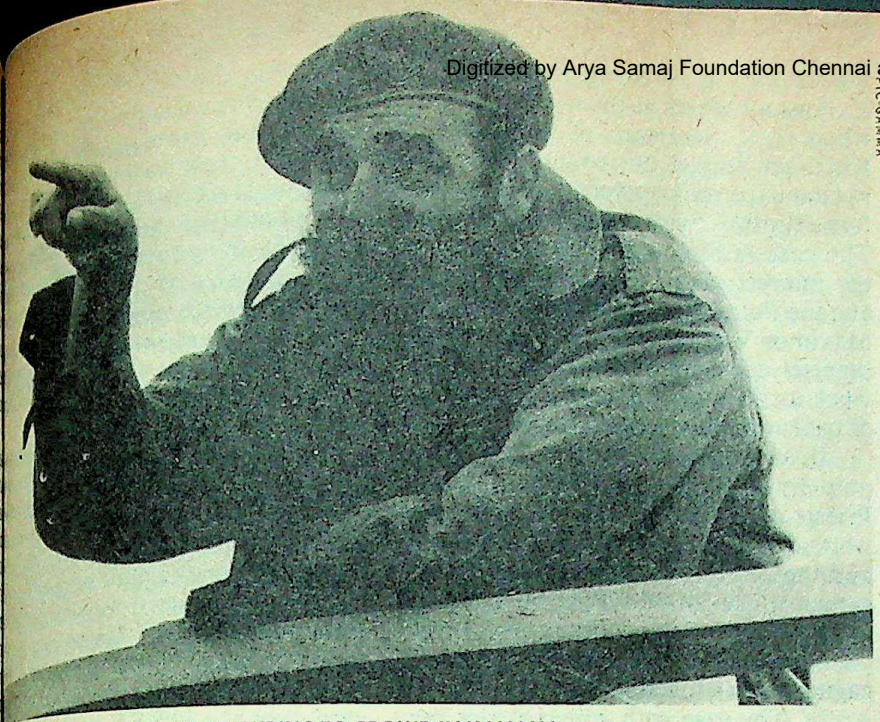
That may be one concession ... many for Caramanlis. The Gre... knowing that they have little to g... and still something to lose, are in ... hurry to go back to Geneva to ne... tiate. Though some move toward ... may come within days, the British ... pect no real negotiations for sev... weeks, an interval that will allow ... sions to cool and, it is hoped, rea... to return.

GREEK CYPRIOTS SEEKING REFUGE AT BRITISH BASE NEAR DHEKELIA



PHOTO TRENDS

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PIC-GAMMA

AN PREMIER FIDEL CASTRO GESTURING TO CROWD IN HAVANA

BA

merging from Quarantine

One by one, the nations of the West- Hemisphere that have boycotted el Castro's Cuba for the past decade e been having second thoughts. In e past two years, official ties have been ed between Cuba and Peru, Argen- a, Jamaica, Guyana, Barbados and nidad-Tobago.* Last week Panama s added to the list when 30 jubilant manian officials flew to Havana to n a declaration restoring diplomatic, nomic and cultural links between the nations. Next in line are Ecuador, nduras, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Co- mbia—and probably the U.S.

There has been as much economic ivity as diplomatic. Cuba's trade with er Latin American nations may ch $100 million this year, up nearly % since 1969. To symbolize the im- rtance he attaches to the recently de- oped trade with Cuba, Brigadier Gen- l Omar Torrijos Herrera, Panama's engman, now smokes nothing but g Havana cigars. Before his death, gentina's President Juan Perón grant- Cuba $1.2 billion in credits to buy Ar- tine products, such as road-building ipment, mining machinery, textiles d household appliances. In July, at a de fair outside Havana the Argen- es sold the Cubans an estimated $100 lion in goods and agreed to help con- ct and equip 300 enterprises in Cuba. These diplomatic and economic de- lopments clearly flout the 1964 reso- tion of the Organization of American es that requires its members to break lomatic relations and stop all trade cept humanitarian shipments) with Cuba. But recent events have made the resolution something of an anachronism. Items:

▶ The resolution was originally proposed by Venezuela in protest against a militant program by Castro and his Minister of Industry, Ernesto ("Che") Guevara, of exporting Communist revolution throughout Latin America. Cuban arms and Cuban-trained guerrillas turned up in the 1960s in Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Haiti, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Bolivia. But after 1967, when Guevara was killed in Bolivia, Castro muted his once proclaimed role as the *"Líder de las Américas."* Today few hemisphere leaders worry that the Cuban dictator will try to interfere in their internal affairs.

▶ The enormous jump in the world price of sugar—Cuba's main agricultural product—is at last providing Castro with a major source of foreign exchange. When he came to power in 1959, raw sugar was selling for 5¢ per lb.; it now sells for nearly 30¢ per lb. Even though Castro must deliver half of his nation's sugar to the Soviet Union in exchange for economic aid, he is still left with more than $1.5 billion worth of sugar to sell on the world market.

▶ Castro's style of governing has changed. He still runs a police state that tolerates no dissent, but he has started to curb the whimsical use of power by institutionalizing government processes. The bureaucracy has greater authority, and instead of *ad hoc* economic decisions there is now a Five-Year Plan. These changes aim, in part, at improving living standards. Although Cubans now eat better, are healthier and claim the highest literacy rate in Latin America, there are still enormous shortages of all kinds of goods. Only through normalized relations with other nations of the hemisphere can Cuba obtain the products and technological and managerial expertise its economy needs.

▶ Cuba's dependence on the Soviet Union, which has enabled Castro to survive the OAS embargo and gives the Soviets their only toehold in the Americas, is becoming increasingly burdensome to both Havana and Moscow. The Cubans owe the Russians at least $4 billion, and the debt grows by about $1.5 million daily. The Soviets would like to be rid of this economic drain, and now, in an era of détente with the U.S., they have apparently given up any hope—for the present at least—of turning Cuba into an offensive military base. Castro no doubt wants less reliance on the Russians and would probably welcome the departure of some of the Soviet "advisers" who help manage his economy.

By the beginning of next year, most Latin American countries will probably have recognized the Castro regime. The only diehards in the hemisphere are expected to be the rightist regimes of Brazil, Bolivia, Chile and Paraguay.

Washington, in recent months, has not tried to stop any nation from recognizing Castro. In fact, some observers believe that the U.S. is holding up recognition of Cuba out of a diplomatic concern for the sensibilities of the Latin-American states. Proud Latin governments want to re-establish Cuban ties before the U.S., not after, in order to avoid the appearance that they are slavishly following Washington. This spring the State Department went so far as to grudgingly allow Argentine subsidiaries of U.S. auto companies to sell 42,000 vehicles to Cuba, a clear violation of the trade embargo.

One major obstacle to improved Havana-Washington relations has already been removed: Richard Nixon. Castro hated the former President, blaming him for advocating the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, and the feelings were probably mutual. The Ford Administration is now expected to start reviewing its relations with Cuba. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is already on record as saying that he has "an open mind" on the matter. So does Castro. Earlier this year he told Canadian officials visiting Havana that "time is the great healer. We could be doing business with the Americans again some day." That day may now be close at hand.

ico never cut its ties with Cuba. The leftist ment of Salvador Allende Gossens in Chile blished relations with Cuba in 1970, but were severed again last year after Allende military coup.

ISRAEL

The Mitered Gunrunner

By almost any standard there was something suspicious about Ilarion Capucci. Driving his black Mercedes-Benz, he crossed from Israel into Jordan and Lebanon at least 50 times in the past year. Last April he claimed that more than $750,000 in cash was stolen from his Jerusalem residence. When police in-

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ARCHBISHOP ILARION CAPUCCI
Strange behavior.

vestigated the theft, Capucci insisted that the money had been returned, and asked them to drop the matter. His behavior seemed particularly strange because he is an archbishop of the Melchite Catholic Church (which is autonomous from but in union with Roman Catholicism, and recognizes the Pope as premier patriarch) and vicar of the 5,000 Arabic-speaking Melchites living in and around Jerusalem.

Israeli security officers finally moved this month against the 52-year-old, Syrian-born archbishop, who had changed his name to the Italianate Capucci from his family's Turkish name, Kapugi. As he re-entered Jerusalem from one of his trips into Lebanon, agents found stashed away under the seats, in the trunk and inside the doors of his car dozens of pounds of explosives, detonators, four Soviet-made automatic rifles, two pistols, bullets and grenades.

Israeli officials released Capucci, hoping to avoid a diplomatic incident that could damage relations with Christian communities. But continued investigation led the police to conclude that the prelate, an outspoken advocate of the Palestinian cause, was an important liaison between the Fatah command in Beirut and its terrorists inside Israel.

Last week the archbishop was rearrested on suspicion of smuggling weapons to terrorists. A search of his villa revealed additional caches of weapons and ammunition, leading an Israeli officer to exclaim: "Capucci is the biggest supplier of arms and ammunition to terrorist organizations on the West Bank since the 1967 war." He is suspected of having been linked directly to several recent terrorist activities, including the January firing of Soviet-made Katyusha rockets at the area of the city where U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger stayed during his May visit to Israel; the rockets were discovered before a timing device could activate them. The case is highly sensitive because of the interest taken in it by the Vatican and the Beirut-based Melchite Patriarch Maximos V Hakim. Israel's top leaders themselves will probably have to decide what to do with Capucci: deportation, or trial and likely imprisonment.

Involvement in the Arab-Israeli dispute by a cleric is far from unique. Priests of the Armenian Church have worked as agents for both the Israelis and the Arabs; Russian Orthodox clergymen in the Middle East have served as spies for the Soviet Union; even Franciscan monks have been suspected of engaging in intelligence activities for the Arabs. The ease with which clerics can travel across national frontiers makes them especially valuable as operatives. They are often motivated by an intellectual commitment to the cause they serve—and sometimes, alas, by the enormous sums of money they can make. Israeli officials, for example, believe that Capucci received more than $10,000 each time he carried messages or weapons between Arab countries and Israel.

SOVIET UNION

Ivan the Hooligan

"Krimtekhnika-74" completed its 14-day run in Moscow this week as a big success—at least among the Soviet police. No wonder. It is a display from 66 firms in a dozen countries of such police-state paraphernalia as listening devices disguised as pens, battery-powered nightsticks that sting like cattle prods and special truncheons that leave no marks. Because of the adverse publicity raised by Senator Henry M. Jackson about the desirability of U.S. sales of such repressive equipment to the Kremlin, only two American firms showed at the fair; their wares ranged from a fingerprint set to a $28,865 mobile crime lab. What Krimtekhnika-74 showed beyond the inventiveness of the law-and-order industry, is that the Russians are having a serious crime problem.

Press Campaigns. Three months ago, the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. called for "an unwavering struggle against hooliganism," the Soviet euphemism for such personal crimes as mugging, vandalism and drunken brawling. Press and administrative campaigns against juvenile delinquency, illegal firearms, bribery and graft have grown over the past two years. Considering the strict state regulation of Soviet newspapers, there can be little doubt that such news reports reflect the Politburo's concern over the U.S.S.R.'s growing crime rate.

Press reports, including interviews with high-ranking law-enforcement officers, admit that there has been an "acceleration" of juvenile delinquency. A recent television program in a series on law enforcement was devoted to the story of a teen-age gang that killed two officers in a Ukraine bank robbery. *Literaturnaya Gazeta* not long ago ran a detailed account of an incident reminiscent of a macabre scene from *A Clockwork Orange:* two teen-agers beat to death four drunken adults in the industrial city of Chelyabinsk.

Though the purchase of handguns is illegal in the Soviet Union, shotguns and rifles can be bought through hunting clubs—and many Soviets are buying them to protect themselves from robbers. In Moscow, there is a long waiting list to subscribe to a $3-a-month electronic anti-burglar system that links apartments to local militia stations. Soviet papers report citizens' electrifying their doors or installing a harpoon-like device that is supposed to spear

"Look at it this way, Comrade—how can crime pay if it doesn't even exist?"



MICHAEL C. WITTE FOR TIME

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...murder who opens the door. ...Hardly a week goes by without the ...rt of a large-scale embezzlement or ...e. In Tadzhikistan recently, a male ...ployee was sentenced to death for ...ling goods worth 130,000 rubles ...ut $174,000) from a retail store. In ...erbaijan, a man was executed for di...ting more than $700,000 worth of ...ly-owned building materials, truck ...fertilizer and other goods in an ...rate black-market operation.

The possible link between the pat...of crimes and the rising standard of ...g in the Soviet Union has not been ...ooked. Writing in *Komsomolskaya* ...da (Young Communist), Political ...ist Vladimir Kudryavtsev noted ...one occasionally hears that once a ...ety has achieved affluence, crimes ...ain disappear. However, as Aristot...served, greed can also be engen...ed by prosperity. When examining ...otives of crime for gain, we cannot ...matically attribute them exclusively ...ics of the past. Today, a number of ...ctions of the present,' so to speak, ...o be observed."

Beyond the press campaigns, the So... government is trying to curb crime ...beefing up voluntary public-order ...ds and increasing the severity of ...ishment. But like its Western coun...parts, the U.S.S.R. appears at a loss to ...its burgeoning incidence of crime, ...least one Westerner found out last ...k. On a sightseeing excursion to Len...grad, a salesman from Krimtekhnika...draped his jacket over a chair in a ...d bar and got up to dance. When he ...rned a few minutes later, the jacket ...nd about $850—had been stolen.

ETHIOPIA

The Emperor's New Clothes

An aged man is but a paltry thing,
A tattered coat upon a stick, unless
Soul clap its hands and sing, and louder sing
For every tatter in its mortal dress.
—W.B. Yeats

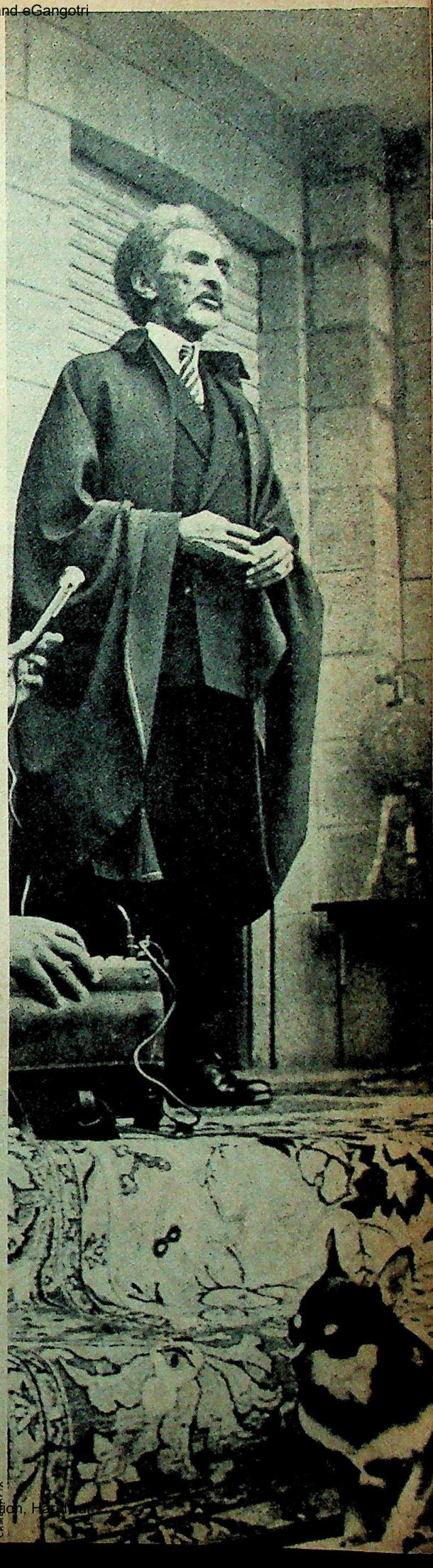
The creeping military takeover of ...iopia last week left Emperor Haile ...ie virtually stripped of his abso... power. For the first time since ...ie, 82, came to power 44 years ... government-controlled newspapers ...shed letters and articles critical of ...monarchy. One particularly vitriolic ...azine accused the Emperor of "defe...g on his people." As additional in... the military forcibly entered Selas...'s palace in Addis Ababa and arrested ...commander of the Imperial Body...rd. Most important, the Armed Forc... Coordinating Committee, which dic... policy to Prime Minister Michael ...'s five-week-old civilian govern... ...ced that it was abolishing four offices through which Selassie had ruled the country since 1930: the Crown Council, which issued the Emperor's decrees; the Imperial Appointments Office, which implemented his selection of all important government officials; the Military Advisory Council, by which he ran the armed forces; and the Court of Justice, which interpreted the law according to his wish.

The military is pressuring Imru's government to adopt a new constitution that would make official Selassie's loss of power. Drafted by a reform-minded committee of 30 military-approved civilians, the constitution provides for a bicameral Parliament that will be vested with most of the Emperor's powers. The Prime Minister will be chosen by the Parliament, as will judges and Cabinet members. The Emperor's Imperial Court will be replaced by an independent judiciary and Supreme Court, whose Chief Justice will be elected for life by the Parliament. The Emperor will also lose his position as head of the Coptic Christian Church, an institution whose political influence has been second only to the monarchy itself, and there will be a complete separation of church and state.

Just a Figurehead. In its present draft form, the document allows Selassie to retain the title of Emperor, but he will serve only as "a symbol of Ethiopian unity and history." Although some of the more radical leaders of the military coup object to even a figurehead monarch, they have been persuaded, at least temporarily, that the success of their reform movement depends upon continued support among the peasant majority (95% of the country's people are illiterate), who still revere the Emperor.

The fate of the new constitution rests largely on how this issue is resolved. The aristocratic upper house of Parliament seems to favor the draft as it is now written, but the lower house is agitating for an entirely new document that would be much tougher on the monarchy, the church and the aristocracy. If debate drags on in Parliament, it is likely that the Armed Forces Committee will impose either a "temporary" new constitution or declare martial law. According to TIME Correspondent Lee Griggs, "It is beyond doubt that the military does not want to take even temporary official control and certainly does not want to take the permanent job of running the country. But the coordinating committee has reluctantly set up a contingency plan to take over if the civilians shilly-shally over the new constitution."

Widespread arrests of Selassie's former aides have left the Emperor friendless as well as powerless. His official function reduced to ritual approval of the military's reforms, Ethiopia's "King of Kings" has little to do but attend daily services of the Coptic Church, visit his aging pride of lions in cages on the palace grounds, and walk his pet Chihuahua.



CAMERAPIX

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Now the Dutch Connection

Actor Gene Hackman and a crew of narcotics agents and drug pushers out of Central Casting are currently in Marseille filming *The French Connection II*, a sequel to the award-winning 1971 dope flick. But as any real narc could tell them, this time they have the wrong location. For the moment at least, the French connection has been largely broken, along with the heroin-processing laboratories on the Côte d'Azur and the Corsican drug rings that ran them. The new center for the European heroin trade is, of all places, the jewel-box city of Amsterdam.

The Dutch metropolis has long had a brisk local traffic in both hard and soft drugs, mainly to supply the needs of its resident Chinese and the floating, polyglot population of young Europeans and North Americans who have made the place a kind of enduring Woodstock since the mid-1960s. Over the past 18 months, though, Amsterdam has changed from merely a drug-using city to the chief narcotics distribution point in Europe. Says Nicholas Panella, Paris-based deputy director of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration's European operations: "Products from there are finding their way into cities all over the Continent." Fearing that the stuff may also be starting to make its way to North America, Panella's office has set up a branch in The Hague. In early August two Canadian students were arrested at Amsterdam's Schiphol Airport as they were about to board a plane for Vancouver; in the false bottom of a suitcase they had hidden 6½ lbs. of heroin, worth $400,000.

AB KOERS



CHINESE GAMBLING IN AMSTERDAM

"Brown Sugar." The Dutch connection is not as big or as broad as its famed French predecessor—at least not yet. Until a U.S.-sponsored multilateral crackdown on the international drug traffic began to take effect last year, laboratories in Southern France converted staggering quantities of Turkish opium into heroin for distribution in the U.S. and other countries. Police seizures of as much as 50 kilograms (110 lbs.) of heroin were common. New York detectives two weeks ago captured 165 lbs. of Turkish-derived heroin (street value: $113 million) that was stashed in a shipment of Louis XIII furniture being sent to the U.S.; the heroin had apparently been processed before the French connection was broken and had been stockpiled for later sale. So far, narcotics seizures in and around Amsterdam have been much smaller; officials reckon that the Dutch drug traffic is less than one-fourth the size of the Turkey-Marseille trade at its peak.

The bulk of the Amsterdam drug distribution seems to be in the hands of the small (currently about 2,000), tightly knit Chinese community that

ANP



the city has had since the early ing days of the 17th century. the Marseille Corsicans, the Amst Chinese do no processing of ra um into heroin. That is done i gapore and Hong Kong, major kets for the opium produced i Golden Triangle area in Laos, B and northern Thailand. Know "brown sugar" because of its color texture, this Asian heroin has a p of only 50%, compared with the 98% of the old Marseille product. processed, this crudely refined is smuggled into Amsterdam in amounts (usually no more than 2 by Chinese "mules" (underworld for narcotics couriers). Often the illegal residents of Amsterdam, have been blackmailed into car drugs after they have run up h debts playing mah-jongg in the nese Only" gambling dens of the Rosse Buurt (red-light district). the heroin arrives, it may be sol the streets of Amsterdam for be $40 and $60 a gram. Much of it, ever, is shipped to markets all over rope, including the U.S. Seventh bases in West Germany. There are obstacles to the intra-European st gling, since border inspections ha but ceased within the Common Ma

Liberal Attitude. Dutch p have increased drug-related arrests they feel that they are fighting a l battle, in part because of The N erlands' liberal attitude toward pers freedoms of all sorts. Every Satur a state-run radio station broadcast current street prices of various and soft drugs, a service much ap ciated by the 2,000 young people ing out in Vondelpark on any summer night. Dutch cops assert France began to get on top of its gr ing narcotics problem only when it ed imposing 20-year jail terms on dealers. In The Netherlands the imum term is four years, but judges ally hand down sentences of one year or so. Laments Inspector Cor bersen, head of the Amsterdam cotics squad: "The drug traffic came Holland because the sentences are er. I'd like to see stiffer penalties. I'm tied by the laws of this country

Those laws may change. Am dam has a local population of 5,000 heroin addicts, and they are ating increasing troubles. Petty c shoplifting and muggings have more frequent as addicts try to get ey to support their habits. Repo death from drug overdoses have come staple items in newspapers. city is even beginning to have York–style gang wars between dope pushers. The Rosse Buurt was cently jolted by a daylight gun b between members of the local Yer Mafia and a Surinamese heroin d No one was injured, but police f packets of heroin on each of the gunmen they managed to catch

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THE INTERVIEW

Some Thoughts from Abroad

The Hon. Jessica Mitford, 56, daughter of Lord Redesdale, is one of the famous and eccentric Mitford girls. Her sister Unity was a friend of Hitler. Sister Nancy wrote of snobbery and elegance in both English and French (*Love in a Cold Climate, Madame de Pompadour*). Sister Jessica is a writer too—a caustic social critic whose most recent efforts have been the American funeral business (*The American Way of Death*) and the U.S. prison system (*Kind and Usual Punishment*).

Just before World War II, Jessica Mitford left England and went to the U.S. She is now an American citizen, is married to the left-wing attorney Robert Treuhaft, and lives in Oakland, Calif., across the bay from San Francisco. Last spring Mitford returned to England for an extended visit. It was her first such journey since 1955, and once again she discovered some fascinating contrasts. In London recently, she discussed her views with TIME Correspondent Lawrence Malkin:

ON AMERICA AND ENGLAND: England is terrifically different place, but some of the essentials remain the same. The main thing that strikes you after you've been in huge America, where you can really get anonymity anywhere, is that you're on a terribly small pond here in England. That's what's always made me pleased I don't live here. As a writer, I read the reviews here, and I should think that the lot of a writer in England is jolly different because there's so much I'll-scratch-your-back-you-scratch-mine going on. You know, they're all either friends of each other, or acquaintances, or enemies, or "friends." When they're reviewing a book about somebody they know, you can see all sorts of fascinating little catty overtones. If you live in California and write, you're very far from the New York centers of publishing. I don't even know those folks. I mean I've met them, but they're not chums or enemies or anything. They're just people I read. They're just words on paper to me, and I'm just words on paper to them. I prefer it that way. So from a writer's viewpoint, I prefer America vastly for this reason. I think you'd be very self-conscious writing in England.

ON POLITICS: I suppose it's a cliché to say that England has become a second-rate power, but on the other hand, it took the English a terribly long time to adjust to this. And if England is politically a second-class power, the left is a second-class power within England. The people who consider themselves on the left here seem to have given up, with the feeling that whatever you do has not much effect on anything—therefore why do anything? The kind of levelheaded left-wingers we know here seem to be very quiet, except insofar as they write about things going on in foreign parts. Nowhere do we find any stimulating or interesting conversation, even about the elections. Now in America, on a Government level, things are totally indecent. Just look at local police departments: things are brutal, rotten and horrible on that level. That's what I believe is responsible for such weird and totally irrational and really suicidal movements as the Symbionese Liberation

BEN MARTIN



JESSICA MITFORD

Army. People who live in a lunatic asylum are going to behave in a lunatic fashion. That's the politics of total despair. The one parallel you find here is Ireland, although no one wants it like that. But when you listen to those comfortable Anglo-Irish, you hear them talking about the Irish as "they." It could just as well be Southern whites talking about the American blacks.

ON LAWYERS AND THE LAW: The younger lawyers here are very much in favor of dumping the system that separates barristers from solicitors, although funnily enough, the older lawyers—even the Communist Party members—are not. That self-conscious tradition stuff is so maddening. You know, my husband is a member of the Inner Temple, and in order to be a member you've got to eat a number of dinners down there. So Bob and I go down to this miserable dinner—you've got to be there at ten minutes to 7—and then you have to wait for every sort of toast before you start eating. You can't speak to the people outside your own foursome. Then there's the dark-suit rule. I haven't even got a dark suit, so I put on a glaring pantsuit. Nothing happened when I turned up, because they don't do anything anyway. It's a total drag. But far more than that, there's the issue of freedom of the press *v.* fair trial. In America during the protests against the Viet Nam War, we had the Spock case and all the other conspiracy cases, and the Government has not won a single one. Why? I think largely because the press played a huge role in that. In England, the prosecutor hides behind the *sub judice* rule and is able to get away with absolute murder as a consequence in political cases. It allows him to stop short of any favorable publicity for the defendant, and that is very largely what won those cases in America. It's a great pity that there's no written constitution in England. I think the Bill of Rights is one tremendous handle that the Americans have got.

ON THE ENGLISH CLASS SYSTEM: Things have changed enormously. The class problem is really an economic problem. You hear it expressed that there are no great riches in England any more. Well, that's a lot of bosh. There are fantastically rich people around. You know how people talk about pockets of poverty—well, you stumble across pockets of wealth, and in England they are incredible. You find them in all sorts of odd corners. If there is class warfare it's based on concrete stuff like wages. Anybody who lives here for any time notes the price of food and rents, my goodness, the price of anything—the price of every tiny necessity of life, the price of cigarettes—my God, they're necessities for me anyway. Then you compare that with wages, and you see the huge conflict going on. As for class in terms of U and Non-U—that business my sister Nancy wrote about—I think that has gone by the board totally. The young upper-class people I've met seem to have an extremely broad acquaintance, far from the stuffy counterparts that I became a deb with in 1934, or whenever it was. The huge change is that now they go to school. In my days, only the ugliest and cleverest girls got to go to college. I wanted to go to the local grammar [state high] school—I wanted to be a scientist at the time—but my mother said, "Absolutely not." There was no arguing with it because you'd meet the wrong sort of children there, you know. The mixing between the upper and middle and lower classes takes place in the colleges and the schools—unfortunately, not on a political level—but they probably like the same music and smoke the same pot.

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"This is the perfect rehabilitation," bubbled Watergate Burglar **Bernard Barker** last week. "Now if this isn't the American way, you tell me what is." Barker's post-prison rehabilitation program is a central Florida housing project he has agreed to promote along with his break-in partners **Eugenio Martinez** and **Virgilio Gonzalez.** The project, dubbed Watergate Hills, is a brainchild of Florida Builder John Priestes, who himself just ended a six-month stint in the slammer for FHA influence buying. The foursome hope to make $7 million to $9 million from the 600-unit complex, but last week their profit margin was shaved when thieves relieved on-site construction trailers of $9,000 worth of equipment. "The irony to me is that when we went to the Watergate and were called burglars, we didn't take anything," said an indignant Barker after the robbery. "As a matter of fact, we left something," he added, referring presumably to the Waterbuggers' abandoned professional tools.

■

Can a beautiful, innocent, honest girl from a small mining town in the Midwest find happiness as the President of the United States? That is the question to be answered by *Linda Lovelace for President,* the newest movie by the hard-working star of *Deep Throat.* To help the film along, **Lovelace** struck a candidate's pose in front of the White House last week. The movie is billed as a satiric look at American life and the leading lady hopes that it will be a transitional step toward weightier roles. "I'm really Miss All-America Country Girl," says Linda in a moment of introspection. "I am very honest and open. People in our society don't know how to handle that." Lest anyone's vote be missed at the box office, distributors plan to release the film in December in three versions: PG, R and, of course, X.

When we last left Margo Flax, middle-aged divorcee, her frantic love for a younger man had caused her to undergo a face-lift. That, to be sure, was nothing spectacular for the script of *All My Children,* one of television's soapiest midday dramas. Yet when kindly Dr. Julien removed the bandages from Margo's uplifted face before 10 million viewers this week, the postoperative black eyes and discolored skin thus exposed were in very living color. It turns out that **Eileen Letchworth,** fiftyish, the actress who has been Margo Flax for the past two years, had her real-life face surgically elevated earlier in the month. The show's relentless producers, recognizing a heart-rending episode when they saw one, arranged for art to imitate lift. Margo and Eileen are facing their new face with equanimity: "It's no different from having one's hair colored or teeth capped." Or eyes debagged, an off-screen drama that Actress Letchworth lived through seven years ago.

■

Charles Bronson, one of Hollywood's hottest actors *(Death Wish, Mr. Majestyk),* was really cooking with gas recently. On the set of his current film, *Breakout,* Bronson and Co-Star **Robert Duvall** were toying with the controls of a $250,000 helicopter when its engine suddenly overheated and caught fire. That unscripted event, of course, had nothing to do with *Breakout's* true-life tale of Adventurer Victor Stadter's copter flight into a Mexican prison to spring wealthy American Joel Kaplan. Nor, for that matter, did some of the scripted scenes; though the actual 1971 jailbreak went uneventfully, not so the movie version. Appearing unexpectedly on the set, Kaplan and Stadter watched in amazement as two Jeeploads of movieland police blasted away at Actors Bronson and D[uvall] re-enacting the escape. Said S[tadter] afterward: "I was more scared w[atch]ing all this than when we did the es[cape]

■

"It's a challenge, especially sin[ce] I have green eyes," observed Actor P[eter] **Ustinov.** "I have to be careful not to o[ver]act them too much." Ustinov's ocular d[if]ficulties are caused by his role as H[up] Wan, a bungling Chinese spy in the W[alt] Disney spoof *One of Our Dinosaurs Is Missing,* which he is filming in Lond[on] with Co-Star **Helen Hayes.** Ustinov's skill in portraying his character ha[s] proved especially unnerving for his c[o-]Helene, who visited the set during [the] first day of shooting. "She seemed e[x]tremely upset when she realized wh[o] was," says Ustinov. "She looked li[ke] faithful dog who sees the same mak[e] car as his master's, yet someone e[lse] climbs out of it."

■

Though his protean athletic skills [in]clude hunting, soccer and skiing, Fr[ench] President **Valéry Giscard d'Est[aing]** joined thousands of his countrymen [in] packing up his wife and four teen[age] children for a vacation at the be[ach] While his constituency fought for sp[ace] in the sand, however, Giscard enjo[yed] some swimming, tennis and boating [in] the privacy of a Côte d'Azur estate b[e]rowed from Prince and Princess de

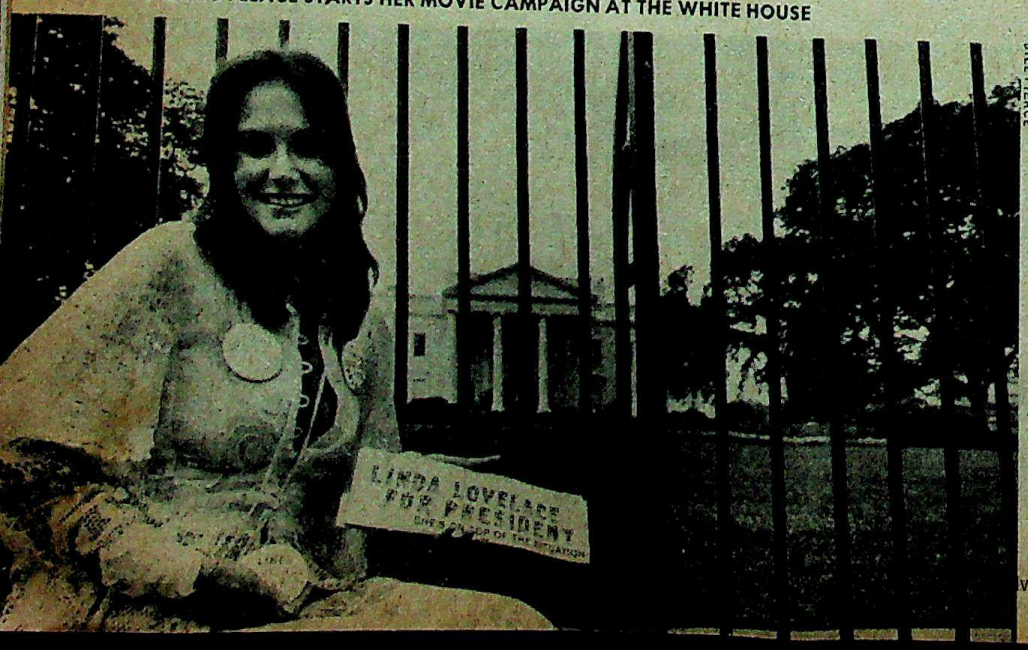
PETER USTINOV AS HNUP WAN

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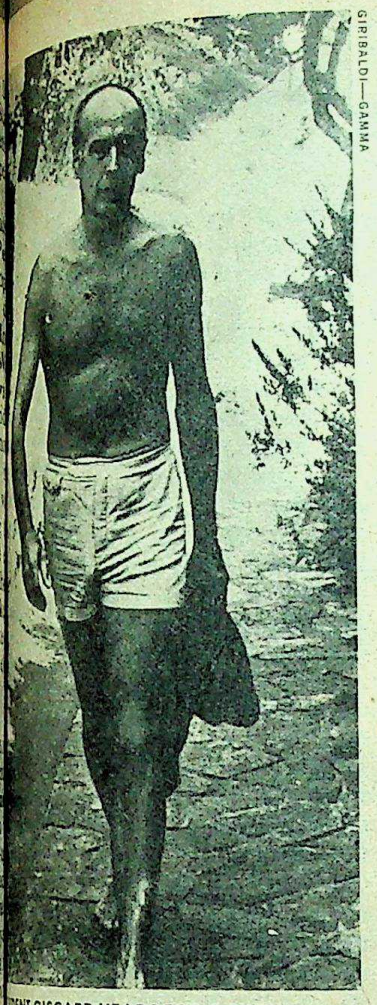


LINDA LOVELACE STARTS HER MOVIE CAMPAIGN AT THE WHITE HOUSE

BILL PIERCE



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GIRIBALDI—GAMMA

ENT GISCARD HEADS FOR A SWIM

Tour d'Auvergne. "My vacation I devote especially to my children," declared Giscard to a French reporter, then came in out of the sun for a quick shuttle flight to Paris for a Cabinet meeting.

■

Cast as an indomitable spinster teacher in the pre–World War I South, indomitable **Bette Davis** was hard at rehearsals last week for *Miss Moffat,* her first stage role in 13 years. The Broadway-bound production, which opens in Baltimore next month, is a musical adaptation of Emlyn Williams' *The Corn Is Green,* in which Davis first starred for Warner Bros. back in 1945. "I'm delighted to have an opportunity to play the character again because now I look the right age," says Davis, 66, who has been working steadily through lunch and cigarette breaks on a part that includes six songs. "Through the years I've done an enormous amount of singing that no one remembers," she rasps gamely. "It's a rather low voice. I'm not an opera singer."

■

Sheathed in a shimmering blue jumpsuit topped by a towering headdress of ostrich feathers, **Josephine Baker,** *grande dame* of the music-hall circuit, pranced across the stage of the London Palladium last week with grace belying her 68 years. Between torch ballads, the St. Louis expatriate paused long enough to reminisce about the good old times in Paris. "I started in 1924, and we were all beginners together—Pablo, Matisse, Hemingway," she recalled to her audience. "I used to look after them all, too, picking up their clothes, getting them organized. And I was always popular because I was earning all the money." About those peekaboo costumes of strategically placed bananas? "I wasn't really naked," the adoptive mother of twelve revealed. "I simply didn't have any clothes on."

"I have a lot of things to think about before Snake River," said Motorcycle Daredevil **Evel Knievel** in Toronto last week. Moments later, the two-wheeled wonder eliminated one worry when he arced his cycle over 13 Mack trucks and landed safely 40 yards away, breaking his own world's truck-jumping record. All of which was better than he did in Dallas last February, when he cleared only eleven trucks and broke his back. Despite his $65,000 fee, Knievel's Toronto show was clearly only a tune-up for the big one: his planned 4,871-ft. leap across Idaho's Snake River Canyon on Sept. 8 in a steam-powered Sky Cycle. While New York Congressman John Murphy sought legislation to ban coverage of Knievel's ultimate caper over network TV, "where it can be viewed by our children," good old Evel, at age 34, vowed to make his flight as planned. "I'll never want to jump so high or so far again," he reflected, "but I'd like to keep jumping till I'm 50."

■

Despite more than two decades of triumphs *(Bonjour Tristesse, A Certain Smile),* French Novelist **Françoise Sagan,** 39, has had more than her share of personal woes. After two divorces, a couple of car accidents and some sizable gambling losses, small wonder that the consummate writer of romances should have earned a reputation for the consumption of spirits. "I drink sometimes, but a lot less than I used to," she told the Italian magazine *Gente* this month. "When you drink, the time arrives when you don't eat any more; if you don't eat, then you get tired; if you get exhausted too much, then you don't sleep well; and if you don't sleep well, then you burst." After describing herself as basically happy, tolerant and honest, Sagan added: "As for my negative side, you could say that I am lazy, cowardly and that I am fond of all the excesses."

D DAVIS AS MISS MOFFAT



SCHERMAN—WOMEN'S WEAR DAILY

FRENCH NOVELIST FRANÇOISE SAGAN GETS READY TO ROLL



BOTTI—SYGMA

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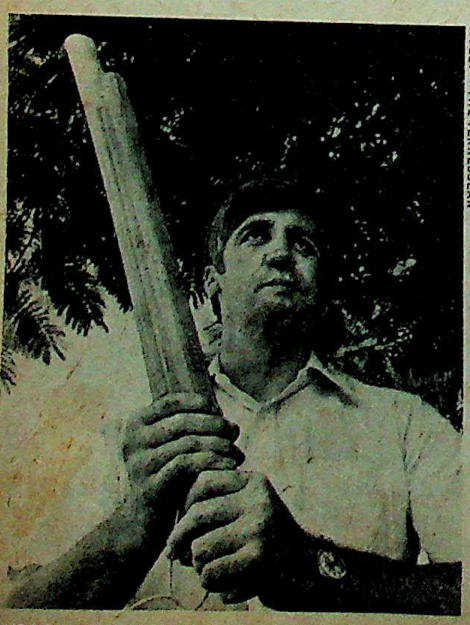
AMERICAN NOTES

Lost Legend

The age seems to lack full-blown heroes, but Tennessee's Buford Pusser tried in his own inimitable fashion to fill the bill. Pusser did not like what he saw when he came home to rural McNairy County from the Marines in the early '60s. He got himself elected sheriff and began a six-year crusade against moonshining, prostitution and gambling. Some opposed his methods, which occasionally bent the law in the course of upholding it, but none doubted his courage. He survived seven attempts on his life, including a 1967 ambush in which his wife was killed and half his face shot away. His fearlessness inspired the highly acclaimed film *Walking Tall* (TIME, May 21, 1973), in which Pusser, as played by look-alike Actor Joe Don Baker, wielded a big stick against wrongdoers with devastating effect. Last week Pusser, 36, died when his new sports car ran off Highway 64 near Selmer, Tenn. Ironically, hours before his death, he had signed a contract to meld art and life by playing himself in the movie sequel to *Walking Tall*.



JOE DON BAKER IN *WALKING TALL*



HOLLY—THE TENNESSEAN

BUFORD PUSSER WIELDING BIG STICK
None doubted his courage.

Club-Soda Time Capsule

Great events produce newspapers and magazines that people instinctively preserve for their historic import. But most Americans today who have set aside issues of the recent momentous weeks to relive the tumult with their children and grandchildren will, 50 years hence, confront what today's grandparent usually finds on a trip to the attic—crumbling, yellowed newspapers inexorably turning to dust. A few years ago an assistant professor of librarianship at the University of Washington named Richard Smith devised a simple formula for ensuring the survival of history-making newsprint. His innovation is ripe for use now. The recipe, which is meant solely for printed matter, not handwritten letters, reads like a home remedy for a Watergate-induced headache: dissolve a milk of magnesia tablet in a quart of club soda and chill the solution overnight. Then pour it into a pan or tray large enough to accommodate a flattened newspaper, soak the newspaper for an hour and pat dry.

By that elementary process the acidic decomposition that slowly destroys the cellulose fibers in paper is arrested. Thus most of today's paper, which normally lasts from 50 to 100 years, can, with repeated soakings in the milk of magnesia solution at 50-year intervals, be made to last up to 200 years longer. Shake well before using.

Slowing Down

When Congress passed legislation recommending that the states adopt a 55 m.p.h. speed limit as a means of curbing gasoline consumption, most observers predicted an additional boon—a decrease in traffic fatalities. Sure enough, last month when the National Safety Council released highway-death-toll figures for the first six months in 1974, deaths were down a heartening 23% from the same period in 1973. While noting that the energy crisis had decre the number of cars on the road, the cil still gave credit for the downtur the 55-m.p.h. speed limit, calling "major contributing factor."

But that was moving too fast for N. Hames, safety-education director the American Medical Association an editorial in the current *Journal of American Medical Association*, Ha doubts that the reduced speed limit served quite so much credit, arguing the energy shortage had reduced number of miles driven. Besides, Hames, "most crashes occur at sp of less than 55 m.p.h. anyway."

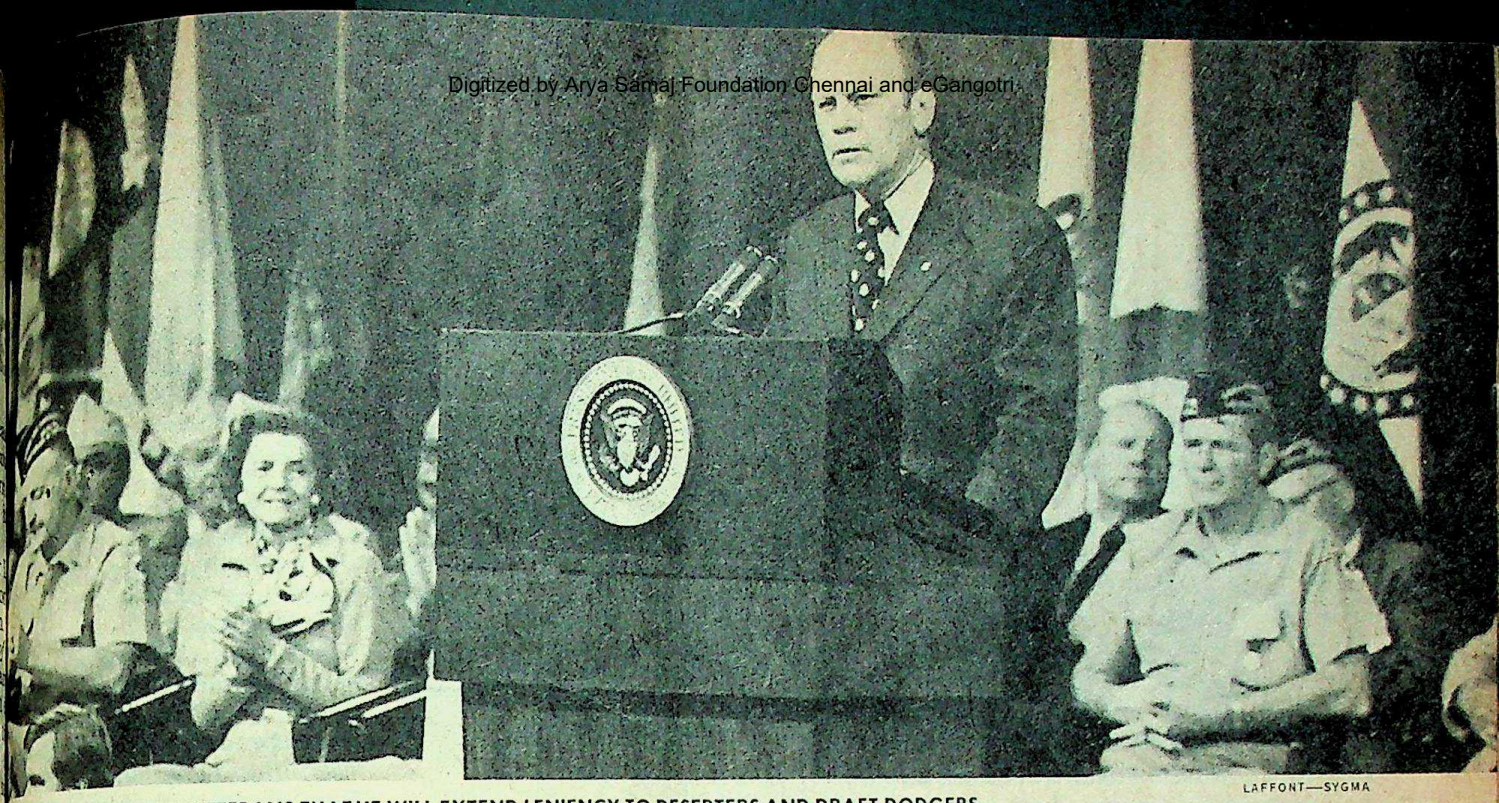
Not to be outdone in the war of tistics, the NSC has countered with of its own. Said one spokesman in joinder: "Travel on 31 representa turnpikes during the first five mo of this year was down 14% from the five months of 1973, but fatalities down 60%." The lowered speed l seemed a likely explanation. Wha more, said the NSC, there were 3.4 de per 100 million miles driven for the six months of 1974, down from an erage 4.27 for all of 1973. As for A.M.A. contention that most crashes cur at speeds under 55 m.p.h., sm one official, it "neglected to say nearly one-half of all fatal accidents cur at speeds over 50 m.p.h."

The Last Marshal

In 1970 there were 40 hijackings U.S. airlines; and to halt the illegal s zure of commercial aircraft, the Fed al Aviation Administration and the Customs Service in the same year tiated the sky-marshal program. Bes serving on the ground as plainclo watchdogs, armed sky marshals wea civilian clothes boarded commer flights to thwart the would-be skyjack At its peak in 1973, the sky-marshal gram had 1,050 men flying selected routes. Last week the Departmen Transportation, which has overseen program since its inception, announ that the sky-marshal program has to an end. The last sky marshal was en out of the air in June. The groun spection program that submits all p sengers and baggage to electro scrutiny had made the sky marshals solete. No sky marshal ever fired a aboard an aircraft, but the DOT c the program, which cost an estim $150 million, a singular success spurred development of the techno that now dissuades or snares the po tial skyjacker before boardin

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LAFFONT—SYGMA

ENT FORD TELLING THE VETERANS THAT HE WILL EXTEND LENIENCY TO DESERTERS AND DRAFT DODGERS

ADMINISTRATION

Sure Touch in Ford's Second Week

Like President Truman and Presnt Lincoln before him, I found on my k where the buck stops, the urgent blem of how to bind up the nation's nds. And I intend to do that."

With those words, President Gerald d last week reaffirmed his promise estore a sense of national unity and rpose—to replace, as his friend and ser Bryce Harlow expresses it, a naal frown with a national smile. To end, Ford maintained a headlong e throughout the second full week his presidency.

He nominated former New York ernor Nelson Rockefeller as Vice sident. He declared a policy of leicy toward Viet Nam War–era draft aders and deserters. He let it be known at he "probably" will run for Presi- in 1976. He worked from early rning to late at night, signing bills, g speeches, issuing proclamations, meeting with an enormous number people in the White House and on itol Hill.

The activity was calculated to pro- an image of a Chief Executive who firmly in command and to dimin- whatever doubts might still linger r the transition from Richard Nix- to a new and untested President. ch as Lyndon Johnson did in the eks after John F. Kennedy's assas- ation, Ford was reaching out for a na- al consensus, a show of bipartisan port—and he was doing it with a sure ch. Declared Democratic Senator ard Kennedy of Ford's first days as sident: "It's been excellent. I don't e a beat."

After a last, 20-lap swim in the pool of his Alexandria, Va., home on Monday morning—soon afterward, the Fords moved into the White House—the President began his exhausting week. He flew to Chicago aboard Air Force One to address the Veterans of Foreign Wars. It was Ford's first out-of-town trip as President, and he and his wife Betty were greeted at Chicago's O'Hare Airport with a flubbed announcement. "Ladies and gentlemen," a voice intoned over the airport's loudspeakers, "the President of the United States and Mrs. Nixon."

Mussed Hair. Along the city's most stylish street, North Michigan Avenue, the Fords were greeted by moderate-sized but enthusiastic crowds. The President stood in the open limousine, waving both hands and clasping them like a victorious prizefighter. At one point, he plunged into the crowd, shaking hands and grinning as young girls stood on tiptoe to kiss him and muss his hair. The only discordant note was sounded by several thousand Greek Americans who were demonstrating in Grant Park across the street from the V.F.W. convention in the Conrad Hilton hotel. They were protesting U.S. policy in Cyprus, but their principal target was Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, not Ford. Demanded one placard: FORD, FIRE KISSINGER.

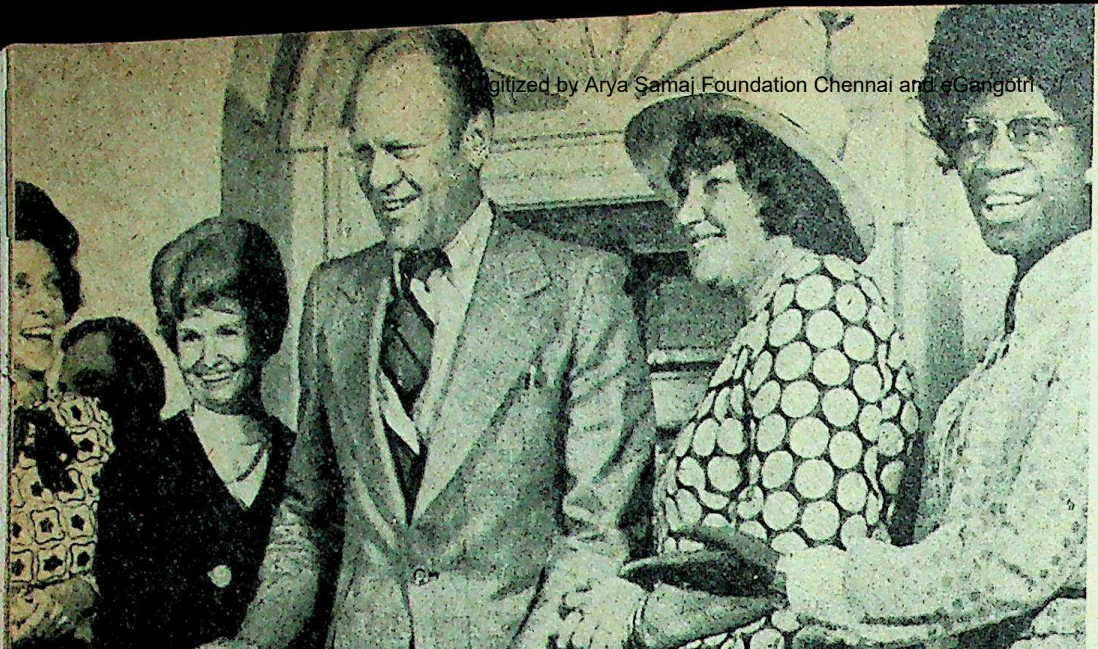
Inside the hotel, the 4,750 veterans warmly applauded Ford's announcement that he had nominated Richard Roudebush, a former V.F.W. national commander and ex-Representative from Indiana, as Administrator of Veterans Affairs. The audience cheered and clapped loudly as Ford departed from his bland prepared text and declared that "unconditional, blanket amnesty for anyone who illegally evaded or fled military service is wrong." But the veterans sat in shocked silence as Ford went on to say that he wanted the deserters and draft dodgers who fled abroad during the Viet Nam War "to come home if they want to work their way back." Pledging to throw "the weight of my presidency into the scales of justice on the side of leniency," he added: "I reject amnesty, and I reject revenge."

Ford did not explain what conditions he would attach to clemency; he will determine that after Attorney General William Saxbe and Defense Secretary James Schlesinger report to him before Sept. 1 on the problem. But it seemed probable that some kind of public service will be the price for amnesty. No one knows for certain how many men would be affected. Ford set the total of draft evaders and deserters at 50,000, a figure perhaps largely based on Government estimates of 4,400 draft evaders, 8,900 men actually convicted of breaking the Selective Service law and 28,600 deserters still AWOL.

A majority of the draft resisters and deserters interviewed by TIME correspondents last week said that they would accept nothing less than unconditional amnesty, explaining that anything less would imply wrongdoing on their part. On the opposite side of the touchy issue, the V.F.W. took an equally adamant stand against Ford's change in Administration policy. The day after his speech, the organization adopted a resolution rejecting any kind of am-

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FORD WITH CONGRESSWOMEN AS HE SIGNS AN EQUALITY DAY PROCLAMATION
Reaching out for a national consensus and bipartisan support.

nesty for those who refused to fight in Viet Nam.

On the way back to Washington, Ford, in shirtsleeves and with his tie loosened, strolled aft to Air Force One's press section to explain his change of policy and why he had picked such a hostile audience for his announcement. He said that his thinking had been shaped in part by the views of his children and those of former Defense Secretary and Close Friend Melvin Laird, who had unsuccessfully tried to get Nixon to modify his hard-line stance. Moreover, Ford had concluded that his pledge to bind up the nation's wounds required a new approach. He explained: "You can't talk about healing unless you're going to use it in the broadest context." His choice of audience was equally deliberate. Said Ford: "I thought that the right audience would be an audience that might be difficult. It would have been a little cowardice, I think, if I'd picked an audience that was ecstatic."

Next day House and Senate leaders, Cabinet members and reporters crowded into the Oval Office for Ford's announcement of his vice-presidential nominee, Nelson Rockefeller (*see story page 30*). The President had carefully touched all political bases beforehand, personally notifying the runner-up, Republican National Chairman George Bush and NATO Ambassador Donald Rumsfeld, telephoning from President Nixon in San Clemente. To the congressional leadership. At 11 a.m., Ford and Rockefeller entered the room and clasped each other's wrists. The President introduced his nominee, saying that "it was a tough call for a tough job." The low-key presentation was far different from the East Room extravaganza that Nixon staged for the announcement of Ford as his nominee for Vice President.

Will Run. The choice of Rockefeller set off speculation that Ford would run for President in 1976 and Rockefeller would be his running mate. Rather than discourage such talk about his future, Ford disclosed through Press Secretary J.F. terHorst that he "probably" will run in 1976, though he gave no indication as to whether Rockefeller would also be on the ticket. The declaration was a striking break with the tradition that a President wait until election year to unveil his intentions. An aide close to the President explained that Ford's competitive instincts led him to emulate Presidents Truman and Johnson, both of whom inherited the presidency, and "make it on his own." He may also have wanted to assure Republican conservatives, some of whom only tolerate Rockefeller, that Ford intends to be away

The President's Eyes and Ears

A glass of Rebel Yell bourbon close at hand and classical music playing softly on the stereo, the ex-newspaper reporter mulls over ideas at home for the next presidential speech. By 2 a.m., he is pounding away at his portable typewriter, smoothly capturing the cadences and patterns of his boss's speaking style. Next morning, red-eyed from a night without sleep but wearing his favorite cream-colored suit, he hands his manuscript to the President in the Oval Office, then argues tenaciously in defense of every word. Only rarely does Gerald Ford ask for a revision of an idea or even a phrase.

Such is the frenetic working pace —and enormous influence over the President—of Robert Trowbridge Hartmann, 57, Ford's chief speechwriter, political adviser, troubleshooter and confidant. Other White House intimates regard the conservative Hartmann as Ford's most trusted Counsellor. "The President knows that Bob is smarter than hell and straight as an arrow with him," says Bryce Harlow, an ex-adviser to Richard Nixon who serves on Ford's kitchen cabinet. Adds another presidential aide: "Bob's the President's eyes and ears. It would be impossible to overemphasize his importance." Summoned by a beeper when needed by Ford, Hartmann finds that his duties have no clear boundaries. "My role is best described by that door over there," he says, nodding toward the portal that leads from his sparsely furnished office, once occupied by Rose Mary Woods, to the Oval Office a few paces away. "My main function is to do what seems to the boss to be the most important thing to do next."

■

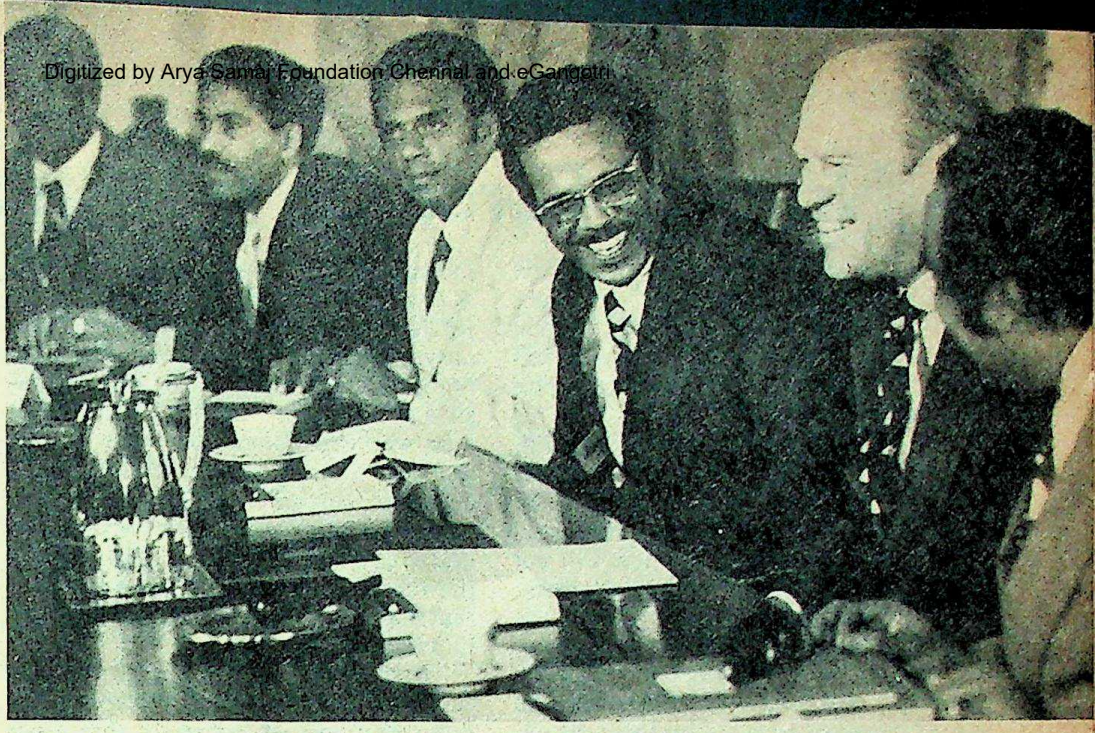
It was Hartmann who persuaded Ford to strive for independence as Vice President and avoid becoming overcommitted to Nixon's Watergate defense. Hartmann crafted Ford's well-received Inaugural Address, his first speech as President to Congress and his speech last week appealing for leniency for deserters and draft dodgers. Hartmann also was the only White House aide who participated in Ford's selection of a nominee for Vice President. He tabulated the names recommended by Republican Congressmen, Governors and others and later discreetly checked out the three finalists, though Ford never confided in him that he had settled on Nelson Rockefeller. All through the process Hartmann adamantly refused to talk with reporters.

That seeming aloofness only augmented Hartmann's longstanding reputation for brusqueness and abrasiveness. After he became a Counsellor to the President, his father, Miner Hartmann, 85, sent him a vial of silicon carbide, which is used in grinding steel. "You grew up on it," explained an accompanying note from the elder Hartmann, a patent attorney in Beverly Hills, Calif., and former chemist who once directed research for the Carborundum Co. Even Wife Roberta concedes that Hartmann "does not have time to be as tactful as some people would wish." But he can also be garrulous and convivial, particularly while reminiscing with old friends from his days as a reporter.

Born in Rapid City, S. Dak., Hartmann was raised in Niagara Falls, N.Y. California, where his family moved when he was nine in hopes that a warmer climate would end his repeated bouts with pneumonia. After he graduated from Stanford U

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BILL PIERCE

WITH BLACK CONGRESSMEN DURING A MEETING IN THE CABINET ROOM
"People who can negotiate survive better."

...ticket. Whatever the case, the decision erased any weakness he might have had as a possible lame-duck President in his dealings with Congress and the Republican Party.

During the week, Ford went out of his way to invite a wide spectrum of Americans to the White House. He listened to the views of 16 members of the Congressional Black Caucus and assured them that social-welfare programs would not be the only targets of his spending cuts. Later, as token of his resolve, he signed two important pieces of legislation into law. One authorizes $11.9 billion to house low-income people; the other provides $25.4 million in aid to public elementary and secondary schools. Said Ford: "I suspect this is the first federal aid to education bill ever signed by a lefthanded President." The President also signed a bill that revived the Cost of Living Council to monitor wages and prices.

On another day, the President surrounded himself with some of the most outspoken women in Congress, among them New York Representatives Bella Abzug and Shirley Chisholm, as he signed a proclamation making Aug. 26, the 54th anniversary of women's suffrage, Women's Equality Day. He also urged that the remaining states ratify the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution. Quipped one of the women at the gathering: "It looks like a chorus line." Responded Ford: "You girls are the Rockettes." It is a measure of both the times and Ford's style that he got away with it; even Bella grinned.

The President spent much of his week cementing relations with Congressmen, Democrats as well as Republicans. He was host at a series of meetings in the Oval Office with legislators, both individually and in small groups, to discuss pending bills. Twice he dropped in on his former colleagues on Capitol Hill. The first time was when he paid tribute to Mike Mansfield, who set a record last week for longevity as Senate majority leader: more than 13½ years. Said Ford: "It proves that people who can negotiate survive better than those who take a flat, adamant attitude." Later in the week, Ford visited the Capitol again to make brief speeches to the House and Senate. "I just wanted to stop by today and say hello," he said, "and to officially inaugurate Pennsylvania Avenue as a two-way street." Both chambers responded with thunderous applause. As a further bipartisan touch, the President had a portrait of Harry Truman, whom Ford admires for his courage and straightforwardness, hung on a wall in the Cabinet Room next to a portrait of his other favorite President, Lincoln.



BILL PIERCE

ROBERT HARTMANN

globe-trotting student tour of Japan, China and Europe whetted his interest in journalism, and he joined the Los Angeles *Times* to cover the police and local courts. In 1954 he was made chief of the newspaper's first full-time Washington bureau and soon became one of then Vice President Nixon's favorite reporters. But in 1962, after Otis Chandler succeeded his archconservative father as publisher, he sent Hartmann to cover news from Rome because the reporter was philosophically out of tune with both the new management and the Kennedy Administration.

Hartmann returned to Washington two years later as publicist for the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization, became editor of position papers for the House Republican Conference in 1966 and began his close association with Ford, who was then Republican leader in the House. In 1969 Hartmann joined Ford's staff as legislative assistant and quickly won his boss's admiration for his willingness to work long hours, his avid embrace of conservative principles and his skill as a writer. Hartmann proudly recalls how he helped gore the Democratic Administration by exploiting the phrase "credibility gap" and by publicizing the number of Government contracts given to some of President Johnson's chief financial backers. During those years Hartmann also wrote position papers on legislative issues for the Republican House leaders. "We called them Constructive Republican Alternative Programs," he says, "which formed the acronym CRAP."

■

When Ford became Vice President, he named Hartmann his chief of staff. But Hartmann proved to be a poor administrator, and after Ford was sworn in as President he made a point of retaining General Alexander M. Haig Jr. as White House chief of staff. Hartmann nonetheless remains the President's most influential and most nearly indispensable adviser. To master the grueling White House pace, he has given up cigarettes, coffee and martinis and dropped, at least temporarily, his hobby of snorkeling and taking underwater photographs near his vacation home in St. Croix. He still swims daily in the pool behind his home in Westgate, Md., and plays *boccie*, an Italian bowling game that he learned in Rome, on his backyard court. But most of his time is now spent in the White House only a beep away from the President.

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A Natural Force on a National Stage

Few men in American public life have sought the presidency with more fervor than Nelson Rockefeller. "When you think of all I had," he once explained, "what else was there to aspire to?" Nothing would divert him from his ambition, least of all the vice presidency, which he twice spurned when the nomination was offered to him. "The Vice President is stand-by equipment," he complained. "I don't think I'm cut out to be a No. 2 guy." But last week, pending Congress's approval, that is what he finally accepted. At 66, after three decades of bruising combat in the political and bureaucratic wars, he seems prepared to enjoy his new role.

Restoring Confidence. Whatever personal reservations he may have had, the country was plainly relieved and approving. After a series of numbing shocks to the system, a new team was in place in the White House. To restore national confidence, it was necessary to pick the best man for the vice presidency, and few would deny that Rockefeller fitted that description. After reviewing his record in private enterprise, diplomacy, the Federal Government and as Governor of New York, President Ford put him at the top of his list. "The President was not looking for the survival of the Republican Party but for the survival of the Republic," explained his chief aide Robert Hartmann. "The overwhelming criterion was whether the Vice President could step into the top spot if he had to."

Ford's selection of Rockefeller is an indication of his own political maturity. A less secure President might have been fearful of naming so dynamic a personality. But Ford is apparently more than ready to share the powers and perquisites of his office. "He isn't the kind of man who tries to hold the reins in tight and keep all the powers to himself," says a former Senator who knows him well. "That certainly wasn't the way he operated as minority leader. I think he feels the President has such immense power that there is no need to pull things in that tightly."

Rockefeller, in fact, should make it easier for Ford to govern. He appeals to those elements of the party that have never been a significant part of Ford's constituency: liberals and big-city ethnic groups. He also enjoys uniquely close relations with both business and labor and can attract the kind of talent needed to cope with Ford's biggest problem: inflation. Despite past battles with party conservatives, he is not likely to offend many people today. He has made at least a token peace with the right. Moreover, he is no longer the political threat he used to be. Age is fast removing him from contention; Ford plans to run for the presidency in 1976, and Rockefeller will be 72 in 1980. In the meantime, Ford has ample leisure to groom a successor and eventually install him as Vice President if Rockefeller moves on to a Cabinet post. Rockefeller, on the other hand, would probably be the last to admit that he is too old to run. Refusing to tell reporters last week whether he intended to make another try for the presidency, he reminded them of a couple of very elder statesmen. "Did you ever know Golda Meir?" he asked. "Konrad Adenauer? I knew them well. Great people."

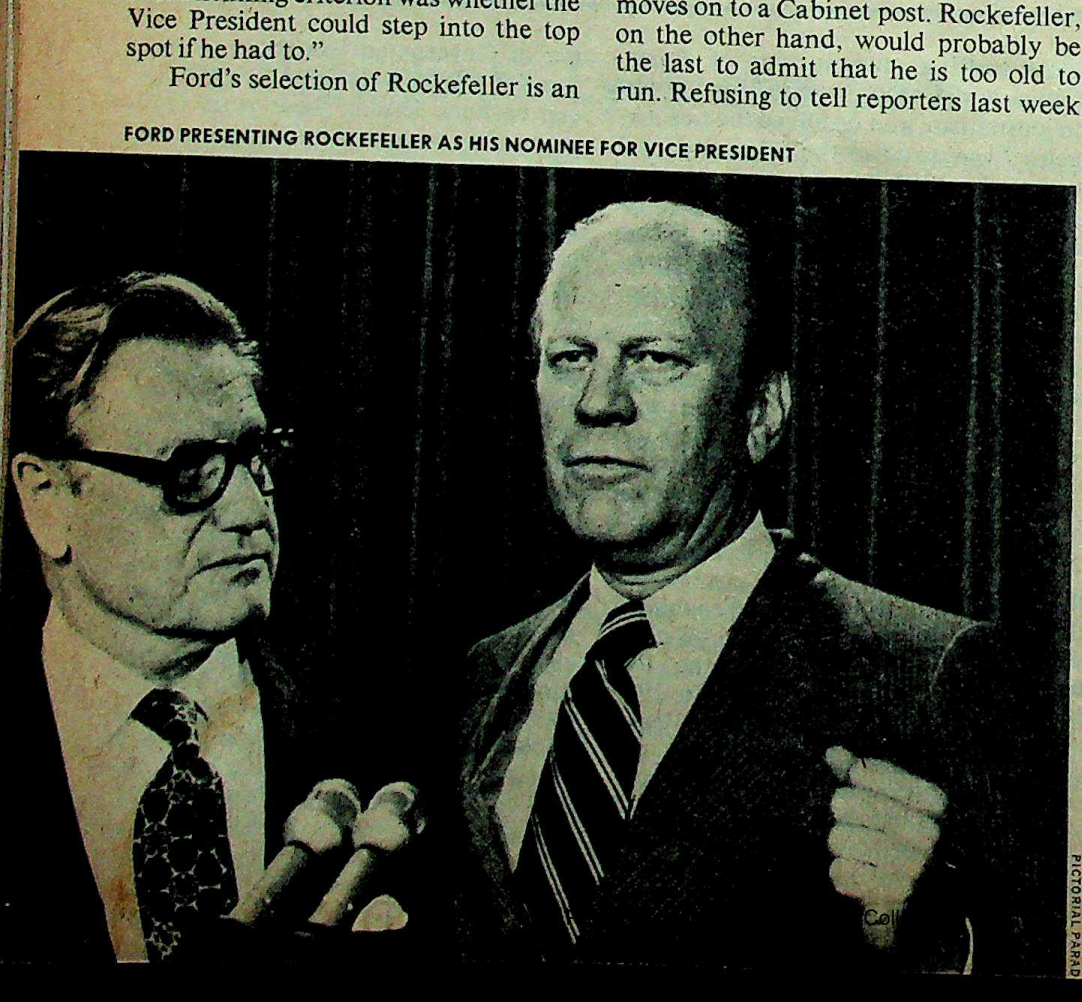
Though Ford had Rockefeller on his mind from the start, he kept his opinion to himself. He wanted to draw party leaders into the decision, and he was anxious to keep his options open in case Rockefeller, for some reason, did not work out. The first faint sign that the President was thinking of Rockefeller was given even before Richard Nixon left the White House. Ford's old Hill associate Melvin Laird, now a *Reader's Digest* executive, announced that he supported Rocky for Vice President if Ford took over as President. Though Ford had not asked Laird to float the trial balloon, he did nothing to stop it.

Silent Guns. Once it would have been swiftly punctured by the party's right wing, which was outraged when Rockefeller refused to support Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential race. This time there were a few random shots but no fusillade. The balloon stayed afloat, and so did Rockefeller's chances. A few conservative diehards grumbled, but the big guns were relatively silent. Texas Senator John Tower said that Rockefeller would be O.K., though not his first choice. Senator Goldwater doubted that Rockefeller would go over with the G.O.P. rank and file, but would not oppose the New Yorker. Said a top White House adviser: "The President discovered, somewhat to his surprise, that the ancient bile among conservatives had diminished. Rockefeller was no longer able to make the dragon show its teeth."

To test opinion further, Ford called upon some 300 assorted Senators, Congressmen, Governors, state party chairmen and committeemen to list their top three choices for Veep. Rockefeller topped the Governors' list, while George Bush, the G.O.P. national chairman, led among Congressmen and state officials. With the support of G.O.P. conservatives, Richard L. Herman, Nebraska committeeman, opened a drive for Bush. But Ford noted that Rockefeller had not been given a thumbs-down by any group polled. Along with Laird, two other Ford intimates, Michigan Senator Robert Griffin and Presidential Adviser Bryce Harlow, supported Rockefeller—as did Henry Kissinger.

The decision had virtually been made, though Ford was still considering a list of five possibilities: Rockefeller, Bush, NATO Ambassador Donald Rumsfeld, who is a member of Ford's transition team, and Tennessee Senator

FORD PRESENTING ROCKEFELLER AS HIS NOMINEE FOR VICE PRESIDENT



PICTORIAL PARADE

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AP

ROCKEFELLER CONGRATULATING ROCKEFELLER
Arrival of the republic.

ing this a peaceful world." In a plain, brief statement, Rockefeller declared that because of his "openness," the President had "already reawakened faith and hope." He made it clear that he is reconciled to his new post: "I am now in a position of relaxed desire to be helpful to this nation in any way I can."

Reaction among congressional leaders on both sides of the aisle was as favorable to Rockefeller as it had been to the earlier selection of Ford as Vice President. "I think he's a good choice," said Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield. "A recognized national leader and world figure," echoed House Speaker Carl Albert. Added House Majority Leader Thomas P. O'Neill, "He has ability and charisma." Rocky turned on some of that charisma as he made a quick campaign tour on the Hill. "Keep your fingers crossed," he said, referring to his prospects for confirmation. "Maybe I won't be able to live up to expectations."

Rockefeller does not really expect to have trouble getting confirmed, but the process could be long and grueling. His personal fortune *(see box)* will be exhaustively investigated. Nothing unseemly is expected to turn up in his tax returns or campaign expenditures. "The Rockefeller financial records are extremely well organized," says New York Senator Jacob Javits. "He's very orderly about that sort of thing." With his family wealth to draw on, Rockefeller would scarcely be tempted to cut financial corners. Asked if he planned to accept the Vice President's salary, he responded wryly: "I don't see why not. I don't know what the salary is, but I'll find out."

There are political reasons, however, for prolonging the hearings. The longer Rockefeller is tied up on Capitol Hill, the less time he will have to campaign for G.O.P. candidates this fall—and Democrats properly respect his clout on the hustings.

Facing Terror. Already Rockefeller's staff is taking shape, although no appointments have been officially announced. Hugh Morrow, for 15 years Rockefeller's speechwriter and press spokesman, will be the press secretary for the Vice President. James M. Cannon, a onetime political reporter who helped lobby revenue sharing through Congress, is expected to become Rockefeller's liaison with Congress. Joseph Persico, a former USIA staffer, will be the Veep's chief speechwriter, though he admits to experiencing "blank-page terror" when he starts composing a speech. "I now have trouble writing a business letter without making it sound like Caesar haranguing the Etruscans," he says. Ann Whitman, who was once President Eisenhower's secretary, will continue to be Rockefeller's personal secretary, a

sident asked the FBI to run a check Rockefeller, Bush and Rumsfeld. The ncy reported that there was no deatory information in FBI or IRS files. n Ford submitted all five names to special prosecutor to find out if there e any Watergate connections. kefeller, in fact, had been slightly sed when he was falsely accused a k earlier of providing campaign ds for dirty tricks in the 1972 elec-. The five candidates were all deed clean.

Relaxed Desire. Over the week- d, the President phoned Rockefeller, o was vacationing at his summer e in Seal Harbor, Me. For an hour, d quizzed him about personal mat- . Says a White House aide: "He ed Rocky the questions you'd ask body after the Eagleton and Agnew rs." By Monday, Ford was prepared go ahead. He asked Alexander Haig phone Rockefeller and instruct him e at the White House at 9 the next ning. When Rockefeller arrived, he d Ford made a joint call to Nixon to rm him of the decision. Replied the mer President: "A big man for a big

Then Ford and Rockefeller strode o the Oval Office, where congressio- l leaders awaited the new Vice Pres- ent-designate. Said Ford of his choice: He is known across the land as a per- t dedicated to the free enterprise sys- , a person who is recognized abroad , for his dedication to mak-

Rocky's Wealth

The exact wealth of Nelson Rockefeller has been a guarded family secret. Now, however, the extent of his assets will be disclosed to the Senate Rules Committee and the House Judiciary Committee as part of his confirmation as Vice President. In the meantime, the best estimates of Rockefeller's holdings confirm his status as the Croesus of American public officials.

With his wife Happy and their children who are minors, Rockefeller is in control of properties, art, trusts, securities and foundation endowments worth about $250 million, a figure that probably reflects the stock market's recent decline. It is not clear whether or not this figure includes Nelson's participation in general family trusts; if it does not, his assets could be greater. The family wealth constitutes one of the most powerful financial forces in the world.

Oil was the original source of the family's wealth and is still an important business interest, although substantially less than before. Nelson's grandfather John D. Rockefeller created the Standard Oil Trust, becoming a billionaire in the process. Nelson and his siblings shared the inheritance of his legendary grandfather. Today the Vice President-designate's assets are widely scattered in various foundations, family trusts and securities. Aside from holdings in the Exxon Corporation, Nelson is said to own stock in the Chase Manhattan Bank, whose chairman is Brother David, although the bank's officials refuse to confirm this. Rockefeller's aides will not disclose his other holdings, but he reportedly has substantial investments in Rockefeller Center in midtown Manhattan and the International Basic Economy Corporation, which invests in developing countries.

■

Personally, Nelson owns one of the most valuable private art collections in the world, consisting of some 1,500 pieces. The Rockefeller clan's 3,000-acre estate in Pocantico Hills, north of New York City, houses much of the collection—and includes as well several swimming pools, a huge "playhouse," tennis courts, a golf course and lovely reaches of woodland. During the summer, Nelson and his wife spend time at their home in Seal Harbor on the coast of Maine. They own a 25-room Fifth Avenue apartment in New York City, an estate on Foxhall Road in Washington, D.C., and an 18,000-acre ranch in Venezuela. There are no firm figures on Rockefeller's cash income. But one estimate, made in 1959 when he became Governor of New York, put his dividend income at $80,000—each week. In 1964 his various investments were believed to return some $5 million a year.

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BRACK—BLACK STAR

ROCKEFELLER & HAPPY BOATING NEAR THEIR HOUSE AT SEAL HARBOR
At best, muted enthusiasm from a deeply private person.

job she has held for twelve years.

Once he is confirmed, the Rockefeller style will at last have national scope. Even the Empire State has at times seemed too small a stage for Rockefeller's vast ambitions. There is no question that his plans are as extensive as his family fortune, stretching boundlessly in all directions. He was the chief promoter, for example, of revenue sharing, one domestic innovation of the Nixon Administration that seems destined to survive. If he is not a politician of remarkable depth—not especially eloquent or incisive—he is one of extraordinary breadth. His impulse is expansionist: where there is a need, fill it—and the sooner the better. Let routine administrators tidy up afterward. Rockefeller has exuberantly strewn New York State with his political largesse. Most of it has been beneficent (schools, hospitals, mass transit, antipollution facilities), but some has been dubious (his massive $1 billion concrete and marble Albany mall, which will rehouse much of the state government when it is completed in 1975—five years late). To critics of the mall, who have labeled it "instant Stonehenge," Rocky replies: "Mean structures breed small vision."

Downgrading Charisma. In his first years in office, Rocky was thought to be a liberal; subsequently, he seemed to grow more conservative. But he shrugs off labels. "Politics is not really my métier," he says. "My real interest is in solving people's problems." He is totally impatient with ideologists who hold "positions which may have no relation to reality, the don't-confuse-me-with-facts kind of people." Though he has plenty of that quality described as charisma, he downgrades it. "We're getting away from charismatic politicians, which is a good thing, because they don't perform." When pressed, he refers to himself as a "pragmatist," but that is a bland description for the multitude of political drives that make up Nelson Rockefeller. He is the political equivalent of a natural force.

A sampler of recent Rockefeller views:

On government: "A key issue before the American people is whether government closest to the people will be submerged by overcentralized power in the hands of an all-powerful Washington bureaucracy. I believe in our federal system of shared sovereignty between the Federal Government and the states."

On the economy: "We've got a national and worldwide crisis of considerable proportion. Inflation has a disastrous effect on various groups in this country, particularly on those who can least afford it. Unemployment gets involved in the problems of energy, food and balance of payments. I'm very optimistic about the future if we face the hard realities."

On Watergate: "At this critical time in the history of the nation, politics is irrelevant. The question of Democrats or Republicans should have no place now. We've all got to work together. At the same time, the American people are bound to have had a renewal of faith in themselves. Here we have had a change of Presidents, and there were no troops or tanks in the streets."

On his wealth: "I've got to be perfectly frank. I've never felt the disadvantages. The money brought with it tremendous responsibilities and great opportunities. I'm also aware of the fact that it is like a tool, a sharp tool. If you misuse it, you can get cut, and you can also hurt other people."

String Southpaw. In public or private, Rockefeller has an exuberant style, as if great wealth has stimulated hyperbole of word and deed. He constantly says "terrific" and "great" when he really means "O.K." Everybody he greets becomes, momentarily at least, his friend. "Hiya fella!" he shouts, often because he does not remember the fella's name. He buys art the way he shakes hands: ebulliently, rather indiscriminately. Then he continually rearranges his paintings, shuffling them from house to home to suit his mood, sometimes putting up a new display just before the dinner guests arrive.

Quite in keeping with his character —and some would say his politics—he is somewhat ambidextrous, using his right hand to write, playing tennis with his left. He was lefthanded as a boy, and his father tied a string to his left wrist at the dinner table. When Nelson tried to eat southpaw, his father gave a yank. Rockefeller does not smoke and only occasionally has a Dubonnet on the rocks or some wine. There is no way of knowing that he is a Rockefeller from his dress. His nondescript suits are invariably rumpled, his ties unmemorable.

From an early age, Nelson was a different kind of Rockefeller, more outgoing, less cost-conscious than his five brothers. While they tended to resemble their father John D. Jr., a shy philanthropist and devout Baptist, Nelson was closer to his mother Abby, the daughter of the powerful Rhode Island Senator Nelson Aldrich. It was Abby who imbued her son with a tender social conscience and a lifelong love of art.

Reading Backward. Nelson's health as a boy in a way condemned him to be an extravert. He suffered from dyslexia, which caused him to read letters and numbers backward much of the time. During his political career, he has been forced to memorize his speeches so that he would not stumble over the words. With a scholarly life pretty much closed to him, he had trouble getting good grades at the progressive Lincoln School in Manhattan. But he worked hard enough at Dartmouth to graduate Phi Beta Kappa.

His first act after graduation was to marry a childhood companion, Mary Todhunter Clark, member of a Philadelphia Main Line family that spent summer vacations near the Rockefellers' home on the coast of Maine. The couple's ten-month, round-the-world honeymoon was more like a state visit. As members of both prestigious families vied to introduce them to sheiks, princes, poets and artists.

Over the years, the Rockefellers had five children. Rodman, 42, is the president of International Business Economy Corp., a family concern that helps local businesses get started in Latin America and other countries. Steven, 34, a religion instructor at Middlebury College in Vermont, caused a stir when he married a household maid, Anne

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The Rockefeller Clan: A Public Family

The nation's first billionaire believed that the power to make money was "a gift from God to be developed and used to the best of our ability for the good of mankind." Along with the bulk of his fortune, John D. Rockefeller passed that belief on to his only son, John D. Jr., who transmitted it to his own six children. After John D. Jr.'s death in 1960 at the age of 86, Lyndon Johnson said of him: "That old man up in heaven—or wherever he may be—must be awfully proud of all his boys. Every one of them's been a public servant."

The Brothers, as John D. Jr.'s boys are called, have earned LBJ.'s accolade. From the family headquarters on the 56th floor of 30 Rockefeller Plaza in Manhattan, they have reached out across the globe to give not only their money but also their time to a wide variety of public causes. "The word is stewardship" says John D. III. "What we inherited was ours on a service basis." The 56th floor is divided into four suites, one for each of the four surviving sons of John D. Jr. They are John D. III, 68, Nelson, 66, Laurance, 64, and David, 59.

There is no office for the fifth son, Winthrop, who died of cancer 19 months ago at age 60. He moved to Arkansas in the '50s, where he revitalized the state Republican Party and served two terms as Governor (1966-70). He gave millions to education and other causes in his adopted state and as Governor attempted to reform the state's notorious prison system. Nor is there an office in Rockefeller Plaza for John Jr.'s eldest child, Daughter Abby Mauzé, 70, the widow of Banker Jean Mauzé. Although she has been a major contributor to cancer research and donated a small park to New York City, she and her philanthropies have been overshadowed by those of her brothers. Explains John D. III: "It was five to one, and this was before women's lib."

In 1940 the six children of John D. Jr. established the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, to which their father willed half his estate. The fund is the one philanthropy that they operate jointly. In 1972 it made nearly 300 grants totaling more than $11 million. Now John D. Jr.'s grandchildren, the Cousins, as the family calls them, are carrying the tradition into the fourth generation. With their parents, they have created the Rockefeller Family Fund, described by a staffer as a "swinging" philanthropy that supports projects in five areas: conservation, equal opportunity for women, institutional "responsiveness," the arts and public aesthetics, and education.

Population problems have been the most abiding concern of **John D. III.** He helped support Birth Control Pioneer Margaret Sanger in the 1930s and in 1952 established the Population Council, which supports contraception research and family-planning programs around the globe. John D. III's concern over campus turmoil in the late '60s inspired his Task Force on Youth, set up to encourage and support projects in which the young can collaborate with the Establishment.

The Task Force is part of the JDR 3rd Fund, which for its first four years, beginning in 1963, was devoted to the support of Asian arts and cultural exchanges between the U.S. and Asia. John D. III recently gave his superb private collection of Asian art (valued at over $10 million) to the Asia Society, which he established in 1956. He was a prime mover in the development of Manhattan's Lincoln Center, to which he gave $11 million.

Laurance Rockefeller inherited two special interests from his father: conservation and medical research. Last week he marked the 25th anniversary of his gift to the U.S. Government of 33,562 acres at Jackson Hole, Wyo. The land became Grand Teton National Park. Thanks to another gift from Laurance, there is also a 5,000-acre national park on the island of St. John in the U.S. Virgins.

Laurance has given time as well as money to philanthropy. In 1939 he was appointed to his first public post, as a member of the Palisades Interstate Park Commission, which operates a string of parks on the west side of the Hudson River. In 1963 he went to work for Brother Nelson, succeeding Robert Moses as chairman of the New York State Council of Parks and Outdoor Recreation, a post he has since resigned. He has pushed for bond issues that have helped the state acquire hundreds of thousands of acres of land for parks and recreation. In medical research, Laurance is a founder and chairman of the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, parent of the renowned research institute.

■

When **David Rockefeller** was seven years old, he received an allowance of 50¢ a week. He was told to save 5¢ and contribute 5¢ to charity. "Our parents made us feel from an early age that we had to contribute, not just take," he recalls. As chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, the world's third largest (which he joined as assistant manager of the foreign department in 1946), David is one of the most powerful men in America. As the *de facto* head of the American Establishment, it has been said that for him the presidency would be a demotion.

David is a life trustee of the University of Chicago, where he earned a Ph.D. in economics, and chairman of the board of Rockefeller University (founded by his grandfather). He is chairman of an association that has helped plan the redevelopment of Lower Manhattan and a participant in similar projects in Washington, D.C., San Francisco and Atlanta.

At 37, **John D. Rockefeller IV,** the son of John D. III, is by far the best known and most political of the Cousins. "Jay" went to West Virginia in 1964 for an "American grass-roots experience" and has been there ever since. After two years as a poverty worker, he switched to politics because he figured it was the way "to get things done." From the state legislature he became secretary of state in 1968, then suffered a setback in 1972 when he lost his bid for Governor. "Jay" is now president of West Virginia Wesleyan College, a small, coeducational Methodist school, and thinking of running for Governor again in 1976. "I am driven to, attracted by, I love public life," says Jay. "Look at the alternatives. Business?"

JOHN D. III, LAURANCE, ABBY, NELSON & DAVID ROCKEFELLER (DECEMBER 1973)

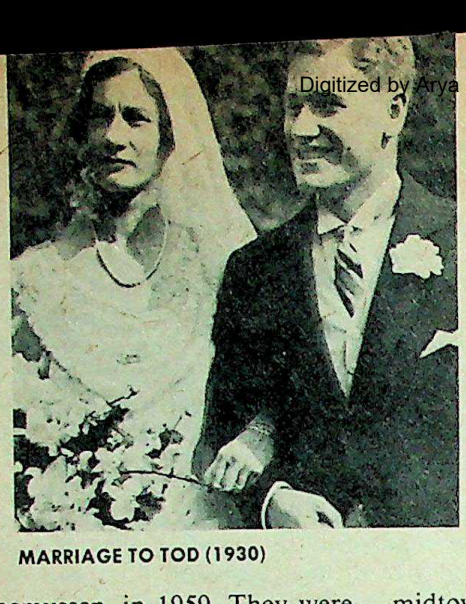


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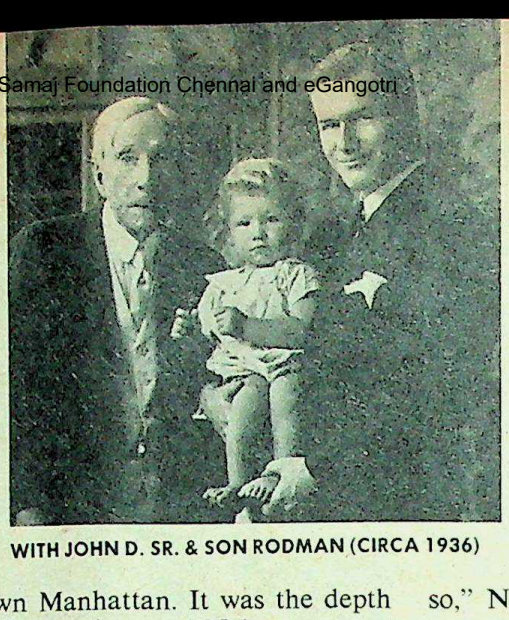
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ON AT EIGHT



MARRIAGE TO TOD (1930)



WITH JOHN D. SR. & SON RODMAN (CIRCA 1936)



MARRIAGE TO HAPPY (1963)

Marie Rasmussen, in 1959. They were divorced a decade later. Ann, 40, now legally separated from her second husband, works for the Rockefeller Family Fund in Manhattan. Mary, 36, divorced from her first husband, is married to Thomas Morgan, onetime press secretary to former New York City Mayor John Lindsay and now assistant to the publisher of *New York* magazine. Mary's twin brother Michael disappeared at sea on an anthropological trip to New Guinea in 1961. When his catamaran capsized, he attempted to swim to shore and was never seen again.

Nelson's honeymoon convinced him that he was not cut out for a business career. He had written his father from Sumatra: "It [business] seems to squeeze all other interests out of the men's lives that are in it." Nevertheless, for want of a better idea, he went to work for a family project, Rockefeller Center in midtown Manhattan. It was the depth of the Depression, and Nelson was put in charge of finding tenants. He won the support of his employees by recognizing the American Federation of Labor as their bargaining agent. In the early 1930s, when most of the business world was fiercely resisting labor unions, it was a bold step. Labor never forgot and returned the favor by giving Rockefeller support when he later ran for public office.

It was in his area of expertise that Nelson stumbled. He decided to cover a wall of the main building at Rockefeller Center with a mural worthy of St. Sophia, and he commissioned the Mexican artist Diego Rivera, a celebrated Communist, to paint it. All went well until an unmistakable likeness of Lenin turned up in the mural. That was not acceptable in the citadel of capitalism in the 1930s. "As much as I dislike to do so," Nelson wrote Rivera, "I'm afraid we must ask you to substitute the face of some unknown man where Lenin's face now appears." When Rivera demurred, he was paid $21,000 and dismissed. The mural was finally chipped off the wall and replaced with a more conventional, sepia painting that featured Abe Lincoln and Thomas Edison.

Ousting Nazis. When Nelson visited Venezuela in 1937 to check out the family's oil holdings, his humanitarian instincts were stirred. He was repelled by the sight of the barbed wire that cordoned off the Rockefeller property from the impoverished natives. On returning to New York, he lectured a meeting of executives of Standard Oil of New Jersey on the "social responsibility of corporations." After World War II broke out in Europe, he went to President Franklin Roosevelt with a plan for the U.S. to restore the trade that Latin

TIME ESSAY

Making the Best Use of Rockefeller

Only rarely since the days of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson has a man with the stature of Nelson Rockefeller risen to the U.S. vice presidency. Indeed, Rockefeller brings to his new job an unprecedented portfolio of assets: more than a third of a century's experience in state and Federal Government; countless personal contacts among politicians, academicians and businessmen in the U.S. and abroad; legendary wealth; a lustrous name; an extroverted personality. How can President Ford make the best use of the enormously capable, ambitious, idealistic—and also arrogant—man whom he has nominated to be his No. 2? The answer, as Rockefeller well knows, is in Ford's hands alone. As Rockefeller said last week: "The role of a Vice President totally depends on the President. If the President wants to use him, wonderful. If he doesn't, fine."

Out of jealousy or pure inattention, U.S. Presidents have seldom used or even properly broken in their Vice Presidents. John Nance Garner, who served from 1933 to 1941 under Franklin Roosevelt, described the job as "a spare tire on the automobile of Government." Almost every modern President promised that he would upgrade the vice presidency and exploit fully the talents of the man who occupied the post. None succeeded.

Richard Nixon served as Dwight Eisenhower's "goodwill ambassador," visiting 54 countries, and was the Administration's partisan gut fighter, traveling the "low road" during campaigns. (Nixon, as President, assigned that job to Spiro Agnew.) But when Ike was asked in 1960, "What major decisions has your Vice President participated in?" he replied, "If you give me a week, I might think of one." John Kennedy tried, at least initially, to employ Lyndon Johnson effectively. Kennedy saw to it that Johnson presided over National Security Council meetings, appointed him to head the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and the National Aeronautics and Space Council, and sent him off to squeeze palms and slap backs in 33 countries. Yet Johnson began to feel overlooked and underused. Toward the end of the Kennedy years he asked old friends, "What does the White House have it in for me?"

The Constitution specifies no duties for the Vice President other than that he be available to replace the President in the event of death or incapacity and that he preside over the Senate. The former is hardly a full-time job, and the latter is a ridiculous chore, increasingly honored by neglect. Any additional duties are given to a Vice President at the discretion and whim of the President and, as Hubert Humphrey knowingly reminded Gerald Ford earlier this year, "he who giveth can taketh away—and often does."

Ford vows that he will give important responsibilities to his Vice President. In fact, there are at least five areas in which Ford could profitably mine Rockefeller's talents:

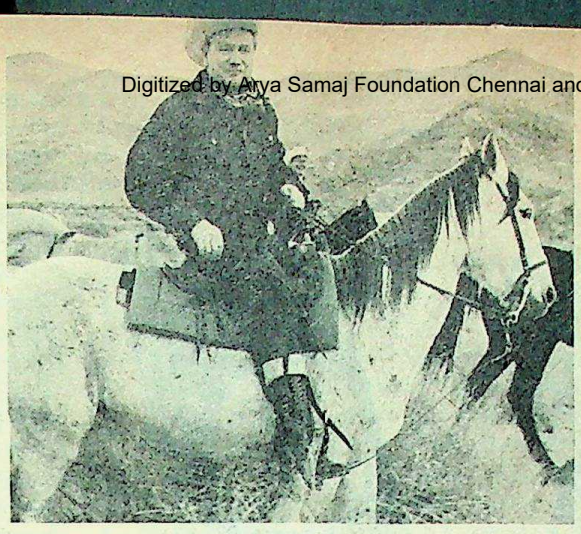
▶ As a coordinator of domestic policy—including economic policy—for the new Administration. There were indications last week that Rockefeller might head the Domestic Council, an advisory board of Cabinet officers and other Government officials that makes policy recommendations

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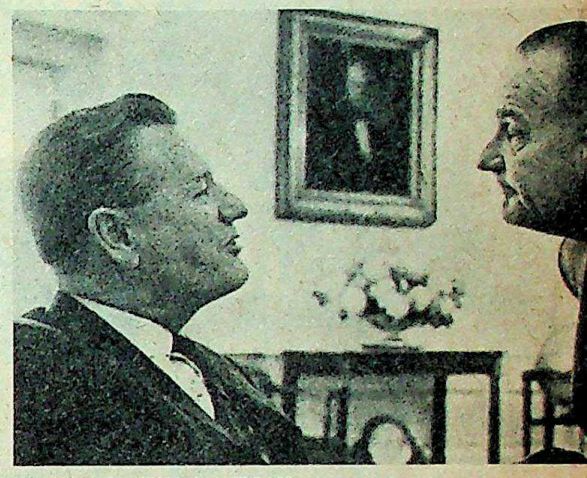
N SON NELSON (JANUARY 1965)



HORSEBACK RIDING IN FLORIDA (1972)



BREAKFASTING WITH NIXON (1958)



CHATTING WITH L.B.J. (1966)

erica had lost in Europe. F.D.R. d the idea and its promoter. Char- eristically, he created a new agency Rockefeller to head, the Office of the ordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Nelson cranked out anti-Axis pro- ganda for Latin America, forced U.S. ncerns in Latin America to fire Nazi mpathizers who worked for them, and nched a program to combat disease d malnutrition. The President was im- ssed enough to appoint him Assis- nt Secretary of State for Latin Amer- an Affairs in 1944. Rockefeller seized e opportunity to convene a conference ll Latin American countries in Cha- pultepec, Mexico, where they signed a utual security treaty agreeing to come the aid of any member that was at- cked. Six months later in San Fran- co, Rockefeller successfully fought for e inclusion of the pact in the charter the United Nations. His victory set the framework for future regional treaties such as NATO. But he had made too many powerful enemies. The new President, Harry Truman, found the scion of a Republican family expendable and fired him.

Nelson supervised his family's development programs in South America until President Eisenhower summoned him back to Government service in 1953. Ike asked him to help put together a new Department of Health, Education and Welfare out of a hodgepodge of bureaucratic fragments. Rockefeller performed so capably that he was made Under Secretary of HEW. But his recommendation of health insurance and aid to education was too advanced for the Administration. He was moved to the White House as a special assistant for national security. Once again, he wanted to spend too much money to suit the taste of the conservatives around Ike. He was vetoed for the post of Under Secretary of Defense and quit the Government in frustration. He had learned his lesson: without a political base of his own, his voice would never carry sufficient weight in the councils of Government.

He set out to build that base. The

e President. This would be a logical starting role for a man o served 15 years as Governor of New York. As Wash- gton *Post* Columnist George Will put it last week in a some- at backhanded compliment, Rockefeller's governorship s "a protracted seminar on the ability of problems to resist utions, and the ability of solutions to aggravate problems The knowledge of what doesn't work is invaluable in Gov- ment, and Rockefeller has it."

▸ As a coordinator of long-range planning. Celebrated as atron of ideas, Rockefeller subsidized a series of studies of blic issues in the 1960s and more recently organized the mmission on Critical Choices for Americans; its purpose is examine U.S. and global problems and propose policies for aling with them. As Yale Law Professor Guido Calabresi s, Rockefeller "has a history of enjoying both academic culation and immediate solutions to immediate problems."

▸ As a recruiter of top talent. With his extensive contacts corporations, law firms, universities and foundations, not to ention the financial community, he could help restore to the vernment the quality and diversity of leadership that it so barrassingly lacked during the last years of the Nixon Ad- inistration. Observes Joseph Swidler, former chairman of the Federal Power Commission and the New York State wer Commission: "Rockefeller is a man who has always at- acted talent and been attracted by talented people. He has d relations with minority groups, poverty groups and la- r. Through him the President can have access to informa- n and ideas that would supplement his own."

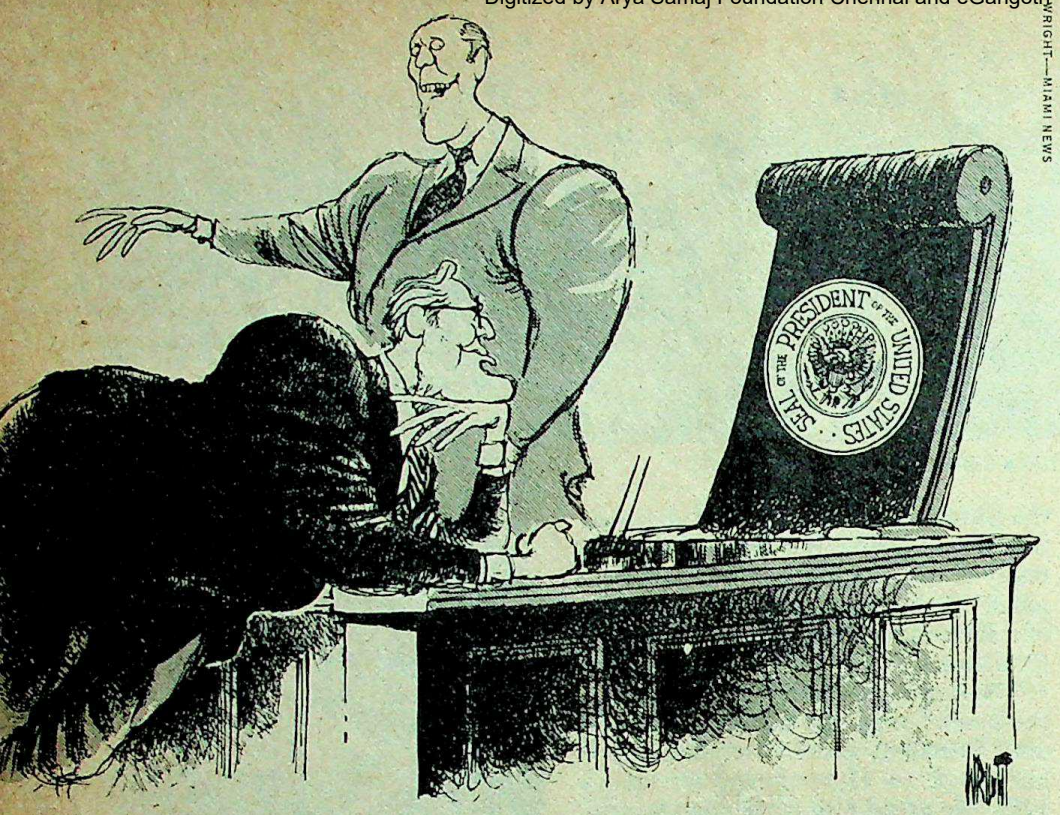
▸ As a specialist in foreign policy. Rockefeller first came tional prominence during the Roosevelt Administration since acquired considerable savvy in international investment and foreign aid. Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott, an old friend, suggested last week that Rockefeller might take over some of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's heavy travel duties. The Vice President could do so without ruffling Kissinger because the two are old and warm friends. Rockefeller could be particularly useful in negotiating with the Latin Americans and handling international trade and economic problems.

▸ As an assistant President. He could, for example, mediate disputes among members of the Cabinet. Under Nixon, such conflicts were handled by White House aides, and Cabinet members often bristled at being ordered around by H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman. If Ford really aims to restore the power and prestige of Cabinet officers, it would help to have his No. 2 adjudicating Cabinet differences and assisting in making interdepartmental policy. Rockefeller, moreover, is uniquely equipped by his experience in state government to serve as the Administration's primary contact with state and local officials. If Ford can manage to make use of Rockefeller in this way, it could well establish an entirely different standard for choosing future Vice Presidents.

Rockefeller's effectiveness will hinge on many factors, two in particular: the degree of trust that exists between President and Vice President and Rocky's ability to subordinate himself to Gerald Ford. Beyond question he has the potential to be the most important Vice President in modern times. "How does it feel?" a well-wisher at Bar Harbor, Me., asked him last week. "Like Alice in Wonderland," replied Rockefeller. That described, perhaps more accurately than he intended, the wondrously ambiguous potential of his new job.

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"Welcome aboard, Rocky. Rocky?"

New York gubernatorial nomination was not his for the asking in 1958, but almost. It was judged to be a bad year for Republicans, and party officials figured that at least Rockefeller could pay for his campaign. To their surprise, the candidate turned out to be a political natural. Not since Theodore Roosevelt had a Republican made such a hit on the cynical sidewalks of New York. Manfully munching anything thrust into his face—knishes, blintzes, hot dogs, pizzas—he waded into noonday crowds, even into the Coney Island surf, in search of every available hand. Voters of every age and ethnic group responded to this effusive emissary from the remote Rockefeller family. The stunned incumbent, Averell Harriman, helplessly watched his massive lead dwindle. Rockefeller won in a landslide.

Building Spree. As Governor, he hit the ground running. He expanded the state university from 38,000 students on 41 campuses to 244,000 on 72 campuses—his proudest achievement. He added 50 state parks, 100,000 new housing units, 109 hospitals and nursing homes, 200 water treatment plants and three model communities. Highways were built, the Governor estimated, at the rate of 4½ miles a day. Very little that he wanted built did not get built. He was wisely rebuffed when, in the urgent atmosphere of the early 1960s, he proposed state-supported fallout shelters for every home.

Rockefeller was an expensive Governor. He started out in office courageously raising taxes to balance the state budget. But as the budget kept rising, from $2 billion when he took office to $8.6 billion when he left, he devised a novel way of paying for his programs. Rather than going to the balky state legislature or to the voters, who might turn him down, he set up a host of quasi-independent agencies—the Metropolitan Transit Authority, the Urban Development Corporation, the Housing Finance Agency—that issued bonds on their own initiative and repaid them with fees collected from users of the facilities that were constructed. "The greatest system ever invented!" he exclaimed.

Offering something for almost everybody, he had little trouble getting reelected. Invariably, he outspent and outcampaigned his Democratic opponents, who never quite knew what hit them. Yet he could not translate his state success to the national scene. His liberal New York constituency differed too markedly from the conservatives who controlled the G.O.P. convention. Though he was probably the popular favorite for the presidential nomination in 1960, Vice President Nixon cornered a majority of the delegates, and Rocky backed off—prematurely, some people thought. The Governor exacted a humiliating concession from his victorious rival. Just as the convention got under way, he publicly denounced the G.O.P. platform for not taking strong stands in favor of civil rights. Nixon left the convention floor to meet with Rockefeller at the Governor's apartment. In an effort to neutralize Rockefeller, he agreed to make changes in the platform.

Rockefeller seemed to be a chief contender for the 1964 nomination—until he handed the conservatives the ammunition they needed. He divorced his wife of 31 years in 1962 and a year later married a younger woman, Margaretta Fitler Murphy, whose former husband was a virologist at the Rockefeller Institute. "Happy" Murphy was forced to give up custody of her four children after she married Rockefeller. (In a spirit of changing U.S. mores, three of the foursome making up the new presidential and vice-presidential couples—Gerald Ford being the one exception—have been divorced.)

Though he had little chance of being nominated, Rocky made a gallant fight against Goldwater, culminating in an appearance at the G.O.P. convention that many think was his finest moment in public life. While right-wingers hurled abuse at him, he stood unruffled on the podium, refusing to budge until he was allowed to speak. "Ladies and gentlemen," he reminded his tormentors, "this is still a free country."

He tried for the presidency once more in 1968, but again Nixon had pocketed the votes of too many delegates, and his rebuff of Goldwater still rankled with many. Beyond that, Rockefeller had been nationally wounded by a fellow liberal Republican, Mayor Lindsay. During the winter, New York City sanitation workers went out on strike. As mounds of garbage piled up on the streets, the irate mayor demanded that the Governor call out the National Guard to clean up the mess. Mindful of the disasters that used to occur when Standard Oil employed strikebreakers, Rockefeller refused. Ignoring Lindsay, he sat down with the union and worked out a settlement. Lindsay denounced him for "cowardice ... capitulation to extortionist demands ... giving in to blackmail." Though Rockefeller had done what was necessary, Lindsay managed to emerge as the victor in the public image contest. From then on, the two Republicans quarreled frequently and contumaciously.

War on Drugs. In his last term in office, Rockefeller made a calculated shift toward conservatism. He knew that if he was ever going to become President, he would have to anchor his right. He began condemning "welfare cheaters" and appointed a state inspector to weed out fraud on the relief rolls. He declared war on drug pushers by winning passage of a bill mandating a life sentence for anyone convicted of selling hard drugs. When a revolt broke out among convicts at Attica state prison in 1971, he refused to meet with the rebels as they demanded. When they failed to surrender, he permitted a brutal charge that cost the lives of 29 prisoners and ten guards who were held as hostages. As Watergate unfolded, he never offered a word of criticism of Nixon. But in his last months in office, Rockefeller demonstrated that his humanitarian instincts were not permanently interred. In succession, he vetoed bills that would have repealed New York's liberal abortion law, prevented busing to achieve racial balance in schools, and prohibited low-cost housing in comfortable Forest Hills.

Rockefeller resigned from office in December largely because he felt that he would have a better [illegible]

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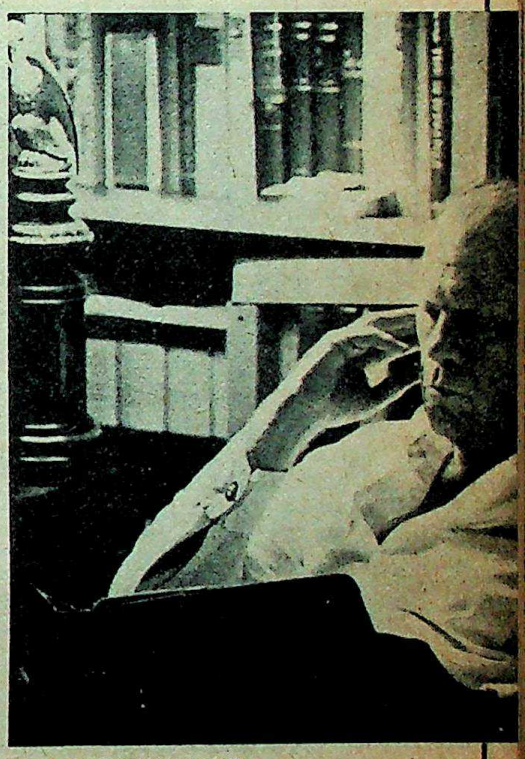
So Like the Rest of America

For ten years this nation has suffered from cardiac insufficiency. Now the heart is beginning to pump again under Jerry Ford. One can feel the renewed strength running through the Federal Government. If the old rules of leadership osmosis still apply, the rest of the country should feel the effects in a few months.

This does not mean that the problems of the U.S. will be solved magically. They may even get worse. It does mean that the incredible strength of America is being freed to contend with them. It is not only right but fun.

Jerry Ford, the Omaha adoptee turned President, looked across his desk last week at Nelson Rockefeller, the dynastic heir to countless millions, and nominated him to be his Vice President, then ribbed him. "You know you are going to have to live in the old Admiral's House," he said. "You can visit your lovely home on Foxhall Road on the weekends." Admiral's House is the drafty 81-year-old home recently consigned to Vice Presidents. Rockefeller has long had his own Washington estate on Foxhall Road.

The transformation is doing so well not from mystique but from candor, not from majesty but from humility, not from complexity but from plainness. It is everything in those manuals of authority used by Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon turned upside down. Ford's first days look like genius because they are so ordinary, so like the rest of America.



FORD IN QUIET MOMENT

Early on, Ford called in his staff —what there is of it—for a bull session. "I really want to bind up the wounds," he said. "If I'm going to do that, then I've got to reach those kids who dodged the draft or deserted. I'm not for unlimited amnesty. Deserters can't go home scot free when the kid next door might have been killed in Viet Nam. Can't we fashion some way to let them earn their way back?" The effects of this pronouncement, formalized in Ford's speech to the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Chicago, stunned the vets and the nation. But why? Because the absence of simple decency in his predecessor had become an accepted condition of our national life. There is no other logical answer to the amnesty problem for a man who the Sunday before sat in his small church in Alexandria, Va., believing in the words of the old hymn he sang: "Blessings abound where'er he reigns;/ The prisoner leaps to loose his chains;/ The weary find eternal rest,/ And all the sons of want are blest."

Rockefeller said that he believed Ford would probably run for President in 1976. Press Secretary J.F. terHorst was bombarded with queries. He caught the President and walked with him by the Rose Garden. "It's this way," Ford said. "As I told the Governor, I have changed my mind because conditions have changed. I didn't think I would run. Now I probably will run." TerHorst, who reported the Nixon years for the Detroit *News*, was not quite ready for the new order himself. "Is it all right to put that out?" he asked. "I don't see why not," said Ford. "Why should we pretend?" They may pretend in Texas and California, but out in Chicago and Cleveland they hardly ever go through the reluctant-debutante routine that Americans have witnessed in the White House for a decade.

■

When somebody talked about "the mansion," the part of the White House where the Fords live and entertain, the President ordered that it be called "the residence." The name *The Spirit of '76* emblazoned on the side of the President's plane will stay for a few months, but Ford plans by Christmas to reduce it again to the functional code, Air Force One. He has banished the royal "we" from statements and speeches. It will be "I." Talking Republican politics last Thursday, he came across the term surrogates used for those Administration speakers who will carry the G.O.P. banner. "I never did like that word when I was one," said Ford. "It sounded like 'sewergate.' "

The adjectives for all this have been extravagant: new wine, fresh breeze, clean broom. They are an accurate White House measure. But what the President is doing is what most Americans have been doing all along.

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...ency as a private citizen. Another ex-...sting campaign would rekindle his ...emies' anger; if his margin of victory ...dramatically or if he lost, he would ...finished nationally. So he turned over ...e Governor's job to his partner of 16 ...ars, Lieutenant Governor Malcolm ...ilson, and busied himself with his ...ely constituted National Commission ...Critical Choices for Americans, ...hich was created to grapple with the ...jor issues of the day. The commission ...uld give him the opportunity to think ...ge without political trivia getting in the ...y. It might help launch him into na-...nal office, and if he got there, it could ...ovide valuable assistance. The com-...ission was modeled on an earlier en-...eavor, America at Mid-Century, a ...dy set up in 1956 with young Har-...ard Professor Henry Kissinger as one ...f its directors.

Nautical Gait. For the first time in ...ars, Rockefeller enjoyed a summer ...miniscent of childhood. He passed lei-...rely days at Seal Harbor with Happy ...d their two children, Nelson, 10, and ...Mark, 7. To those who know him, ...Rockefeller had never seemed more fit. ...His 185 lbs. are evenly distributed over ...his 5-ft. 10-in. frame, and there is no ...int of a paunch. With his rolling, nau-...ical gait, protruding brow and droop-...ng eyelids, he has the perpetual look of ...a man facing a severe northeaster—or ...could it be constant political gales?

At Seal Harbor, he awaited news of ...is political fate with equanimity. "It ...akes no difference to me whichever ...ay it breaks," he told friends as Ford ...ondered his choice. "If the call comes, ...ee. I'll do my best. If it doesn't, so be ...t." When the call came, he became ...ery thoughtful," says Hugh Morrow. ...I've got to tell Happy," Rocky said ...omberly as he wandered off to a pine ...grove where his wife was walking her ...dog. Exactly how she responded is not ...known, but probably with, at best, mut-...ed enthusiasm: Happy is a deeply pri-...vate person who does not relish the role ...of a political wife. "As a concerned cit-...izen, I'm thrilled," she told reporters ...later. Then she added with a thin smile: ...As for me personally, it's the begin-...ning of a new adventure."

Frankly concerned that his new post ...may put a strain on his family, Rocke-...feller returned to Maine as soon as he ...could. He and Happy put out to sea in ...a sailboat they have dubbed the *Queen ...Mary*. Rocky at the tiller, Happy han-...dling the sails. Later in the week, Rocke-...feller appeared at a tent party in New-...port, R.I. During his speech, he was ...interrupted by hecklers. When the ...crowd tried to eject one of them, he pro-...tested. Then he quieted his antagonist: ...Courtesy requires you to wait until I ...complete my speech. One of the great ...traditions of this country is freedom of ...speech and another is courtesy." Right ...after that Newport tent, Nelson Rocke-...feller began the healing process for ...which he had been chosen.

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Not Hounded Out of Office

The final official judgment on the impeachment of Richard Nixon was spread massively on the public record last week in a 528-page report by the House Judiciary Committee. Supported by 200 pages of factual detail on Nixon's Watergate-related actions as President, the committee unanimously recommended that he should have been impeached by the House and convicted by the Senate for obstructing justice in trying to cover up the true origins of the 1972 wiretap and burglary of Democratic national headquarters. Although Nixon's resignation has rendered the matter moot, the full House accepted the report by a vote of 412 to 3.*

The report broke new ground only in presenting the collective as well as individual views of the 38 committee members on the nature of impeachable presidential conduct and the kind of evidence required for impeachment. As such, it was a unique guide for future Congresses, historians and constitutional scholars. The report also effectively undermined any current or future claim that Nixon was merely a victim of partisan politics or his ideological enemies.

One of the most poignant portions of the report was the reversal by ten pro-Nixon Republicans who had determinedly opposed impeachment until Nixon finally was forced, under judicial pressure, to release the June 23, 1972 taped conversations that left no doubt of his cover-up complicity. These Republicans emphasized that Nixon had not been "hounded from office by his political opponents and media critics."

"It was Richard Nixon who impeded the FBI's investigation of the Watergate affair," the minority report declared. "It was Richard Nixon who created and preserved the evidence of that transgression and . . . concealed its terrible import, even from his own counsel, until he could do so no longer." The ten Republicans collectively noted "the self-inflicted nature" of Nixon's Watergate troubles and wondered how "such an able, experienced and perceptive man" could have "imprisoned the truth about his role in the Watergate cover-up so long and so tightly within the solitude of his Oval Office that it could not be unleashed without destroying his presidency."

The committee's factual presentation of evidence cited 19 occasions on which Nixon had made false or misleading statements "as part of a deliberate, contrived, continued deception of the American people" on the Watergate scandal. In addition to Nixon's own falsehoods, the committee reported, the cover-up was aided "by false statements and testimony by the President's close subordinates, which the President condoned, encouraged, and in some instances, directed, coached and personally helped to fabricate."

Beyond the unanimous recommendation of obstruction of justice, which formed Article I of the committee's impeachment charges, two other offenses were endorsed as impeachable by the committee. Article II, alleging that Nixon had abused the powers of his office mainly through misuse of such agencies as the FBI, CIA and IRS, as well as by initiating politically motivated wiretaps and covert investigations, was approved 29 to 9. Approved on a largely partisan 21 to 17 vote was Article III, which claimed that Nixon's failure to honor the committee's subpoenas was impeachable.

There was little new detail in the committee's recital of the evidence against Nixon. Yet the report was not likely to provide the last word on his Watergate role, especially in the cover-up conspiracy. Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski and his staff were still analyzing 55 White House tape recordings screened by Federal Judge John J. Sirica for use in the conspiracy trial of six former Nixon associates. As legal maneuvering continued over just when the trial must begin, it was apparent that Nixon's as yet uncertain role in that trial, whether as witness or defendant, was a major if unstated reason why both Jaworski and most of the defendants were seeking delays.

Separate Trial. Bound by legal obligations, the special prosecutor clearly wants more time to study the Nixon evidence and decide what to do about it. The defendants, on the other hand, are being given the same court-decreed Nixon evidence, and need time to determine how it will affect their cases. One defendant, John Ehrlichman, has already subpoenaed Nixon as a witness for his defense. But if Nixon becomes a defendant, it seems likely that all the other defendants will seek a separate trial rather than willingly allow their individual fates to be submerged in what would be an inevitably sensational trial of the former President.

Last week Judge Sirica stubbornly insisted that the trial should begin on Sept. 9, as originally scheduled. Several defendants immediately appealed to the nine-judge U.S. Court of Appeals, which "suggested" but did not order a delay of three or four weeks. Promptly if reluctantly since any other course would increase the possibility of reversing any eventual conviction, Sirica chose the minimum three-week postponement. But Ehrlichman's attorneys, insisting on the need for a four-month delay to permit the prejudicial publicity of the Nixon resignation to fade, announced that they will appeal to the Supreme Court.

To most Americans, Watergate may be considered, with relief, to be all but over. Yet for some of this historic episode's most celebrated figures, including Judge Sirica, Prosecutor Jaworski, Richard Nixon and Defendants H.R. Haldeman, John Mitchell and John Ehrlichman, it was increasingly apparent that their most difficult personal mo-

AP



JUDICIARY COMMITTEE REPUBLICANS ARRIVING AT WHITE HOUSE TO SEE FORD
A truth imprisoned until its release destroyed the presidency.

*Only Indiana Republican Earl F. Landgrebe, Mississippi Democrat G.V. Montgomery and Louisiana Democrat Otto Passman cast "no" votes. Passman said that he still considered Nixon "the greatest President this country ever had."

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OPINION

These Folk Can Cope

Readers old enough to remember the 1944 hit *Ac-cent-tchu-ate the Pos-i-tive* may find themselves murmuring Johnny Mercer's upbeat lyrics as they delve into the newest study of the nation's health and status. *The Real America* (Doubleday; $7.95) will not be published until this fall, but galleys have been circulating in Washington for weeks; President Ford has already publicly applauded its conclusions. This is hardly surprising, since Author Ben J. Wattenberg's upbeat and arguable analysis of the state of the Union amply reinforces Ford's own optimistic outlook.

Wattenberg followed the advice of his friend and sometime collaborator Richard M. Scammon (*This U.S.A.; The Real Majority*) to "marinate yourself in the data," notably from the Bureau of the Census (of which Scammon was once director). The statistic-laden result is a selective celebration of American achievement, particularly in the past decade, designed to hammer home one basic message: "The dominant rhetoric of our time is a rhetoric of failure, guilt and crisis. The evidence of the data is the evidence of progress, growth and success." Improvement has been so rapid in recent years, says Wattenberg, that for the first time in history America has created a society that is predominantly (93%) "middle class." "The emergence of this Massive Majority Middle Class," he argues, "is a benchmark of major historical importance, and its ramifications are enormous."

The rhetoric Wattenberg deplores comes mainly from a "hydra-headed infrastructure," which he labels the Failure and Guilt Complex. Born in the 1960s, the F & G C is not a Freudian conspiration but a "loose, unorganized organization" incorporating members of the Movement," "cause people" and "defiance naysayers" that together have come close to dominating the intellectual discourse of our time."

Armed with his statistical broadsword, Wattenberg whacks at the Failure and Guilt Complex branch by branch. He demolishes the "explosion" in the demographic branch with statistics on the falling birth rate that is replacing the population explosion ("if indeed it ever existed") and "may well prove to be the single greatest agent of ever increasing, ever wealthier middle class in America." For the benefit of the F & G C's sociology faculty, Wattenberg marshals facts to support his thesis that "American workers are engaged in more interesting, more skilled and more productive work than any other workers, at any other time or any other place—including America only a decade ago." Contrary to the claims of his detractors, these working Americans predominantly on useful, important and often creative goods and services."

To counter the women's auxiliary of the F & G C, which insists that American women are "oppressed, indeed enslaved," Wattenberg brings on his secondary weapon, the opinion polls. From the findings of Gallup, Harris and others, he concludes that "American women don't believe they are living in a rotten, corrupt sexist society that has crushed them. They are, in fact, more satisfied than men." Similarly, polls show that the majority of Americans are middle class "because they think they are middle class, and they think they are middle class because they fit the criteria that they themselves have established for such status." As "everyone knows," says Wattenberg, middle-class people own their own homes, do not let their teen-agers drop out of high school, have washers and dryers, play tennis and get divorced.

Sunny Side. On page after page, Wattenberg repeats the refrain that is his definition of progress: "It is better by far than what it replaces." Focusing on the sunny side of modern society, he minimizes the clouds by looking only at their silver linings. The General Motors assembly line at Lordstown, Ohio, may be boring and dehumanizing, but it uses fewer workers to turn out more cars than earlier plants, thereby freeing other workers for more interesting jobs. Thus, Wattenberg insists, "the significance of Lordstown is in who doesn't work there." With a similar cavalier indifference that would hardly win him friends in the South Bronx, Wattenberg says that even "the meaning of the worst black slums ought to be weighed by determining who no longer lives there."

Because many modern problems (*e.g.*, crowded parks) "are the side effects of success, not the fruit of failure," Wattenberg suggests that they are not really problems at all. He dismisses critics of the food and décor at McDonald's, for example, with the assertion that "the function of the fast-food business . . . is quite simple: Women's Liberation." That is, it frees Mom from shopping, cooking and washing up, so don't complain. In the same vein, "suburban sprawl is a pejorative phrase that describes perhaps the most comfortable mass residential living conditions in history."

Such relentless optimism provides ready ammunition to those who would prefer to gloss over genuine problems. Statistics documenting what Wattenberg, in a dreadful stylistic lapse, calls the "de-eliticization of American higher education," say nothing about the quality of life on campus. Nor does the claim that aimless retirement or a dreary nursing home are better for the elderly than "dying in the traces" provide much comfort for hungry old people languishing on park benches.

Because Wattenberg believes that the good news in America has been so consistently understated, he overstates his case. He is not trying to be fair, he is trying to be remedial, by examining that part of the glass that is full, rather than the portion that is empty. It is a perspective that doubtless will be widely welcomed. Wattenberg is of course right when he warns that "for a jittery, unconfident America to throw in its hand would be a global tragedy." But the formulation is a straw man: he does not think for a minute that this will happen because the nation's fate is securely in the hands of his heroes, the American people. ". . . These people can cope," he says unequivocally. Indeed, the fact that Americans have coped so well in what even Wattenberg admits are troubled times "may be the most valued jewel in the diadem of American success."

HARRY BENSON



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CROWDS OF AMERICANS SAVORING THE SUMMER FUN AT CONEY ISLAND BEACH

The evidence of the data is the evidence of progress, growth and success.

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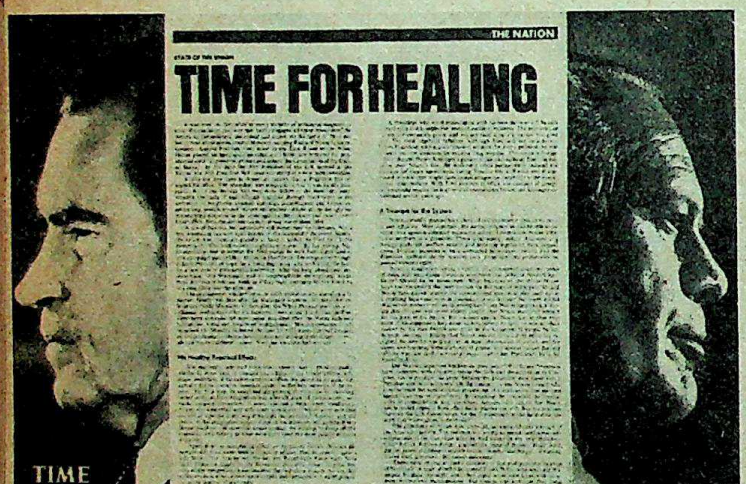
The New Team: Rocky's Record

To the Editors:

You state that Nixon's departure "was an extraordinary triumph of the American system" for which the nation can "permit itself some self-congratulation." If Nelson Rockefeller is confirmed as Vice President, the self-congratulation may have been premature, since Rockefeller's record indicates that he is fully capable of continuing the Nixon legacy. Consider that Rockefeller:

▶ Justified the Attica massacre on the basis of the prisoners' threat to the "sovereignty" of New York State.

▶ Sponsored a simplistic drug-offender law in New York that sounded fine as a matter of tough law-and-order public relations but in practice has proved ineffective and unenforceable.



▶ Skirted restrictions against political activities by tax-exempt organizations by using such organizations as a source of political research and personal publicity.

▶ Attacked the most defenseless members of society ("welfare chiselers") to attract right-wing support.

▶ Immersed himself so thoroughly in his strategy to be elected President that he could not, or would not, comment on the two greatest issues of the decade—Viet Nam and Watergate.

Nelson Rockefeller is Richard Nixon with a bank account.

J.H. Duffy
New York City

■

What a great society in which we can have a Ford as No. 1 and a Cadillac as No. 2!

Allen R. Derr
Boise, Idaho

■

What America needs is a Roosevelt. What we have got is a Coolidge. Ford will be immobilized by a massively Democratic Senate, and serves little purpose except to keep the seat warm for Kennedy or (I hope) Rockefeller. It is, though, unfortunate that we have to put millionaires in the presidency to assure that we will not be robbed.

Harold Kempner
Helsinki

Don't Hobble The Presidency

In the aftermath of Watergate, attempts will be made to diminish the power of the presidency. I would caution against any action that would severely restrict the President in effectively leading the nation. There are, of course, lessons to be learned from Watergate, but I believe that there is no substitute for a strong presidency. To suggest that presidential advisers require Senate confirmation and that all presidential discussions, records and documents be subject to congressional scrutiny would, in my judgment, be sheer folly.

Certainly our system of checks and balances is essential and must be maintained. Recent congressional action limiting the President in the exercise of "war powers," prohibiting presidential impoundment of appropriated funds, assuring an adequate congressional role in the budgetary process, along with the impeachment process itself, assures this.

However, it also must be noted that the Supreme Court in its recent "White House tapes" decision recognized the concept of Executive privilege. Of course no such privilege can apply where there are charges of criminality, but Executive privilege must apply to the President's relationship with his top advisers in the conduct of his office.

We must have a strong President who is an effective leader. Throughout our history, Presidents have strengthened the office by utilizing its power to lead our nation, and historians have termed them "great," for they knew, as we now know, that if the President does not lead, there will be no leadership.

Lawrence F. O'Brien
Washington, D.C.

The writer was formerly special assistant to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, Postmaster General and Democratic national chairman. His memoirs, No Final Victories: A Life in Politics from John F. Kennedy to Watergate, *will be published in October.*

■

Accepting Responsibility

As a conscientious objector in the '60s, I was placed in a hospital darkroom developing X rays for two years, working just above minimum wage. For the same cause, a close friend spent six months in prison, leaving his wife and one-year-old child alone.

The best thing Richard Nixon can do is face the consequences of his moral decisions by going through some kind of trial, confessing his crimes and receiving appropriate judgment. Otherwise we will all learn by example that we don't really have to accept responsibility for who we are and how we act.

Jack Cooper
Trondheim, Norway

■

Prosecute him quick before he turns up as a Representative from California —or the junior Senator from Florida.

J. Warner Mill
Alexandria, Va.

■

When the young Roman Republic found itself dominating the world, it became clear that its traditional political system, moral code and institutions were not working properly. Julius Caesar understood this and wanted to act accordingly. That was his genius and his tragedy. Brutus was an honorable man trying blindly to preserve the virtues of yesterday. When his dagger ended Caesar's vision, inadequate concepts and institutions were partly preserved, contributing to Rome's decadence and fall.

By eliminating President Nixon, the American people, politicians and press have once more used Brutus' dagger, not realizing that America's new world leadership, if expected to survive, has to disentangle itself from the obsolete Main Street morality code now in use.

Ernesto Barreda
Málaga, Spain

A New Openness

Watergate raised troublesome questions in the public mind: Can citizens ever really know what is going on in their Government? Can they ever really call it to account? Can they prevent the use of their own instruments of self-government to coerce and harass them? Has the public process been wholly corrupted by the underground link between money and politics? Does the Constitution effectively secure our liberties?

President Ford can set a new tone of openness and accountability at the federal level, but he must do it through specific acts. Congress will soon pass a bill for public financing of presidential campaigns. Mr. Nixon said he would veto any such bill. If President Ford signs the bill into law, that will

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...ds to clean up the political process. He can take a further step by call... on Congress to pass a strong lobby ...egistration law. He can immediately is... an Executive order instructing agen... officials to publish a log of every con... they have with lobbyists. If he wants ...en Administration, he can ask ...Congress to join him in a review of the ...tter of every secret police and in... activity in Government, to ...ake certain that they are under effec... congressional oversight and operate ...within rules that protect our freedoms.

These are examples of the concrete ...eps to be taken. Either we learn the les... of Watergate or we don't.

John Gardner
Washington, D.C.

The writer, chairman of Common Cause, was Lyndon Johnson's Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

■

In his remarks on Watergate James MacGregor Burns states that the nation needs a "much simpler procedure for im... peachment—a more expeditious way." Nothing would cripple the presidency more than a simple and expeditious im... peachment procedure, a procedure that was designed to be, and should be, ponderous, slow and difficult.

Roberta Kast
Park Forest, Ill.

...ow the President ...an Beat Inflation

In his 1969 State of the Union mes... sage, President Nixon said that our na... tional priorities were Viet Nam, infla... tion and the cities. American soldiers were out of Viet Nam, but inflation and the problems of our cities were worse, not better, when Nixon resigned. He failed to improve them not because he did not know how, but because he did not deem it politically wise or possible. Our political process is inherently limited by our dependence on crisis to achieve the public understanding and support necessary to gain basic reform. I worked hard for the re-election of President Nixon because I hoped that in his second term he would do what he was reluctant to do in his first for fear that it would lead to defeat.

Now the reprehensible secret Watergate manipulations have given us a new President. Inflation has reached the crisis stage. President Ford has made inflation domestic enemy No. 1. He has called for a reduction in federal spending and is convening an economic summit conference. Unfortunately, such conferences have been attended in the past by those with a vested interest in outdated policies—policies that originally made the consumer the boss and beneficiary of our economic progress, but now make him the victim of largely unchecked, monopolistic wage- and price-fixing power.

economic summit must include participants who know how to put the American consumer back in the driver's seat —and I don't mean those who are publicity-minded or politically oriented like Ralph Nader, no matter how many minor abuses they have attacked. I mean individuals who know that there are only two fundamental ways of effectively disciplining the American economy: competition or Government control.

President Ford faces a momentous decision: whether to strive for the modernizing of our competitive-enterprise policies or drift toward a governmentally controlled economy. Unless he fights inflation in the right way, we will go down the road to economic shackles and see an end to our economic superiority and world leadership.

George Romney
Bloomfield Hills, Mich.

The writer, formerly Governor of Michigan and Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in Richard Nixon's original Cabinet, now heads the National Center for Voluntary Action in Washington, D.C.

Glory Be to Gloria

The ordination of eleven priestesses will require only a modest change in our liturgy: Glory be to the Father, Son, Holy Ghost, Gloria Steinem, Jane Fonda, Bella Abzug, *et al.*

(The Rev.) Anthony J. Mattes
Aston, Pa.

A Plea for the Yankee Mules

Re your story on the "Yankee mules": I am the mother of a girl imprisoned in the women's penitentiary at Los Reyes, Mexico. My daughter made a big mistake; has endangered her life and has lost the two little children she was trying to support (probably one of the reasons she was enticed into this). She was imprisoned in November 1972 and not tried or sentenced until May 1974.

When I was allowed a visit, I saw swollen faces, tears that would not stop and bodies so sore you could not touch them after their beating by the Mexican lesbians. The consulate's standard reply is to say how much to blame the prisoners are and how little it can do. It is time to do more than tsk! tsk! It is time for the problem to be made the subject of negotiation between high officials of the U.S. and Mexico.

What will be accomplished by leaving these prisoners (young men and women capable of carrying on a useful, normal life) there without any rehabilitation program, without adequate food, without hope of fair treatment? Will it help that much in stopping the drug traffic? I abhor drugs and anything akin to them, but if someone could interview these girls and boys, I think they would find that they would be most happy to use their energies in any kind of anti-drug program to save other young people from this fate.

(Mrs.) Elina Shirah
Billings, Mont.

■

The "sad" plight of the drug smugglers will undoubtedly evoke many letters from sob sisters and bleeding hearts, but mine isn't one of them. They deserve everything they get and then some. I much prefer the treatment handed out here in Iran for dealers in hard drugs. They put 'em against a wall and shoot 'em. Long live the Shah!

Robert S. Speight
Tehran

Expediency of the Moment

U.S. foreign policy has historically been based on integrity, morality and fairness, and friends and allies of the U.S. could rely on the historic and valued bonds of amity and mutual trust, understanding and support. Under Kissinger, however, expediency has become the key word of U.S. foreign policy. Historic and valued bonds are questioned, ignored or even severed if expediency so dictates. This shift may have been felt by such nations as Israel, Taiwan and South Viet Nam, but to the people of Greece it has proved a calamity.

It is no exaggeration to say that the U.S. was Greece's most cherished friend and ally. Yet Turkey is today considered more valuable militarily. This, to Kissinger, is reason enough to favor and support Turkey and refuse a helping hand to Greece. Assertions that Kissinger has followed an evenhanded policy in the Cyprus crisis cannot be taken at face value.

Neutrality and passivity in a situation in which Turkey has invaded Cyprus with 40,000 troops and 300 tanks, repeatedly strafed populated areas, broken three cease-fires and driven tens if not hundreds of thousands of Greek Cypriots from their homes causing thousands of casualties can be termed no other than a pro-Turkish policy. The danger to Greece is very real. But is there not also a danger to the U.S.?

A foreign policy that is not based on principles, integrity and morality cannot survive the test of time. Today it is Greece that is being forced to question its bonds with the U.S.; tomorrow may it not be Western Europe or some other allies?

E.G. Embiricos
London

Mama Deserved More

Really now, referring to Cass Elliot as "gargantuan"—what in the world does that have to do with her sad, accidental death? She was a dear, sweet, classy lady who deserved much more from your writers.

Becky Knox
Jacksonville

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BRUCE—CAMERA 5

DANIEL & CAROL MORREALE (HOLDING BABY) AT BAPTISM ON MARLBORO CHURCH STEPS

Sins of the Mother

For Carol Morreale, 20, and her husband Daniel, 23, the second Sunday of August was to have been a day of celebration. On that day the couple had planned to take their three-month-old son Nathaniel to Immaculate Conception Church in Marlboro, Mass., for his baptism as a Roman Catholic. Guests were beginning to gather for a gala baptismal party. Then the phone rang: a call from Father John J. Roussin, assistant pastor of the church. Was she the same Carol Morreale who had been quoted in a Marlboro newspaper as supporting the establishment of an abortion-information clinic in the city? She was. In that case, warned the priest, "there might be some problems."

So there were. When the couple arrived at the church, Mrs. Morreale was told that her son would not be baptized unless and until she withdrew her support of the proposed abortion clinic. Roussin and the church's pastor, Monsignor Francis X. Meehan, feared that her views on abortion so seriously contradicted church teachings that the child could not be brought up as a believing Catholic. They may have misunderstood Mrs. Morreale, who says she does not favor abortion herself, only the right of others to choose it. But one church canon does enjoin priests from baptizing an infant unless they are assured that at least one of the parents will raise the child in the Catholic faith,* though the law is seldom so rigidly applied.

What exacerbated the issue for the Morreales was a bitter local battle over abortion in their heavily Catholic (80% of the 30,000 population) town of Marlboro. The antis were lined up solidly behind a proposal to ban abortion clinics in the city. The defenders of the clinics, some of them Catholics like the Morreales, were led by an outsider, Abortion Advocate William Baird of Long Island. After their baby's baptism was halted, the distraught Morreales called Baird for advice, and he flew to Boston eager for a public showdown. Unfortunately, perhaps, the archdiocese of Boston was in a mood to oblige.

Church officials first quietly offered the Morreales a compromise: the baptism would be allowed if Mrs. Morreale would privately drop her support for Baird. She refused, because "it felt somehow like a bribe." Boston's archbishop, Humberto Cardinal Medeiros, told a TV newsman that no priest in the archdiocese would baptize the child unless Mrs. Morreale backed down. Baird countered with a dramatic nationwide call for a volunteer to perform the baptism.

Locked Doors. Last week the Morreales got their volunteer, another controversial outsider: New York Jesuit Priest Joseph F. O'Rourke, 36, an antiwar activist who is now affiliated with Catholics for a Free Choice, a group that disputes the church's teachings on abortion. On the steps of Immaculate Conception Church, whose doors were firmly locked, O'Rourke baptized Nathaniel Ryan Morreale with the ancient formula, "I baptize you in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit." Bill Baird, a former Sunday school teacher who now professes "no formal religion," was invited to make a sign of the cross on the child's forehead.

Some Catholics were chagrined by the embarrassing confrontation. Father Charles Curran, a noted moral theologian at the Catholic University of America, observed that "there is going to be more pluralism in Roman Catholicism on particular moral questions. I disagree with the position of abortion on demand, but I can't say that the teaching on abortion is a matter of faith and a reason to refuse baptism."

In any case, both at the Vatican and in Boston, church officials conceded that the baptism, though "illicit," was a valid Christian baptism. But Monsignor Meehan felt that he had to get in a hard last word. "It seems clear," said Immaculate Conception's pastor, "that the child is not baptized into the ecclesiastical community of faith we call the Roman Catholic Church." That may be one reason why the Morreales, who plan to remain Catholic, are shopping for another parish in which to worship.

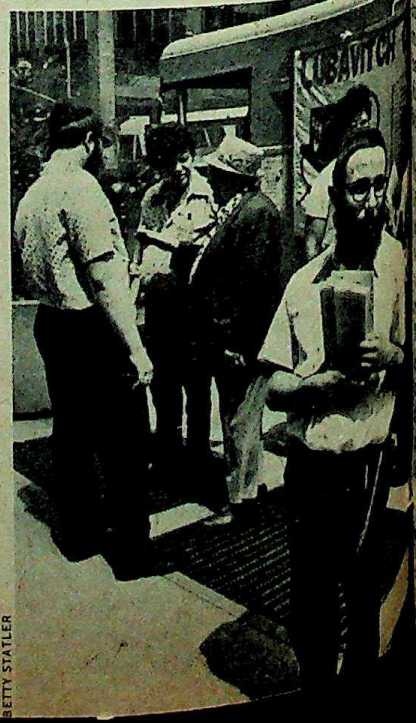
*An exception: if the child is in danger of death, any person—even a non-Catholic—may baptize.

Are You a Jew?

Along Manhattan's Avenue of the Americas, across from Radio City Music Hall, the young men in their black hats and beards stand poised for action in the summer heat. "Are you Jewish?" they ask startled passers-by. "Racially Jewish," is the inaccurate reply of one tanned, neatly barbered man. "But not religiously." "Yes," mutters another hurrying by, "but I don't have time to stop." A middle-aged woman takes the counteroffensive: "So what's all this about?" She waves in the direction of a van parked near by, emblazoned with a banner reading "Mitzvah Mobile." Inside, more young men in black hats and beards are busy talking—and praying—with people they have stopped.

Named for the Hebrew word for "commandment" or "good deed," the Mitzvah Mobiles are a summer project of a unique group of Orthodox Jews who have made it their mission to awaken fellow Jews to Jewish identity and spiritual obligation. They are the Lubavitcher Hasidim, members of an Eastern European sect that now has its international

LUBAVITCHERS AT WORK IN MANHATTAN



BETTY STATLER

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headquarters in Brooklyn.* The
avitch Youth Organization mans
r mobiles with vacationing Yeshiva
ious school) students and young
gious. Half a dozen vans are on the road
this week in New York City and its sub-
rs and in the "Borscht Belt" Catskills
ort area upstate. The sect also oper-
s vans in other U.S. cities (among
m: Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Detroit,
ami Beach and Los Angeles), and in
ada, Australia and Israel.

To the Lubavitcher leader, Rabbi
enachem M. Schneerson, the trucks
"Jewish tanks against assimilation"
counterattack against the secular-
ion of Jews in modern society. The
mediate aim of the young men in the
tzvah Mobiles is to persuade Jews to
eturn to observance of five basic *mitz-*
that, they say, epitomize the 613 com-
ndments of traditional Jewish Law.

God's Unity. Two of the command-
nts encompass the Law itself: a duty
study the Torah—Jewish teaching
and to keep Torah books (the Pen-
teuch, the *Psalms* and the Jewish
yer book) in the home. A third com-
nds Jews to give charity, and as a re-
nder the Lubavitchers pass out char-
boxes to be kept and filled in the
me. A fourth commandment requires
householder to keep on each doorpost
except that of the bathroom) a *mezuzah*
a small container holding a handwrit-
parchment with a scriptural passage
the unity of God.

The fifth commandment requires a
monstration for many who visit the
s: putting on *tefillin*, the phylacteries
t Orthodox Jewish males over 13
ust wear on their foreheads and left
ms (near the heart) during weekday
ayer. The *tefillin*—two small leather
xes containing scriptures similar to
se in the *mezuzah* and wound on with
ather thongs—are a sign that the wear-
subjugates his heart and mind to God.
apping on the *tefillin* for the first time
the high point of the Jewish religious
itiation for males, the bar mitzvah cer-
mony. When an uninitiated Jewish
ale drops by a Mitzvah Mobile, the Lu-
vitchers show him how to wrap the *te-*
n, pray with him, and send him on
s way belatedly bar mitzvahed.

The *tefillin* ritual attracts many to
e mobiles. Manhattan Lawyer Paul
erman, 37, went out of his way to seek
t a van, put on *tefillin* and pray. "It
s an opportunity to perform a mitz-
ah," he said, "and I wanted to show
y appreciation to these gentlemen."
re mundane reasons also impel Jews
o the vans. As a thunderstorm broke
er Manhattan one day recently, a
renched mod couple climbed into the
ar of a truck with a plaintive ques-
n: "Got room for two more Jews?"

*Hasidism is a mystical, enthusiastic and ritual-
ic movement in Judaism that first appeared in
8th century Europe. The Lubavitchers, the larg-
st of the Hasidic sects today (a claimed 500,000
embers and sympathizers worldwide), take their
me from the White Russian town of Lubavitch
here the movement began.

Tube-It-Yourself

Some day, predicted Andy Warhol a few years ago, "everybody will be famous for at least 15 minutes." Thanks to the Federal Communications Commission, such universal celebrity may soon be possible. In 1972 the FCC ruled that all cable-television stations entering the top 100 market areas in the U.S. and having more than 3,500 subscribers must provide at least one channel for the exclusive use of the public on a first-come, first-served basis.

"It's like an electronic Hyde Park speaker's corner," said Shirley Simmons, a member of an off-off-Broadway repertory company planning to perform on public access. Indeed it is. Anyone can walk through the cablecaster's door, sign up for an available time slot, and go on the air (or, more precisely, through the wire) with any kind of show: Tom's neighborhood news, Dick's consumer reports or Uncle Harry's rendition of *I'll Take You Home Again, Kathleen.*

Public access is strictly do-it-yourself. Cable operators are required to provide the hardware—studio facilities for live programming or video-camera and editing equipment for taped shows—and the cable time. Some cable companies also provide technical assistance, but few can afford to hire full-time public-access aides. The FCC lets the cable company charge a small equipment fee for programs that run more than the minimum five minutes allowed all applicants, but most stations schedule longer shows at no charge. If openings allow, in fact, even regular weekly shows may be arranged for. Usually the user's only expense is for video tape (about $10 per half-hour).

Although public access is still in its infancy, at least 150 of the 3,000 U.S. cable stations now spend from $50 a month (in Wapakoneta, Ohio) to more than $200,000 a year (New York City) on such programming. DeKalb, Ill., schedules 24 hours a week; San Jose, Calif., 100 hours; in New York City, two companies now offer 600 hours a month.

"The first fear that cable television has about public access is that fringe groups will be the ones to use it," says Sharon Portin of Channel 3 in Lynnwood, Wash. "Our experience has been the opposite." The most active participants are community groups: religious organizations, libraries, ethnic and minority associations.

Public access can never be accused of being monotonous. The schedule in Reading, Pa., has included the regular half-hour *Che-Lumumba-Jackson Collective Black Community News* and a twelve-year-old budding sportscaster's report on the junior stock-car races. Bakersfield, Calif., has programmed square-dance instruction, an environmentalist appeal to save Redrock Canyon and a college spoof called *Stagnet.*

Technical quality on public access is highly variable, from the charmingly erratic to the abysmal. Most cable operators offer instruction in the use of camera and tape equipment. Even so, "it takes a little practice to get the hang of using the camera," notes Joe Collins

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: NEW YORK'S *UNDERGROUND TONIGHT;* POLITICAL PARTY IN READING; BAKERSFIELD VIDEO CLUB FILMING; ORLANDO'S PATTERSON



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of Orlando, Fla.'s Orange Cablevision. But stations encourage novices to air their efforts. Thus Orlando has recently seen one Warholesque half-hour that consisted of a man cutting down a tree, and another that zeroed (or zigzagged) in on the ducks around Lake Eola.

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LOUIS GOLDMAN



BRUCE THE MECHANICAL SHARK ON LOCATION OFF MARTHA'S VINEYARD IN *JAWS*

Introducing Bruce

What is bigger than a bakery truck, has skin like sandpaper, three rows of pointy white teeth and beady black eyes? Of course, it is Hollywood's newest star: a 25-ft. mechanical great white shark named Bruce.

Bruce was born, or built, to play the title role in the film version of Peter Benchley's bestselling novel *Jaws*, about a beach resort beset by a rampaging shark. The producers would like to keep their star under wraps. "It's like *The Exorcist*," says Director Steven Spielberg. "If everybody knew that that kid was really vomiting pea soup, they wouldn't have been shocked." Anyway, much of the movie's shark footage will use real fish. Bruce is for close-up action of limb tearing, boat bashing and man eating that will inspire "40 minutes of uninterrupted terror and excitement."

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Seen from their off-camera sides, however, Bruce's right and left look more like cutaway drawings of an old Messerschmitt 109. Each has a 25-ft. spine of tubular and spring steel, painted a decidedly unsharklike yellow, and 50 bright green, double-jointed ribs housing some 500 ft. of plastic tubing, 25 remote-controlled valves and 20 electric and pneumatic hoses.

The one-sided Bruces are operated from an underwater platform with a huge, cranelike arm. Hydraulically powered and manipulated by the arm, Bruce is agile enough to sink a ship, which Jaws does. All-Around Bruce, known as the "free-floater," is controlled by a towing boat with a 300-ft. pneumatic line. That Bruce, says Creator Mattey, "has unlimited running room, like a person on water skis being pulled on the open sea."

Even though the new star is coddled with his own 200-ft. by 75-ft. "Shark City" workshop and a corps of 23 crewmen in daily attendance, all of Bruce's schizoid personae are temperamental. He has a shocking tendency to corrode after his daily salt-water swishing. His grainy skin is subject to sun bleach too, so every week he needs a new epidermis. When not skillfully supervised, in fact, Bruce simply gets out of hand. Three weeks ago, during a difficult diving scene, he hauled off and rammed headfirst into his control platform. His nose job took a week, adding another delay to an enterprise already two months behind schedule.

But Bruce's performance, say the producers, is worth enduring all his vagaries. The first time out, as Bruce blandly "tore apart" a fellow actor, even the hard-crusted crew burst into applause. On a later occasion, as Bruce "tore apart" a victim, Actor Chris Rebello, playing the son of the town's police chief, burst into terrified tears.

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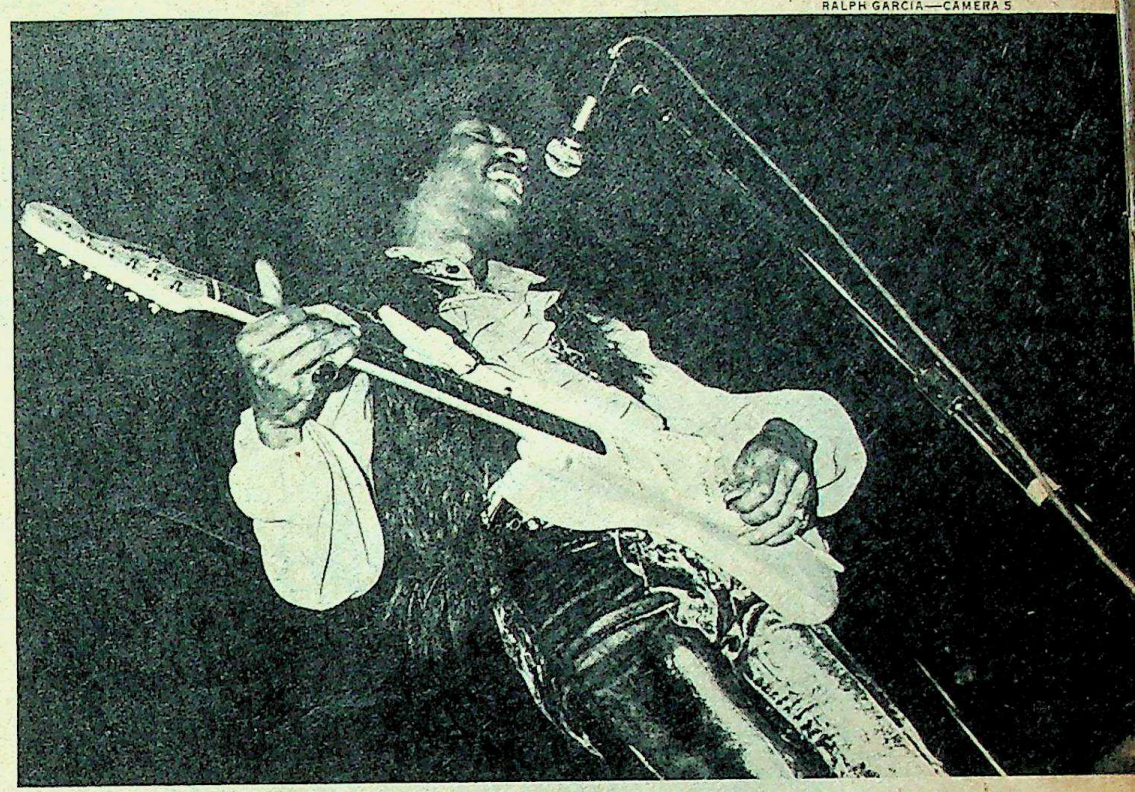
e Giant's Son

is mother called him Wolfgang deus Mozart Jr. Why not? He was second surviving son of a great com- , and it was a name certainly worth ring. The only problem was that Mama made the decision, the boy well along in childhood and already name: Franz Xaver. Wolfgang Jr. plain Franz? It was a dilemma plagued the young Mozart most of (1791-1844). Having studied with notables as Hummel and Salieri, was a talented enough musician to his piano debut at age 13. Yet was not another Wolfgang and ld not push himself. His mother stanze, whose ambitious nature may rtly explained by the fact that her band's death left her impoverished, to resent her son's lackadaisical re. "Although he gets help on all " she wrote to Franz's older broth- Karl, an Austrian government offi- "he does almost nothing unless he rced."

Bouncy Spirits. The pity of it is that anz did have talent. Last week in New k at Lincoln Center's Mostly Mo- Festival (Wolfgang Sr., that is), lis- rs got a rare chance to hear Franz's *ano Concerto No. 2 in E Flat, Op. 25*. e soloist was the eminent Gary Graff- , that master of diverse styles for om the score was reconstructed and ad from the original edition by the w York composer and musicologist uglas Townsend.

Apparently written in 1818, when anz was 27, the work shows the un- akable influence of the concertos tten by the elder Mozart a genera- before. But then so did most ev- hing written in the post-Mozart era. at is interesting about Franz's con- o is the way it has absorbed some of innovations of Beethoven and Web- and gone on to anticipate some of expressive, warm-blooded styles that uld be heard later from the leading rman romantics. There is a point in first movement, for example, when piano becomes a discreet accompa- ist (arpeggios mostly) and the clarinet es a solo: pure Schumann. The pi- 's entry in the second movement has ride and harmonic ingenuity pro- ic of Chopin.

Obviously, Franz knew his trade and the latest trends. The *Concerto in E* r (one of his father's favorite key sig- tures, by the way) makes up for a cer- lack of profundity with its bouncy d spirits and melodic charm. Franz erformed it frequently as a concert pi- ist, and if he was able to bring it off as cleanly as Graffman did last week, he ust have had a first-rate keyboard chnique. He also played (and revered) music and quite clearly was



RALPH GARCIA—CAMERA 5

GUITARIST JIMI HENDRIX PERFORMING AT MANHATTAN'S FILLMORE EAST IN MARCH 1968

Back at the Electric Lady, he bent and stretched the notes.

burdened by the comparison. Finally he had to get away from it all and, still in his 30s, exiled himself to a life of teaching and conducting in what is now the Ukrainian city of Lvov. He died at 53 in Karlsbad, where he had gone to take the cure. In death as in life, he was proof of the words that would later be uttered by Richard Wagner's sole male heir, Siegfried: "You don't know how difficult it is being the son of a giant."

The Hendrix Tapes

What Mick Jagger and other *doyens* of the mid-1960s rock era had merely hinted at, Jimi Hendrix delivered right onstage. His hair frizzled as though by electricity, his scarves and sashes bobbing over sequined vests and velvet jackets in foppish disarray, he looked like a tripped-out savage impersonating a Carnaby Street dandy. His guitar was a throbbing phallic extension that he would caress, thrust at the audience, then set on fire at evening's end. The music was raw blues blasted out at maximum volume. Bursting on the rock scene in 1967 at the height of the acid-rock movement, Hendrix was a sensation: the first black superstar of mainstream rock. Three years later, he was dead at age 27 of an overdose of barbiturates.

Suicide or accident? It is impossible to know. What has only now been determined is that in the last year and a half of his life he was discontented. As Hendrix seemed to see it, he was a prisoner of his image, his managers and the very blast of sound that had catapulted him to fame. The commercial formula was so successful that his managers forbade any change in it. And so every night that he was not performing, Hendrix would retreat to a recording studio in Manhattan (which he partly owned and called Electric Lady) to play his own kind of music.

Visiting musicians always knew where to find him. Such rock luminaries as Eric Clapton (late of Cream), Stephen Stills (Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young) and John McLaughlin (soon to found the Mahavishnu Orchestra) would drop by. Hendrix would unwind, stretch and bend the notes as he never could onstage. He would make his guitar wail like a lost soul on the Delta. Sometimes it sounded like a horn, sometimes like a violin. Suddenly it would laugh its way to a final cadence. An old bottle-neck blues number might go on for a half-hour.

Tape machines were going all the while. But unrecognized for what they were after his death, some 600 to 800 hours' worth were shipped off to a warehouse and forgotten. Last spring, having issued three posthumous Hendrix LPs and run out of material, Warner Bros. Records asked a former Hendrix producer, Alan Douglas, if he knew of any other tapes. "I sure did," says Douglas, who had spent many an evening at the Electric Lady. "I thought everyone knew about the warehouse tapes." Douglas has listened to 250 hours' worth of reels and thinks he has enough stuff for several albums. For now, he is concentrating on five LPs, the first scheduled to be issued in October, so that all who still care can get to know Jimi's kind of music.

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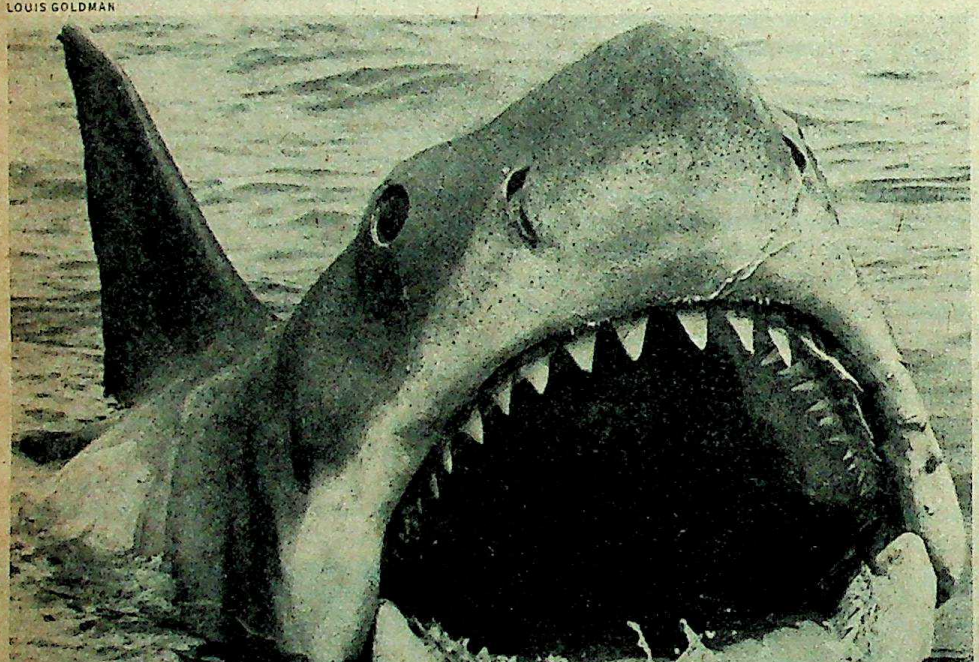
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The Bruces are indeed paragons of piscine verisimilitude. Their gray and white polyurethane skin, sprayed with a fine-grained silica, is authentically sandpapery enough to be the envy of all the lady sharks at sea. Their eyes dart frighteningly, their great tails are fully articulated, and their three-way stretch jaws—with head-and-shoulder roominess—are filled with three rows of pearly polyurethane teeth.

Seen from their off-camera sides, however, Bruce's right and left look more like cutaway drawings of an old Messerschmitt 109. Each has a 25-ft. spine of tubular and spring steel, painted a decidedly unsharklike yellow, and 50 bright green, double-jointed ribs housing some 500 ft. of plastic tubing, 25 remote-controlled valves and 20 electric and pneumatic hoses.

The one-sided Bruces are operated from an underwater platform with a huge, cranelike arm. Hydraulically powered and manipulated by the arm, Bruce is agile enough to sink a ship, which he does. All-Around Bruce, known as the "free-floater," is controlled by a towing boat with a 300-ft. pneumatic line. That Bruce, says Creator Mattey, "has unlimited running room, like a person on water skis being pulled on the open sea."

Even though the new star is coddled with his own 200-ft. by 75-ft. "Shark City" workshop and a corps of 23 crewmen in daily attendance, all of Bruce's schizoid personae are temperamental. He has a shocking tendency to corrode after his daily salt-water swishing. His grainy skin is subject to sun bleach too, so every week he needs a new epidermis. When not skillfully supervised, in fact, Bruce simply gets out of hand. Three weeks ago, during a difficult diving scene, he hauled off and rammed headfirst into his control platform. His nose job took a week, adding another delay to an enterprise already two months behind schedule.

But Bruce's performance, say the producers, is worth enduring all his vagaries. The first time out, as Bruce blandly "tore apart" a fellow actor, even the hard-crusted crew burst into applause. On a later occasion, as Bruce "tore apart" a victim, Actor Chris Rebello, playing the son of the town's police chief, burst into terrified tears.

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e Giant's Son

His mother called him Wolfgang adeus Mozart Jr. Why not? He was second surviving son of a great com- ser, and it was a name certainly worth serving. The only problem was that n Mama made the decision, the boy well along in childhood and already a name: Franz Xaver. Wolfgang Jr. just plain Franz? It was a dilemma plagued the young Mozart most of life (1791-1844). Having studied with notables as Hummel and Salieri, was a talented enough musician to ke his piano debut at age 13. Yet nz was not another Wolfgang and ld not push himself. His mother nstanze, whose ambitious nature may partly explained by the fact that her band's death left her impoverished, e to resent her son's lackadaisical re. "Although he gets help on all es," she wrote to Franz's older broth- Karl, an Austrian government offi- "he does almost nothing unless he forced."

Bouncy Spirits. The pity of it is that nz did have talent. Last week in New rk at Lincoln Center's Mostly Mo- Festival (Wolfgang Sr., that is), lis- ers got a rare chance to hear Franz's *no Concerto No. 2 in E Flat, Op. 25*. e soloist was the eminent Gary Graff- n, that master of diverse styles for om the score was reconstructed and ad from the original edition by the w York composer and musicologist uglas Townsend.

Apparently written in 1818, when nz was 27, the work shows the un- takable influence of the concertos tten by the elder Mozart a genera- e before. But then so did most ev- thing written in the post-Mozart era. at is interesting about Franz's con- o is the way it has absorbed some of innovations of Beethoven and Web- nd gone on to anticipate some of expressive, warm-blooded styles that uld be heard later from the leading rman romantics. There is a point in first movement, for example, when piano becomes a discreet accompa- s (arpeggios mostly) and the clarinet s a solo: pure Schumann. The pi- 's entry in the second movement has ride and harmonic ingenuity pro- ic of Chopin.

Obviously, Franz knew his trade and the latest trends. The *Concerto in E* s one of his father's favorite key sig- ures, by the way) makes up for a cer- lack of profundity with its bouncy spirits and melodic charm. Franz formed it frequently as a concert pi- , and if he was able to bring it off as cantly as Graffman did last week, he ot have had a first-rate keyboard nique. He also played (and revered) sic and quite clearly was

RALPH GARCIA—CAMERA 5



GUITARIST JIMI HENDRIX PERFORMING AT MANHATTAN'S FILLMORE EAST IN MARCH 1968

Back at the Electric Lady, he bent and stretched the notes.

burdened by the comparison. Finally he had to get away from it all and, still in his 30s, exiled himself to a life of teaching and conducting in what is now the Ukrainian city of Lvov. He died at 53 in Karlsbad, where he had gone to take the cure. In death as in life, he was proof of the words that would later be uttered by Richard Wagner's sole male heir, Siegfried: "You don't know how difficult it is being the son of a giant."

The Hendrix Tapes

What Mick Jagger and other *doyens* of the mid-1960s rock era had merely hinted at, Jimi Hendrix delivered right onstage. His hair frizzled as though by electricity, his scarves and sashes bobbing over sequined vests and velvet jackets in foppish disarray, he looked like a tripped-out savage impersonating a Carnaby Street dandy. His guitar was a throbbing phallic extension that he would caress, thrust at the audience, then set on fire at evening's end. The music was raw blues blasted out at maximum volume. Bursting on the rock scene in 1967 at the height of the acid-rock movement, Hendrix was a sensation: the first black superstar of mainstream rock. Three years later, he was dead at age 27 of an overdose of barbiturates.

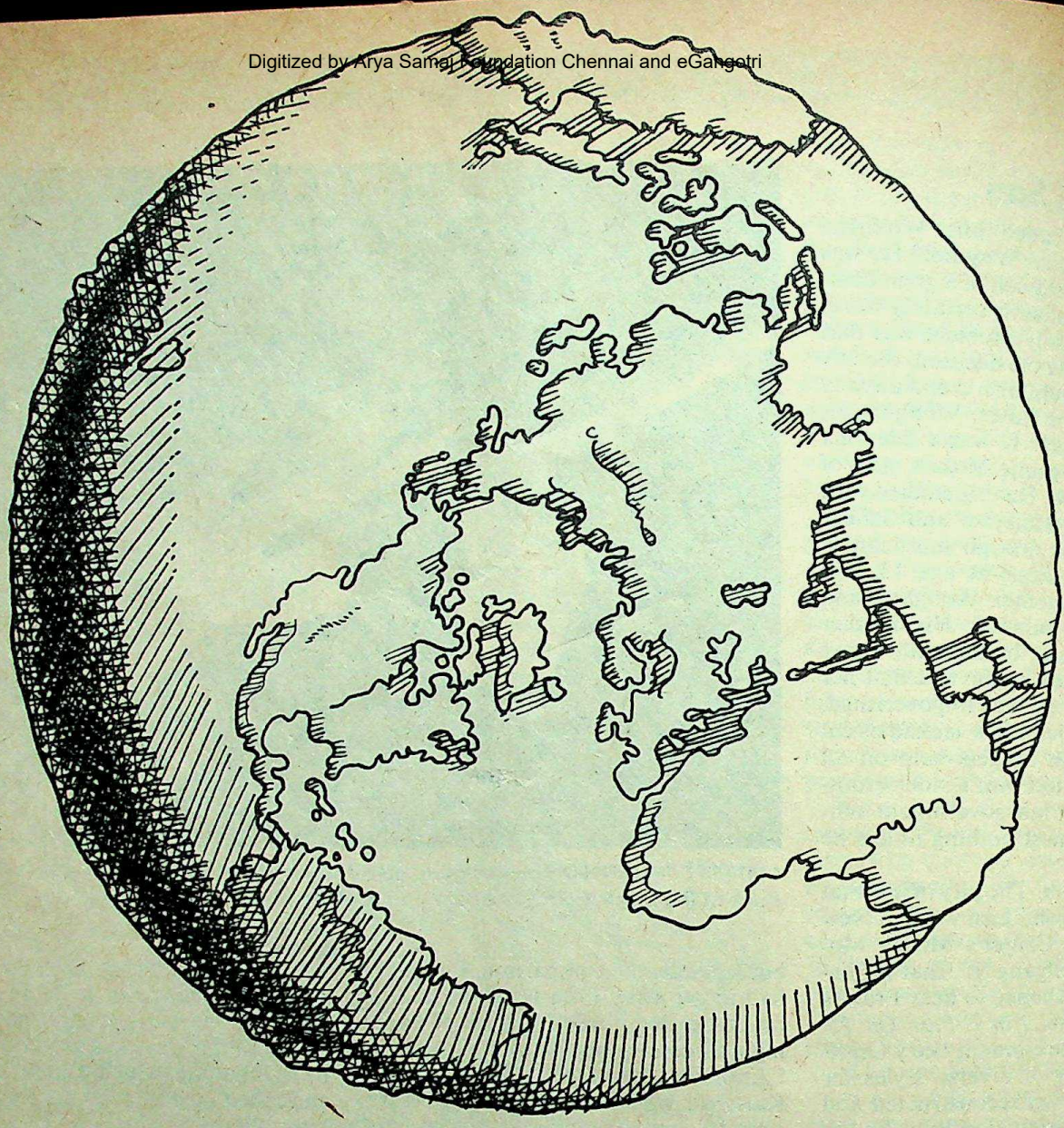
Suicide or accident? It is impossible to know. What has only now been determined is that in the last year and a half of his life he was discontented. As Hendrix seemed to see it, he was a prisoner of his image, his managers and the very blast of sound that had catapulted him to fame. The commercial formula was so successful that his managers forbade any change in it. And so every night that he was not performing, Hendrix would retreat to a recording studio in Manhattan (which he partly owned and called Electric Lady) to play his own kind of music.

Visiting musicians always knew where to find him. Such rock luminaries as Eric Clapton (late of Cream), Stephen Stills (Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young) and John McLaughlin (soon to found the Mahavishnu Orchestra) would drop by. Hendrix would unwind, stretch and bend the notes as he never could onstage. He would make his guitar wail like a lost soul on the Delta. Sometimes it sounded like a horn, sometimes like a violin. Suddenly it would laugh its way to a final cadence. An old bottle-neck blues number might go on for a half-hour.

Tape machines were going all the while. But unrecognized for what they were after his death, some 600 to 800 hours' worth were shipped off to a warehouse and forgotten. Last spring, having issued three posthumous Hendrix LPs and run out of material, Warner Bros. Records asked a former Hendrix producer, Alan Douglas, if he knew of any other tapes. "I sure did," says Douglas, who had spent many an evening at the Electric Lady. "I thought everyone knew about the warehouse tapes." Douglas has listened to 250 hours' worth of reels and thinks he has enough stuff for several albums. For now, he is concentrating on five LPs, the first scheduled to be issued in October, so that all who still care can get to know Jimi's kind of music.

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The New Bronco Breed

Tom Ferguson, 23, is a surprisingly ...l individual for a man who makes ...living as a champion steer wrestler ...d calf roper. Unlike the ornery, un... ...ead cowboys of rodeo lore, he does ...t brawl his way from one prairie town ...e next. His rodeo skills were honed ...on a hardscrabble ranch but on a col... ...e campus. Even so, almost every time ...guson grabs a rampant 800-lb. steer ...e horns to "bulldog" it to the turf, ...moothly lassoes a speeding calf, he ...es in the money. So far this year he ...s already earned more than $50,000, ...ich makes him the biggest winner in ...e sport. Last week he added another ...00 while winning the calf roping ...petition in Coffeyville, Kans., and ...steer wrestling in Abilene.

...n manner, if not in his top-level ...rings, Ferguson is typical of a new ...eed of cowboy that is rapidly trans... ...ming the rodeo from a rowdy range ...tacle to a disciplined, businesslike ...rt. Fully one-third of the 3,000-...mber Rodeo Cowboys Association ...ay have attended college, and only ...f have ever worked on a ranch—ro...'s traditional training ground. For ...m the path upward winds through ...tle Britches" (the cowboy's equiva... ...of the Little League), high school ...petition and eventually college ...ms.* Competitors put up with the se... ...s training regimen in return for the ...h prizes available on the rodeo cir... ...a total purse of about $5 million, ...50% from a decade ago.

...re than 200 colleges, mostly in the West, have ...e teams or clubs, though the National Col... ...Athletic Association does not sanction ...ction because many college rodeos offer ...prizes.



DIRCK HALSTEAD

In corrals from Mineral Wells, Texas, to Deadwood, S. Dak., the basic ingredients of the community-organized rodeo have not changed. Bareback bronc and brahma bull riding, the meanest rodeo events, still delight the fans and break the bones of contestants. Shot into the arena on the back of an insanely bucking bull or bronc, the rider must stay aboard for eight frantic seconds, holding on by his spurs and a rope cinch that he is allowed to grasp with only one hand. If the cowboy survives the frenzied ride, two judges score his effort for degree of difficulty and quality, usually awarding the best performance 75 or 80 out of a possible 100 points.

Special Magic. Steer wrestlers, whose goal essentially is to pin cattle to the ground in the fastest possible time, engage in hand-to-horn combat with animals four times their size. Calf ropers have developed a special magic with a lasso—to say nothing of training their horses to keep the rope taut while the roper ties together three of the calf's legs.

The rodeo is still rock-hard with flinty characters. Wick Peth, 44, could be relaxing at his ranch in Bow, Wash.; instead, he runs around rodeo arenas as a bullfighter trying to keep marauding horned brahmas from impaling riders who have toppled in their path. Earlier this year, Peth was gored in the leg and ripped both Achilles' tendons; three weeks later he was back in action. Malcolm Baldrige, 51, is more fanatical than flinty. Chairman of the diversified Scovill Manufacturing Co. in non-cowboy Waterbury, Conn., Baldrige takes every chance he can get to join the tour and rope steers. "It's cheaper than golf," he says, "and it really relaxes me in a way. I love to compete and I go to win." His office even has a sawhorse with horns attached to one end so that he can practice from his swivel chair.

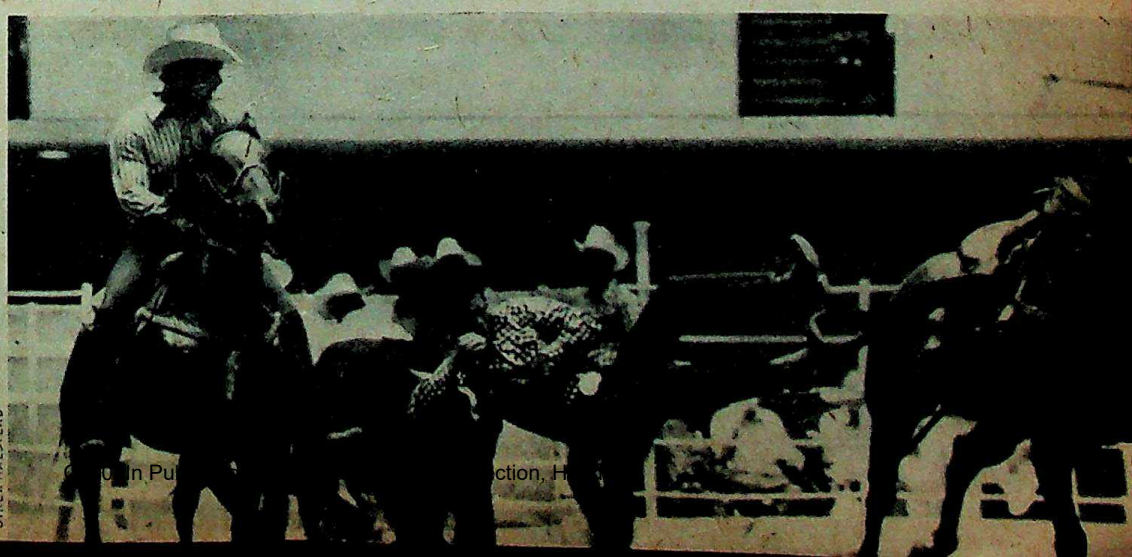
Struggling Cowgirls. "Rodeo is tough," says Steer Wrestler Walt Garrison, who doubles as a Dallas Cowboy running back during the football season. "You got to be in good shape." The cowboys are all business as they wait their turn to compete, watching the action to pick up pointers or carefully dowsing their gloves and chaps in resin to improve the grip. "These fellows have changed a lot," says Frank Barrett, rodeo doctor at Cheyenne Frontier Days (attendance this year: 101,000) for 23 years. "I can remember when cowboys used to squat down and drink up before riding. I treated a lot more injuries then."

Another change is cowgirl competition. The cowgirls have been around for years, but now, instead of performing merely as a side show to the men's rodeo, several hundred female ropers and riders have organized their own circuit. With only 30 rodeos and prize money so limited that the leading competitors earn less than $1,000 a year, the cowgirl tour is struggling to gain parity. "We're out there riding the same broncs and bulls the men are," says top Bareback Rider Benjie Prudom. "There's no reason we shouldn't get paid the same." Indeed, Prudom, a criminal-justice major at Sam Houston State University in Huntsville, Texas, trains as hard as any cowboy, lifting weights (she bench-presses 140 lbs.), doing push-ups and riding. The women's first big payday will come on Oct. 5 and 6 at the Girls Rodeo Association championships in Spring Creek, Nev. The purse: $25,000.

The wear and tear are greater on the men's circuit, where cowboys spend most of their time just "going down the road"—their phrase for traveling to the next competition. Because prize money is spread among the 600 rodeos that make up the organized circuit sanctioned by the Cowboys Association, they have to hit a hundred or more every season to hope to make a living. (Even then, few earn as much as $10,000 a year.)

Larry Mahan, the sport's biggest winner before Ferguson arrived, hops from town to town in his own Cessna

PRUDOM ON BRONC & FERGUSON DOGGING STEER



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310. But Mahan took in $64,000 last year. Nonstellar cowboys endure an endless string of sleepless nights as they crisscross Western highways in their cars and pickup trucks.

No one knows the grind better than Tom Ferguson. Last year he drove 80,000 miles in his 1973 Ford camper to compete in 112 rodeos from Florida to Alberta. In a dizzying week recently, he made three 800-mile round trips to appear in a pair of rodeos in Utah and a nine-day competition in Cheyenne. "If there's a choice between staying one place and going," explains the tireless Ferguson, "I'd rather keep going."

With his $50,000 already in hand and the danger of injury looming in every arena, why does Ferguson keep up the pace? "I guess I just love the competition," he says. "Even if there weren't any money involved or any people watching, I'd still love to rope and ride."

Ferguson started roping chickens and cats at home in Tahlequah, Okla., when he was three. The son of a clothing retailer who was once a steer wrestler himself, Ferguson later attended California Polytechnic State University at San Luis Obispo "because it was a good rodeo school." With him in the saddle, Cal Poly won the national intercollegiate championship three out of four years—and for the period 1967-72, Ferguson won $40,000.

He hopes to keep winning big until he is 40. For now, he sees no reason to think about much else. In that single-minded devotion he is like most other rodeo hands. "I can't really say I'm looking forward to this forever," says one, "but I know that if my ass ain't spinning around off some bronc's back, I just ain't happy or content."

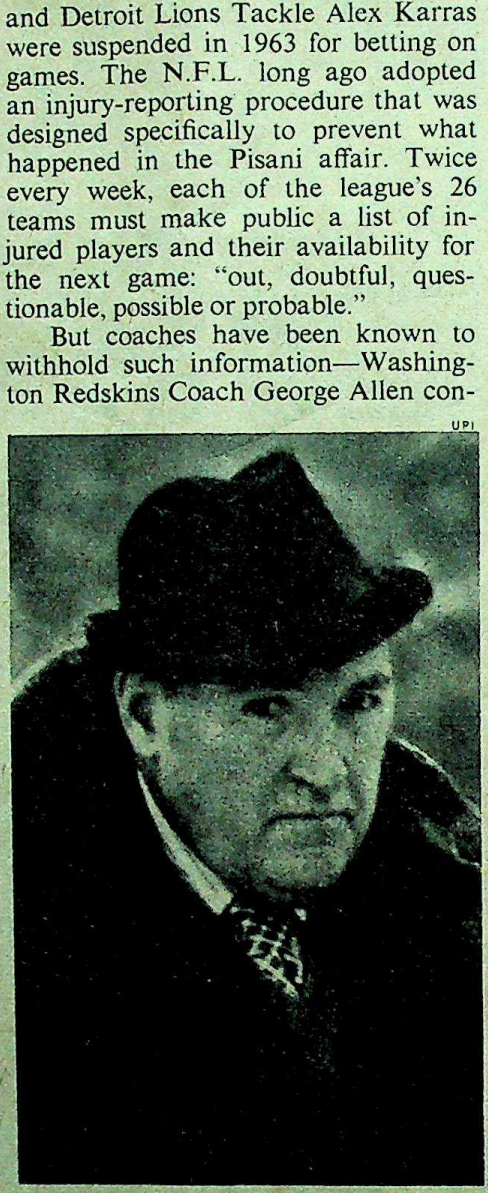
Bookmaker's Dream

In the shadowy world of illegal pro-football betting, they are known as "readers"—informers who funnel inside information on a team's physical and mental condition to bookies and odds-makers (TIME, Jan. 14). Most bookies have to settle for readers who pick up their dope secondhand from players, coaches, owners or even locker-room attendants. Now two big-time operators in New York City stand accused of using the best kind of reader available: the official orthopedic surgeon of the New York Giants.

According to a 40-count gambling indictment handed up in Manhattan last week, two bookies, Michael Astarita and Thomas Musto, conferred regularly last fall with Dr. Anthony Pisani about the "extent and exact nature of injuries" to several Giants players. On each of four weekends, after discussions with Pisani, the two gamblers, both of them reputed Mafia members, are said to have accepted bets in excess of $100,000 on pro games, including the Giants'. Pisani, who was granted immunity in exchange for his testimony, was not indicted. He resigned from the Giants last month after ten years as a team physician.

The indictment stunned the National Football League, which has successfully avoided any direct brush with gambling interests since Green Bay Packers Running Back Paul Hornung and Detroit Lions Tackle Alex Karras were suspended in 1963 for betting on games. The N.F.L. long ago adopted an injury-reporting procedure that was designed specifically to prevent what happened in the Pisani affair. Twice every week, each of the league's 26 teams must make public a list of injured players and their availability for the next game: "out, doubtful, questionable, possible or probable."

But coaches have been known to withhold such information—Washington Redskins Coach George Allen concealed an injury to a starting guard before a play-off game in 1972—and it is clear that bookies are convinced that enough medical data remain unpublicized to make readers valuable. They are probably right.


UPI

GIANTS' DR. PISANI ON THE SIDELINES
The best kind of reader.

The New York indictment charges that Astarita and Musto debriefed Dr. Pisani last fall about the condition of Ron Johnson, the Giants' star running back. Going into a Sept. 30 game against the Cleveland Browns, the injured Johnson was listed as a "probable" player. Partly for that reason, the Giants were rated as 4-point favorites. In fact, Johnson did not play and the Giants lost 12-10. If the bookies knew Johnson would not play, they stood to make a killing by accepting mostly Giants bets. What is good business for bookies is bad business for football. Coming on top of the players' strike, the scandal is just about the last thing the N.F.L. needs.

MILESTONES

Born. To Jason Robards Jr., 52, ... of Broadway's splendid *A Moon for the Misbegotten*, and Fourth Wife ... O'Connor Robards, 38, a former ... producer: their second child, first ... in Greenwich, Conn. Name: Jake.

■

Died. Rodger Davies, 53, U.S. Ambassador to Cyprus (*see* THE WORLD).

■

Died. William Daniel ("Deacon") Jones, 58, who drove getaway cars ... Bank Robbers Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow as a teen-ager in the early 193... and served six years in prison as their ... complice in the murder of a Texas ... uty sheriff, but later claimed that ... pair had threatened to kill him if he tri... to leave them; of a shotgun blast in a ... dawn quarrel with an acquaintance ... Houston.

■

Died. Ilona Massey, 62, golden-haired, Budapest-born actress and soprano; of cancer; in Bethesda, Md. Massey worked her way from seamstress ... chorus girl to operatic leads in Vienna, where at 25 she was signed by an MGM talent scout. In 1939 she played a sultry Russian singer as Nelson Eddy's co-star in the Hollywood musical *Balalaika*, later cut up on Broadway in the *Ziegfeld Follies* (1943-44) and fooled with the Marx Brothers in *Love Happy* (1950).

■

Died. Jacob Bronowski, 66, ... pleat scientist-humanist; of a heart ... tack; in East Hampton, N.Y. A Polish-born, Cambridge-trained mathematician who left a long career in teaching and government service in Britain in 1964 to join the Salk Institute in La Jolla, Calif., as head of its Council for Biology in Human Affairs, Bronowski wrote brilliantly on the role of science in man's self-fulfillment, and the evolution of the human intellect and imagination. Author of *Science and Human Values* and, with Historian Bruce Mazlish, *The Western Intellectual Tradition*, as well as two volumes on William Blake (Bronowski himself was a poet and playwright), the recently conceived and highly rated *The Ascent of Man*, a highly ... claimed television series on the triumphs of the human race, which will be ... in the U.S. this fall.

■

Died. William Ludlow Chenery, ... editor, then publisher of the late ... *lier's* weekly from 1925 to 1950; in ... terey, Calif. A learned, liberal Virginia-born newspaperman, Chenery led ... ailing *Collier's* to a notable comeback by taking vigorous editorial positions (the magazine was an early champion of Repeal) and recruiting big-name writers—H.G. Wells, Sinclair Lewis, Ring Lardner, Zane Grey—at top dollar. In 1939 he signed F.D.R. to a $75,000-a-year contract for regular contributions

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...w Nuclear Odds

...For the better part of two decades, ...Atomic Energy Commission has ...redeviled by a problem of its own ...king. In 1957 it released a report with ...ode name WASH-740. The study was ...of careful qualifications, but its con...sion was clear: an accident at a hy...thetical atomic plant that released ra...active material into the atmosphere ...d kill 3,400 people, injure 43,000 ...ers and do some $7 billion worth of ...perty damage. That graphic example ...probably caused more disaffection ...nuclear power plants than any oth... argument by any nuclear critic, Ralph ...der included.

...Last week the AEC sought to put the ...report to rest forever by issuing ...SH-1400. This new study, a 3,300-...e 14-volume document that cost $3 ...lion and took 60 specialists two years ...research and write, is called *An As...ment of Accident Risks in U.S. Com...rcial Nuclear Power Plants*. Like its ...decessor, its argument is statistical. ...e probability of any conventional wa...-cooled reactor's having an accident ...any given year that might kill 1,000 ...ple, the researchers reckon, is about ...same as that of a meteor's striking a ...population center and killing 1,000 ...ple—1 chance in 1 million.

...As for a less serious accident that ...ght kill ten people, the probability is ...chance in 250,000 per plant per year, ...report continues. Put another way, ...e 15 million people residing in the ...nity of the 109 nuclear plants that ...operating or are under construction ...e U.S., one of them might die and ...might be injured in a radioactive ac...dent over the next 25 years. Concludes ...man C. Rasmussen, the professor of ...lear engineering at M.I.T. who ...ded the research team: "The study ...s to me that these plants do not pre...sent a significant risk to the public."

Rasmussen concedes that the report is bound to be controversial. For example, it does not even consider sabotage as a cause of nuclear accidents, a possibility that especially troubles Ralph Nader. Nor does it investigate the additional risk of accident involved in the new generation of gas-cooled reactors or the next generation of fast-breeder reactors. In addition, anti-nuclear critics like the Union of Concerned Scientists in Cambridge, Mass., vow to scrutinize WASH-1400 for any oversimplification, any error in calculation or method that might discredit the work.

Clean Air Mess

When Congress passed the Clean Air Act of 1970, its aims were laudable: to keep the nation's air clean and to protect the public from noxious fumes. The trouble was that the act's provisions, if strictly enforced, could also end construction of new factories, power plants and smelters that might belch those fumes in areas that now have clean air. Did the lawmakers intend such a curb on economic growth in undeveloped regions? The issue went to the federal courts in 1972, and the basic ruling—one that was upheld in the U.S. Supreme Court—was that there could be no "significant deterioration in existing air quality in any part of any state."

For the Environmental Protection Agency, defining precisely what constitutes "significant deterioration" posed the familiar dilemma of economy *v.* ecology. How strictly could the agency interpret the law without disastrous economic consequences? After months of searching for a solution, the EPA has just proposed that it avoid the issue by passing the buck to the states.

"Final decisions concerning development and preservation should be made by the people," says EPA Deputy Administrator John Quarles. "Their future is at stake, and they can make those decisions most effectively through the governments closest to them." Thus, under the EPA's plan, state and local governments will classify their land into three air-quality categories:

- Class I, for pure-air regions, where no polluting development can occur.
- Class II, for areas where a moderate amount of development will be allowed, if new industry installs the best available antipollution devices.
- Class III, for areas where major industrial developments (again with mandatory pollution controls) will be concentrated and where air pollution will be tolerated up to a national limit set by the federal EPA.

To help encourage economic growth, the EPA proposes to designate all regions where the air is relatively pure—namely, the more than 80% of the U.S. that is still nonindustrial—as Class II. The states would then be able to either upgrade or downgrade the designation after holding public hearings.

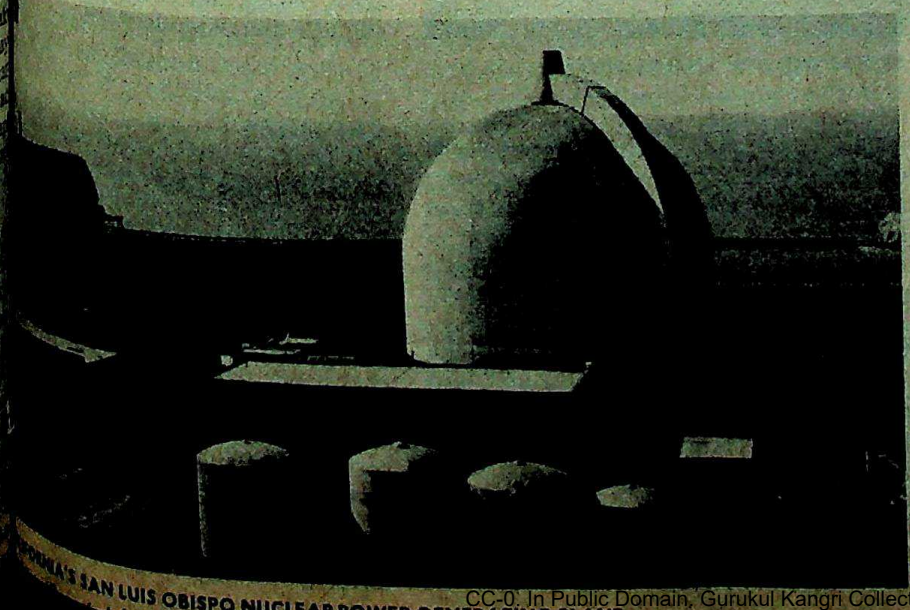
Environmentalists are appalled. Indeed, the Sierra Club, knowing that a Class II designation implies "significant deterioration" of clean air, threatens to go to court to overturn the EPA's plan. Eventually, the increasingly complex issue may be tossed back into the lap of the Congress, where lawmakers may well amend the Clean Air Act to take into account an important factor ignored in the original legislation: economic needs. That kind of uniform federal regulation—coupled with continuing safeguards against overall deterioration of the air quality in the U.S.—would clearly be preferable to the legal confusion invited by the new EPA proposal.

The Dieldrin Dilemma

Nearly 10% of the U.S. corn crop is treated with aldrin, a highly effective pesticide. Both the manufacturer, Shell Chemical, and the Department of Agriculture consider the substance essential to control insect damage in the Midwest corn belt. Recently, after a year of still-unfinished hearings, the Environmental Protection Agency announced that it plans to order a halt in the production of aldrin and a related Shell pesticide, dieldrin. Reason: the chemicals present "extremely high cancer risk."

After it is applied, aldrin gradually breaks down into dieldrin, a durable chlorinated hydrocarbon; the pesticide is long-lasting and requires only one application per year. That makes it more popular with farmers than shorter-lived, less potent pesticides that must be used more often and only at specific stages of the corn plants' growth. Dieldrin's impressive durability, says the EPA, is the very quality that makes it an increasingly serious threat.

From cornstalks and from soybeans raised in fields previously treated with



...FORNIA'S SAN LUIS OBISPO NUCLEAR POWER GENERATING PLANT

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the chemical, dieldrin finds its way into animal feed. Then, because it is readily retained in fatty tissues, it accumulates and becomes concentrated in farm animals. Millions of chickens had to be destroyed last March in Mississippi because their feed had been contaminated with dieldrin. The chemical also washes into rivers and lakes and is ingested by fish. In fact, dieldrin is now found in nearly every edible product in the supermarket. A 1973 market-basket sampling by the Food and Drug Administration shows 96% of meat, fish and poultry was contaminated, and tests by the EPA have found that 99.5% of the population have some dieldrin in their body fat with an average residue level of 0.3 parts per million. Levels build up faster among infants, because the chemical is concentrated in milk.

No one disputes the fact that by now most Americans have a significant amount of dieldrin in their bodies, but there is still debate about whether the levels are sufficient to cause cancer. Mice given food with levels of dieldrin similar to those in human foods have developed cancer, especially of the liver. Shell says that there is no evidence that those results apply to humans; the EPA insists that dieldrin has "unreasonable and adverse effects on man." In addition to the cancer risk, says EPA Administrator Russell Train, dieldrin has been found to hamper reproduction in birds and to cause birth defects and mental impairment in monkeys.

With its 1975 production of aldrin scheduled to begin on Sept. 1, Shell has been granted a hearing on the ban order and hopes for a quick final decision by the EPA. But at week's end, it seemed all but certain that next year corn growers will no longer have aldrin/dieldrin to kill their bugs.

■ ■ ■

At the same time, another agricultural chemical was under attack before a Senate commerce subcommittee. It is Dow Chemical's herbicide 2,4,5-T, which was labeled "Agent Orange" and used as a defoliant in Viet Nam. Though the weed killer can cause "extensive ecological damage," the National Academy of Sciences has reported, there is "no conclusive evidence" that it triggers birth defects in humans.

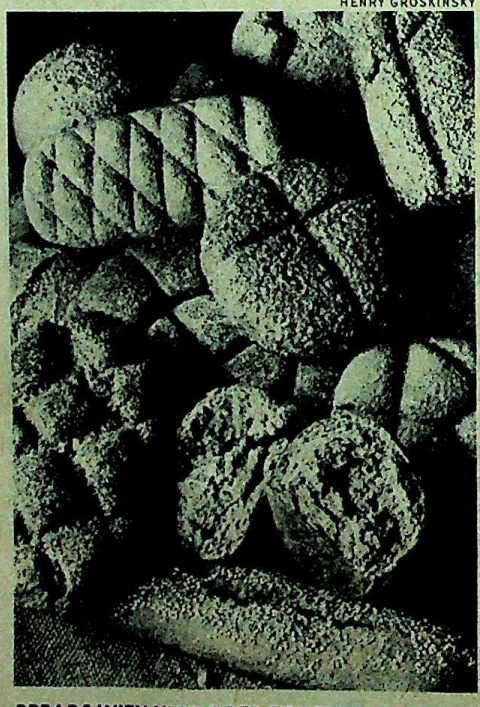
The Environmental Protection Agency, however, is more concerned about a contaminant that often appears as an impurity in manufactured 2,4,5-T —dioxin, which one EPA scientist has called "by far the most toxic product known to mankind." Small animals have been killed and birth defects caused in rats by dioxin concentrations of less than one part per billion—lethal levels so minute that researchers have trouble measuring them. Because of this experimental difficulty, the EPA says it still lacks sufficient evidence to press for a ban on 2,4,5-T. But, using a newly developed method of analysis, the agency plans to continue its investigation.

Fiber in the Diet

American physicians have contended for decades that it does not matter whether a person has one or two bowel movements a day or only two or three a week. Now that view has been challenged by British and South African medical scientists who suggest that what commercials call "regularity" may be a matter of life and death. Too few bowel movements and too little bulk in the stools, they write in the *Journal* of the A.M.A., may partly explain the occurrence of such varied disorders as heart and gall-bladder disease, appendicitis, diverticulosis, varicose veins, clotting in the deep veins, hiatal hernia and cancer of the large intestine.

This provocative idea was conceived by British Surgeons Denis Burkitt* and Neil Painter and Biochemist Alexander Walker in an attempt to explain the differences reported in disease rates between Africans living under tribal conditions and the peoples of Western countries where, they say, there has been a rapid increase in certain illnesses in less than a century.

HENRY GROSKINSKY



BREADS WITH HIGH FIBER CONTENT
Nature's roughest is best.

Medical statistics are admittedly imprecise, and are distorted by improvements in diagnosis. Nevertheless, Burkitt and his colleagues believe that the increases in these diseases are real, and were caused by a change in the type of food eaten in developed countries, particularly in food that reaches the large bowel with the least change: indigestible fiber, the roughest of roughage. Until about 1890, they say, the pound of bread that average Britons and Americans every day contained much indigest fiber; because of more elaborate mill techniques, bread now contains less fi and people are eating less of it. T the researchers say, has affected b the frequency and the nature of th bowel movements, which in turn ha affected their health.

The scientists conducted elabora experiments in which volunteers in E land, India and Africa had their bo movements clocked and their fe weighed. Among the results of the stu peoples living under primitive con tions, on diets high in indigestible fib passed from 2½ to 4½ times as mu feces as sailors in the Royal Navy, a were relatively free of many of the di eases studied.

The ways in which low-weight, slu gish bowel movements might contrib to so many diverse diseases are co plex and indirect, the Burkitt group co cedes. Diverticulosis—in which t large bowel is deeply pitted and fe material is trapped in the crevices—a pears to be directly related to a diet ri in such highly refined carbohydrates white flour and sugar. Tumors, both b nign and malignant, are related to bi chemical and bacterial changes caus by long retention of feces. As for hea disease: "Evidence is accumulating th shows that the removal of fiber from t diet raises serum cholesterol levels, process that predisposes to coronar heart disease."

In short, the Burkitt team says, t physiological function of cereal fiber h been largely ignored because the fib supplies no calories and has scarcely a nutritional value. Now, if the scientis findings are confirmed, the time h come to rely not on commercial chem ical laxatives but on nature's own bran —root vegetables, unpolished rice s such other unprocessed cereals as whea corn, barley and oats—to put fiber ba into the diet of modern man.

*Named for having distinguished a curable cancer of the jaw (Burkitt's lymphoma) in children in some parts of Africa.

CAPSULES

A Swinging Test

A diagnosis of schizophrenia is d ficult at best; identifying a person w may develop schizophrenia in the futu has so far been impossible. Now a U versity of Chicago research team repo that it has found a way, almost as s ple as the hammer-and-knee-jerk re test, to do both. The test involves serving the patient's eye movements he follows the swing of a pendulum.

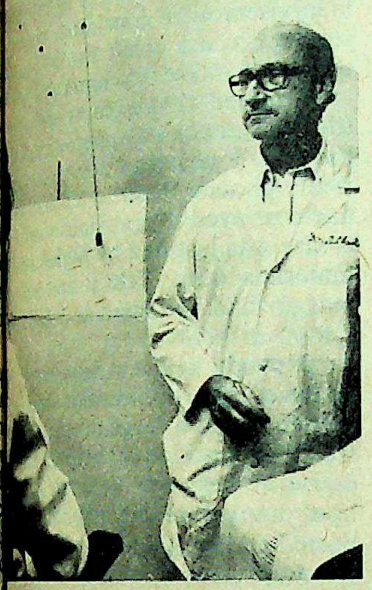
When a person watches a mo object, he uses an eye movement c pursuit, in which the eyeballs move and forth to maintain a stable ima This is no problem for

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...hilip S. Holzman and his colleagues ...ort in the *Archives of General Psy-* ...ry that in schizophrenics this eye ...ement is markedly impaired. It is ...mpaired, but usually not so con- ...ously, in close blood relatives (fa- ...and mothers, sisters and brothers) ...tients—a significant finding, for al- ...igh schizophrenia is not directly in- ...ted, it tends to run in families. If

M. SHIELDS



...ENT, PENDULUM & DOCTOR
...pursuit is impaired.

...chiatrists can identify susceptible in- ...iduals in the first stages of the dis- ...er, they may begin effective drug ...tment early enough to abort the se- ...est forms of schizophrenia.

...greaser's Flush

Mechanics in auto shops, who usu- ...end their day covered with grease, ...wash it off with a bar of strong soap. ...er opposite numbers, the degreasers, ...e a more tenacious problem, accord- ...to the *Archives of Environmental* ...lth. Degreasers are the men who re- ...e the grease used as a protective ...ing on machinery and steel cables. ...y use a solvent, trichloroethylene, ...ch appears to be harmless in nor- ...use; but Dr. Richard D. Stewart and ...egues at the Medical College of ...consin have found that it does not ... with alcohol. After working for ...ut three weeks with TCE, a man who ...s at the corner saloon for a few beers ...couple of boilermakers develops vi- ...red blotches on the face. This de- ...ser's flush is so unsightly and per- ...ent that men who wish to be rid of it ...a hard choice: quit drinking or quit ...job.

...and Angina

The physiological effects of smoking ...juana have been as little document- ...d almost as hotly disputed as the ...ological and social results. Two ...ians at the Long Beach (Calif.) ...firm data for one class of pot smokers: those with angina pectoris, a condition that causes intervals of intense chest pains. Knowing that smoking any tobacco cigarette (even the nonnicotine variety) hastens the onset of angina in men with coronary-artery disease, Drs. Wilbert S. Aronow and John Cassidy tested ten such volunteers with a marijuana cigarette and a nonmarijuana cigarette. Before smoking, the men exercised on a bicycle long enough for angina to develop. Then they rested, smoked one of the cigarettes, and exercised again. After a pot smoke, angina occurred in half the normal time; the heart rate went up from about 72 to 100, blood pressure from 120/81 to 130/86, and the level of carbon monoxide in the blood increased markedly. Few known angina patients may take to pot, but there are many more potential victims who should be forewarned.

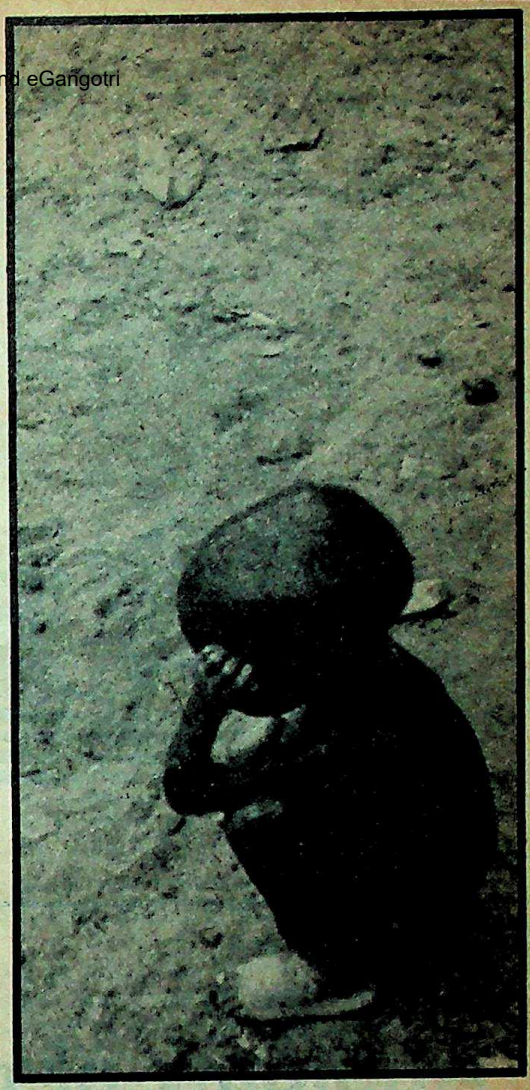
Rating for Emergencies

If a family member is injured or becomes critically ill at home, a standard response is to carry him to the car and head for the nearest hospital. That could be a mistake, says Dr. Oscar P. Hampton Jr., chairman of the A.M.A.'s Commission on Emergency Medical Services, in the A.M.A. magazine *Prism;* the nearest hospital may not be the best in the long or even the short run. Hampton proposes a system of classifying hospitals according to the emergency services they can offer; those with a top rating would be able to handle the most severe, life-threatening situations. The classification would not reflect the care generally available, Hampton emphasizes, because many of the nation's finest hospitals are not geared to handle serious emergencies. It would simply highlight the hospitals that could respond best to an emergency.

Ears and the Liver

The mother of a girl who had her ear lobes pierced in a Seattle jewelry store complained that the jeweler had used soiled instruments. A team of disease detectives headed by Dr. Carl J. Johnson investigated, fearing that ear piercing—like tattooing and mainlining heroin—might spread hepatitis. The jeweler said that he soaked his needles in 70% alcohol, but Johnson pointed out that this treatment does not kill the stubborn hepatitis virus. The team tracked down 48 young women who had had hitherto unexplained viral hepatitis and found that seven had recently had their ears pierced. Not only jewelers but physicians who use only alcohol or benzalkonium solution for "cold sterilization" may be guilty of spreading the disease. Johnson insists that ear-piercing equipment must be boiled for 20 minutes or thoroughly autoclaved at a higher temperature to rule out the danger of transmitting hepatitis.

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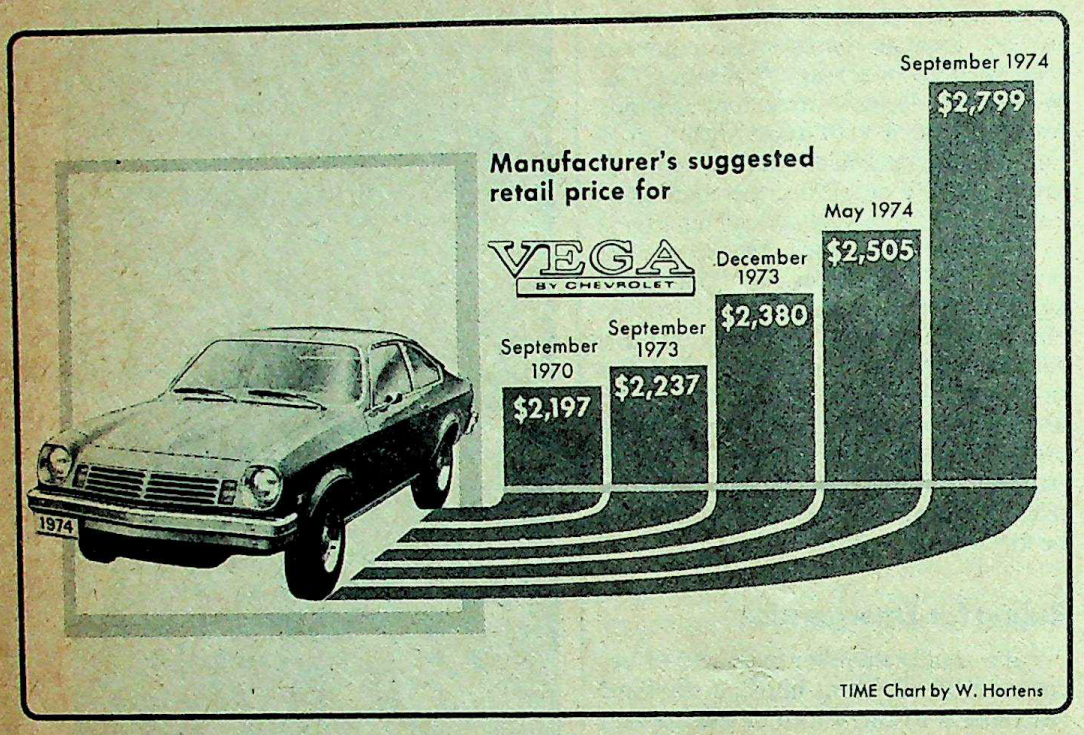
His Name is Today

"We are guilty of many errors and many faults, but our worst crime is abandoning the children, neglecting the fountain of life. *Many of the things we need can wait. The Child cannot.* Right now is the time his bones are being formed, his blood is being made and his senses are being developed. To him we cannot answer, 'Tomorrow'. His name is 'Today'."

Gabriela Mistral
Nobel Prize-winning
Poet from Chile

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PRICES

Anatomy of an Inchback

During a week of continued trouble for the U.S. economy *(see box)*, President Ford's fledgling anti-inflation program won one small psychological victory. In a surprise return to old-style jawboning, the President, on the fourth day of his Administration, had rebuked General Motors for announcing price increases on 1975 model cars averaging a sizzling 9.6%, or about $480 an auto. For a while it seemed that he would be ignored. But last week, after ten days of public stonewalling, the world's largest automaker grudgingly relented—at least a bit.

GM shaved $64 off the scheduled boost. That left the rise at a still substantial—and probably unprecedented—$416 a car. The popular Chevy Vega, an economy car, will go up $294 to around $2,800—25% more than at the start of the 1974 model year. Still, GM's action was enough to stop heavy hints from Ford Motors and Chrysler that they might raise prices even more than GM had. Now, both companies will probably limit their increases.

Officially, the President pronounced himself "encouraged" by GM's mini-rollback. "I am confident," he said, "that this action will be but one of many examples of restraint by management and labor." Unofficially, Ford's economic advisers breathed a sigh of relief. In their view, the Chief Executive had taken an uncalculated, ill-informed risk that unnecessarily put his prestige on the line when the nation's economic woes could least afford a blow to the new Administration's credibility. It is clear that GM recanted mainly to get the new President off the hook.

The events leading to GM's decision began in the final hours of the Nixon Administration. GM Executive Vice President Oscar Lundin and Vice President Henry Welch flew to Washington on Aug. 8—the day of Nixon's resignation speech—for a meeting with Herbert Stein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and Kenneth Rush, Economic Counsellor to the President. Following a decade-old GM practice, they came to give advance notice of the scheduled increase and explain why, in GM's view, it was justified.

Sixth in a Year. Stein and Rush were not happy; the increase would be the sixth for the company since September 1973, and the third since April, when price controls were lifted. But they confined themselves to general talk about the need for price restraint; "I neither approved nor disapproved" of GM's specific plans, says Rush. If Rush had voiced any explicit criticism, says a GM source, then some 13,000 letters that went out later that day announcing the increase to GM dealers might not have been mailed. "The board," he says, "would have had a decision to make about it."

GM broke the news to the public the next day—when most of the nation could think of nothing but Nixon's farewell and Ford's inauguration speech. White House press aides nonetheless began wondering what to say if

at a Saturday briefing asked what the new President thought about the GM increase. The question did not come up. But on Monday, Aug. 12, Press Secretary J.F. terHorst released a statement by Ford, expressing "disappointment" at the size of the increase. Ford apparently acted alone. None of his economic advisers were consulted, and nobody stopped to ask what the White House should do if GM was unmoved.

Stunned GM executives learned of the President's disapproval by reading the Dow Jones news ticker. Lundin hurriedly phoned Rush to tell him what he had conveyed the previous week: the increase was justified by higher labor and materials costs. GM's first-half profit margin had dwindled to 2.8% of sales *v.* 8.4% in 1973.

Nobody in the Administration has analyzed the information supplied by GM to see how large an increase really would be justified. (This is a tricky exercise at best and depends largely on how many cars the public can be expected to buy; the cost of making each car drops sharply as more are produced.) Lundin followed up in a letter on Tuesday, repeating the figures but hinting at a willingness to talk further.

Rush then phoned an old friend, James Roche, retired chairman of GM and still a power on the company's twelve-man finance committee. The two had known each other as fellow businessmen when Rush was president of Union Carbide; later, after Rush became Deputy Secretary of Defe

Worsening

Consumers, borrowers, inv —no one could take encourag from last week's economic news prices shot up in July at a compou nual rate of 10%, a bit less than the pace of 12.6%, but still fright Moreover, the apparent improv was illusory: it resulted entirely fr drop in food that shortly will be re The Agriculture Department sa retail food prices will jump any from 3% to 7% by year's end.

Short-term interest rates surge more, and some California savings loans raised rates on mortgage l high as 10½%. The stock market ed one new four-year low after an the Dow Jones industrial average meted 45 points to close at 68 99 in the first 15 days of the Ford idency. Pan American World A did investors' nerves no good by the Civil Aeronautics Board for mediate subsidy of $10 million retroactive to April, and warn

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served on a committee that stud-
S. reserve forces. Rush's implicit
Give the President a break.
Briefly, GM indicated that it would
by its increase. But behind the
the finance committee, led by
put its staff to work to see where
would be made. One nibble: make
llution catalytic converters avail-
dealers at GM's cost of $111,
ating a possible $19 profit. Final-
din and Welch flew again to
ington on Tuesday last week, to
with Rush and tell him that an
ncement would be made the next
GM Chairman Richard Gersten-
then disclosed the $64 backdown
sometimes petulant statement. "If
industry had a price record equal
t of the automobile industry," he
"the nation's inflation problem
be solved."

Trucks Up. It was a great deal less
famous victory, for Ford or for
mers. GM got most of what it
ed: it announced that it will raise
prices by 10.9%, or an average
per vehicle—that is 1.3% more
it first intended. The company
ed the larger boost on trucks will
set the $64 backdown on cars.
nsberg has offered no assurance
st a second rise on cars later on;
he said, is still absorbing cost in-
ses of $400 a car that have built up
the past three years. Even the pres-
ieved-down increase will be pain-
motorists. Still, President Ford es-
d a potentially damaging defeat and
have learned a lesson. His advisers
now cautioning him: If further jaw-
g of individual companies seems
ssary, don't do it yourself.

Thought Ideas

e it would be "faced with a
its very survival."
new Administration is unlikely
ince any detailed plans to cope
ese ills, at least until the "eco-
mmit" of top Government of-
rporate executives, labor lead-
kers and economists, which will
around Sept. 25. Meanwhile,
dent and his aides are taking a
k at all sorts of policy propos-
old ideas resurfaced to make
s last week: raise gasoline tax-
gal., or $10 billion a year, to re-
nergy consumption and help
federal budget toward a sur-
ually lift price controls from
crude oil to further discourage
e. Neither proposal is likely to
ced by the President at a time
owing price rises is his chief do-
concern, but the two do illustrate
—and controversial—is the
ideas that the Administration

Therapy for Sexists

Since passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, the Government has been able to win big money settlements from major corporations for discriminating against women employees. Today, partly to avoid such costly lawsuits, many concerned employers are trying to do justice by their female workers, but how are they to rid themselves of rigid policies and largely unconscious prejudices formed over decades? That is where Barbara Boyle, 37, and Sharon Kirkman, 32, come in.

Both got their start working to set up "affirmative-action" programs to create a better employment climate for women at IBM, where Boyle (who was married last month) was a marketing manager and Kirkman a data-processing marketing representative. While at IBM, Boyle accepted equal-employment assignments at other companies on a freelance basis; Kirkman left the company to devise an affirmative-action program for the American Express Co. They set up Boyle/Kirkman Associates in Manhattan in 1972, with Boyle as president and Kirkman as vice president. One of a handful of management consulting firms that advise top companies on ways to eliminate practices that discriminate against women, Boyle/Kirkman has worked with such clients as CBS, Pillsbury and Avon.

Never Asked. The Boyle/Kirkman therapy can last as long as 24 months and cost up to $50,000. It usually begins with a thorough search through women's personnel records for patterns of discrimination in such areas as salary and lines of advancement, and continues through interviews with top executives, middle managers and a random sample of female employees. Then Boyle, Kirkman or one of the firm's five consultants (all women) present recommendations to top management. One startling example of bias that they turned up: Kirkman, reviewing the records of 300 women employed by a major oil company, found that all had supposedly expressed unwillingness to relocate if offered a better job. Upon checking, she found that the women had never actually been asked: someone had programmed the company's computer to automatically print out "no" when it came to that question on the personnel form of a female employee. The assumption apparently was made by a low-level male employee who wanted the computer to give standard answers, but it had never occurred to top managers to wonder why not even one woman had ever volunteered to move.

Boyle and Kirkman agree that it is easier to give a computer a new program than to equip a human being with a new perception. The real problem, says Kirkman, "is personal attitudes about women on the part of middle managers, who largely determine whether —and how far—women will rise." In an attempt to get bosses to look hard at their behavior, Boyle and Kirkman have devised a series of play-acting scenarios that they put clients through. In one, a male executive was asked to offer an important but demanding job to Boyle. "He stressed all the negative aspects," she recounts. "How I would be the only woman in the department and away from my family a lot." Suddenly, she says, the manager confessed, "I would never be doing this to a man. I would be telling him what a great opportunity it was." As a result of such sessions, says John M. Martin, chairman of Hercules Inc., a chemical producer based in Wilmington, Del., "many of our managers are weighing factors they had not given real attention to before, such as considering women for outside sales jobs." Realizing that women's own attitudes may block their progress, Boyle and Kirkman also conduct awareness sessions among female employees. After one session at Hercules, a woman echoed the comic-strip character Pogo: "We have seen the enemy, and it is us." Should Boyle and Kirkman succeed completely in changing the male attitude toward women workers, they would put themselves out of their present business. But they are not worried; they figure it will take at least a decade for women to win full equality with men in the corporate world. Meanwhile, the business is lucrative; in their last fiscal year they took in revenues of $300,000 from about 30 clients. They now plan to add five more consultants to their staff by the end of 1975. At least one, they hope, will be male.

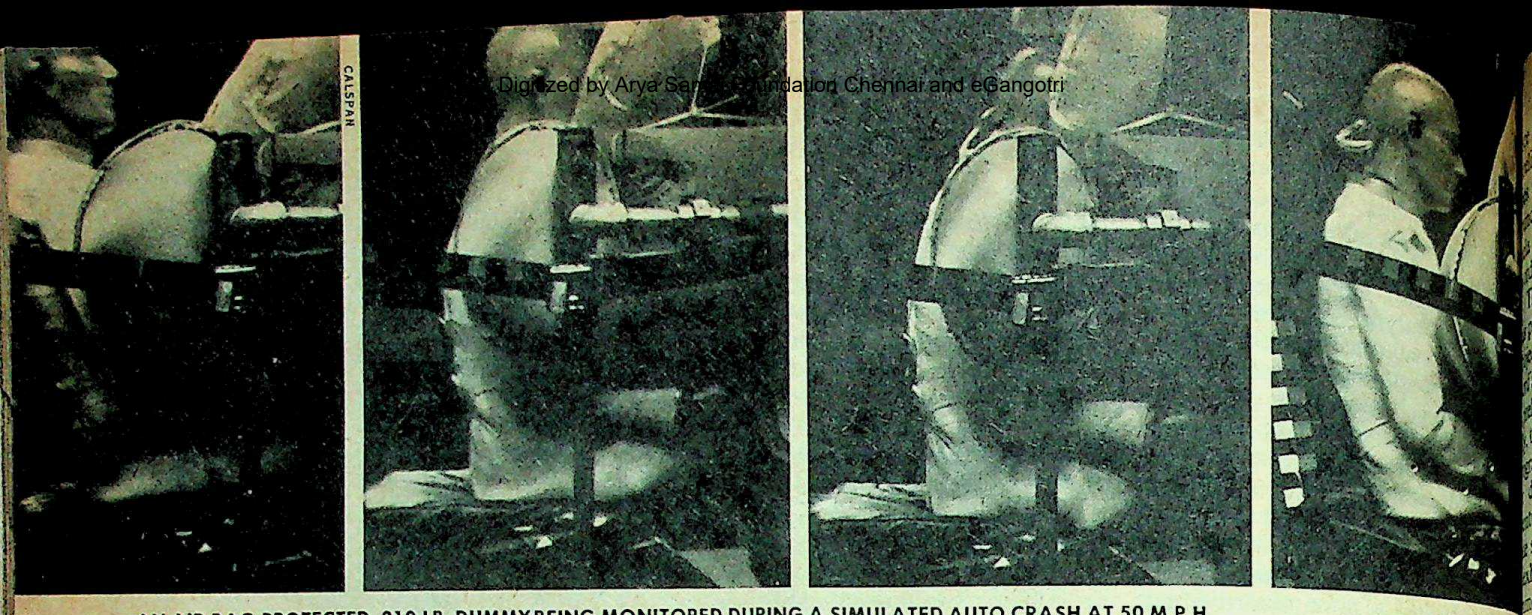


RALPH MORSE

CONSULTANTS KIRKMAN & BOYLE
Deprogramming a no.

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AN AIR-BAG-PROTECTED, 210-LB. DUMMY BEING MONITORED DURING A SIMULATED AUTO CRASH AT 50 M.P.H.

SAFETY

A No to Belts and Bags

Though it is intended to save them from injury or worse, many motorists resent the "interlock" system on 1974 cars, which prevents the engine from starting until the driver and all front-seat passengers have buckled their seat belts. Impressed by the volume and vehemence of constituent mail on the subject, House members voted two weeks ago 339 to 49 to tack onto a Department of Transportation appropriations bill an amendment that would kill the requirement that cars be equipped with an interlock system (and also the annoying buzzer that sounds when a seat belt is unfastened; only a warning light on the dashboard would be required). So far as the debate disclosed, not many Congressmen realized that the amendment also would damage the prospects of what promises to be a much more effective safety device: the air bag.

Air bags are designed to inflate on impact in any crash at a speed of 12 m.p.h. or more, filling a car's front passenger compartment to hold the driver and passengers in their seats, then deflate in seconds after the impact is over. The Department of Transportation wants to make them mandatory on cars beginning with the 1977 model year; the amendment would permit the department only to require that they be offered as an option.

The difference is critical. Even mass-produced as mandatory equipment, air bags would be costly: perhaps $200 a car. If produced only in limited numbers as an option, they would be still more expensive; Ford Motor Co. President Lee Iacocca figures that they might sell for $335 a car. Allstate Insurance Co., in full-page newspaper ads last week deploring the congressional action, said that "only the well-to-do" could afford the price of optional bags. It urged the Congress to reverse the measure and make bags mandatory.

Automakers contend that test data are still insufficient to prove the safety and reliability of air bags. Transportation Department experts disagree. They contend that hundreds of accidents involving air-bag-equipped autos have conclusively shown that bags protect drivers from serious injury even in high-speed crashes. They also claim that tests have banished two early fears about the bags: that they would inflate accidentally when there was no collision, and that they might pop open with such force as to injure children. In millions of test miles driven, that just has not happened. The bags do have some drawbacks: they do not inflate twice, so if a car strikes another and caroms off to hit a guardrail or a third vehicle, the driver would be protected against the second crash only if he was also wearing a seat belt. But the evidence seems to warrant making the bags mandatory.

That still is likely. The House bill must go to conference with the Senate, which passed a bill that said nothing about either belts or bags. The probable result is a compromise under which the seat belt-interlock system would be banished, but the mandatory air bag would be retained.

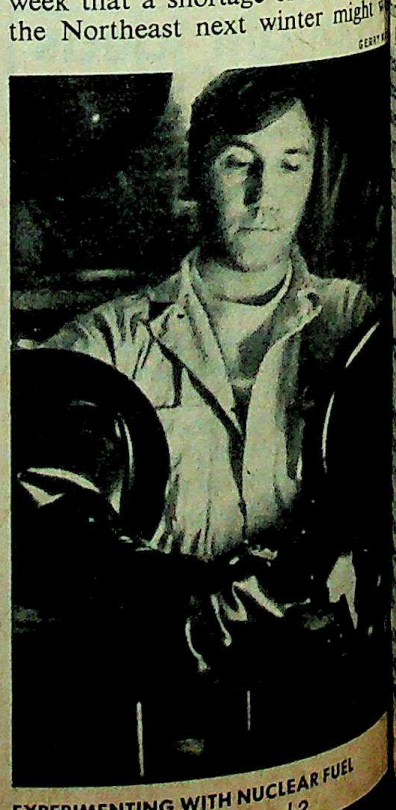
ENERGY

Project Realism

Richard Nixon's Project Independence goal of making the U.S. self-sufficient in energy by 1980 has always seemed impossibly visionary. Still, planning for the project has gone ahead, only now in an atmosphere of far greater realism. Last week Federal Energy Administrator John Sawhill opened four days of Project Independence hearings in Manhattan by acknowledging candidly that the U.S. will always need to import some oil.

Businessmen and prominent public figures who spoke at the hearings were equally frank. One of the most optimistic predictions came from Thornton Bradshaw, president of Atlantic Richfield, who thought that the U.S. could reduce its dependence on foreign oil from 18% of total energy consumption "to perhaps as low as 15% by 1980 possibly 10% to 13% by 1985." Most other speakers, including Sawhill, guessed that the U.S. would be importing 2[illegible] of its oil eleven years from now, [illegible] one third early this year.

Achieving even that degree of [illegible] sufficiency will be staggeringly expensive. Participants in the New York conference estimated that a full-scale effort to spur development of alternate sources of energy, such as nuclear power and oil from shale, and reduce energy demand could cost an astounding $500 billion to $1 trillion over the next ten years. The money would be spent on federal outlays for research and development, subsidies to energy producers and the building of storage tanks to stockpile oil and natural gas. But the dangers of proceeding are also high. Though U.S. energy supplies and demand are temporarily in balance, Sawhill warned last week that a shortage of natural gas in the Northeast next winter might [illegible]



EXPERIMENTING WITH NUCLEAR FUEL
Multibillions for research?

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some factories to shut down. The ability of foreign petroleum sup- was underlined last week by an- ements from Kuwait and Vene- that they will cut oil production to keep prices way, way up.

The Federal Energy Administration promised to have a "blueprint" for Independence on President 's desk by Nov. 1, and to introduce liminary report by Sept. 30. Actu- the blueprint will not be an action gram, but rather a listing of options debate within Government and final White House decision. To facil- such action, the FEA will spell out haustive detail the economic, envi- ental and diplomatic consequences the various options, which it has ten- ely grouped into four categories:

› A minimum program consisting tle more than a stand-by alloca- and stockpiling plan and efforts to rt more oil from the countries least to join in an Arab-type embargo.

› A moderate program of stepped- but relatively conventional federal on: heavy spending to develop alter- sources of fuel and energy-saving es, such as low-consumption en- s and formulation of conservation s for consumers and industry.

› A drastic program of Government to increase energy supplies, re- demand or both. Possibilities: pro- on subsidies to energy firms, eas- of environmental restraints on ore drilling and strip mining, price antees to the developers of new en- technology, and high taxes on en- consumption.

› An ecologically sensitive program g at tough restrictions on such ac- es as offshore drilling and coal min- combined with massive efforts to energy demand and develop envi- entally harmless solar power.

In whatever form such choices are ented to the White House, they will touch off a furious national de- Final decisions may be a long time g. But at least Project Indepen- e has begun to turn from a mere slo- into a set of proposals.

AIN

y Now, Fly Never

Businesses fail every day, but seldom so reverberating a crash as the one has just accompanied the collapse of rt Line, Britain's second largest trav- m. Some 49,000 British tourists, y members of the working class, stranded throughout Europe, the t Union and North Africa. Anoth- 00,000 had to stay home; they lost ely their holidays but perhaps $15 on which had been prepaid, often life savings. "We've slaved, actual- ved, for a whole year, cutting down everything from milk to the pictures," one London schoolteacher. "Now we've lost the holiday and the money. Oh God, what can we do?"

Rumors that other large businesses will go under started a dive in the already depressed London stock market; the *Financial Times* index plummeted below 200 for the first time since 1958. Adjusted for inflation, British stock prices are at their lowest since 1940.

Tory newspapers bitterly attacked Harold Wilson's Labor government. In June, the government agreed to buy Court Line's shipbuilding interests for $37 million, and Anthony Wedgwood Benn, Secretary of State for Industry, assured Britons that the money should provide "reasonable security" to Court

KEYSTONE



COUPLE STRANDED BY TRAVEL FIRM'S DEMISE
Perilously narrow profit margins.

Line's other operations, "including the holidays booked for this summer." Believing him, many more would-be travelers signed up and paid for trips right through the night before Court Line closed its doors. The Conservative Party could hardly have composed a more spirited overture for the national election expected to be held in October.

The collapse came as no surprise to financial experts. The British travel industry has been plagued by undersecured operators, perilously narrow profit margins and cutthroat price competition. In the past five years, 44 firms have folded and many others are in trouble. Last week the collapse of the Tabberer Agency in Birmingham left 800 Britons stranded in Canada and the U.S.

Court Line, originally a shipping and shipbuilding concern, expanded into travel in the mid-'60s and built up its own twelve-plane airline; within the past year it unwisely bought two financially shaky travel firms. The company pursued sheer volume, booking tours so cheaply that they often yielded only $1.25 profit per traveler. When rising airline fares* and economic stagnation caused many Britons to cut back on their vacation plans, costs overtook prices and failure became inevitable, despite the government's rescue attempt.

Last week the government, using an $8.7 million bond that Court Line had posted, pushed a major effort—dubbed Operation Sunburn by some jokesters—to bring Court Line's stranded tourists home. And over Tory jeers that the Court Line affair proved Labor's ineptitude in dealing with industry, the government unfurled further nationalization plans: to take control of all British ports and their ancillary operations and to nationalize the country's two largest aircraft makers, British Aircraft and Hawker Siddeley. So far, though, no plans have been announced to nationalize the tourist industry.

RAILROADS

Can Do—Privately

The Providence & Worcester Railroad is a tiny (50 workers, 75 miles of track) Rhode Island freight hauler that has been beset by more problems than "the little engine that could" of children's fiction. In the past ten years, the giant Penn Central has tried to squeeze it off the tracks, it has lost seemingly do-or-die battles before both the Interstate Commerce Commission and the U.S. Supreme Court, and it has had to tough out an uphill struggle to survive on its own after years of being operated under lease. Today the line appears to be chugging toward the same sort of triumph enjoyed by the children's little engine. The Rhode Island Department of Transportation has in effect recommended that it take over all freight service in the state from both the bankrupt Penn Central and the Federal Government's planned rail corporation, reversing the trend toward public absorption of private rail service. In addition, Massachusetts officials are talking to executives of the line about extending its operations into that state.

From 1892 to 1967, the P & W was leased and operated by the New Haven Railroad, but after the Penn Central acquired the New Haven in 1966, it instructed its new subsidiary to cancel the lease because the P & W did not earn enough money. P & W President Robert H. Eder, an ex-paratrooper and Harvard Law graduate, fought the move, but the ICC decided in favor of Penn Central, and the Supreme Court upheld the decision. The P & W got bank backing and filed a petition with the ICC to operate independently, but the Penn Central about-faced and tried to block the

*The International Air Transport Association voted last week to boost fares on the North Atlantic an average 10% on Nov. 1, on top of three increases totaling 18% earlier this year.

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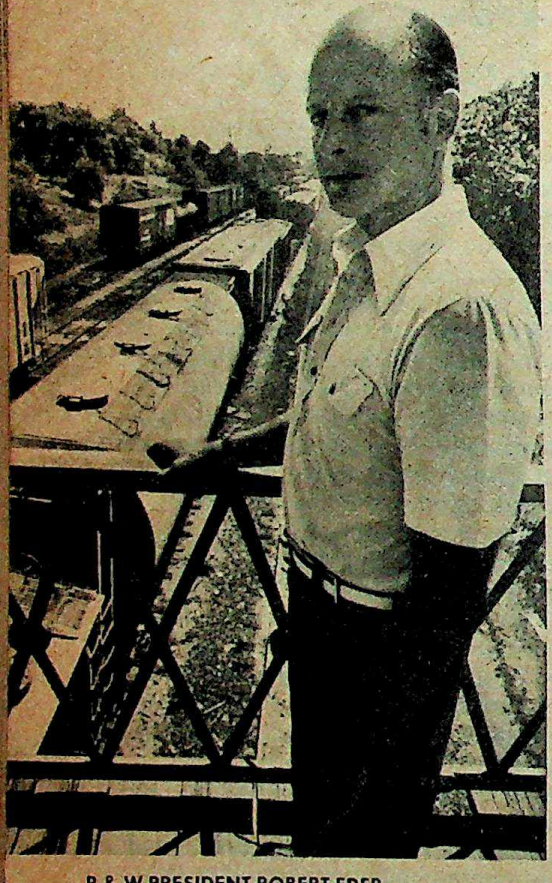
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move, claiming that the P & W lease was too valuable to let go. Shippers nonetheless backed Eder's P & W, and the little railroad began independent operation in February 1973 amid widespread predictions that it would soon go broke.

The naysayers did not take into account Eder's vision and nerve. He struck up such a close friendship with United Transportation Union Leader George Cahill that Cahill now sits in on P & W board meetings. Eder pays a flat, guaranteed annual wage of $16,460 to each of his trainmen, $4,640 a year better than the Penn Central pays, and he plans equal bonuses, regardless of salary. Eder, who earns $60,000 a year, will collect no more than an engineer.

The P & W can pay such high salaries because of its efficiency. The union has permitted it to cut train crews to three men from the four- and five-man

JONATHAN RAWLE



P & W PRESIDENT ROBERT EDER
Like the Little Engine.

crews that it insists on maintaining on other railroads. For the quarter ended June 30, the P & W earned $78,637, *v.* a loss of $182,297 for the same period last year, which was its first complete quarter in operation. In the deficit-ridden world of Northeastern railroading, that performance has been enough to attract the favorable attention of state governments. All of which goes to prove, perhaps, that rail unions are not always obstructionist, and that private management has a future even in Northeastern railroading. The sort of naive triumph enjoyed by the Little Blue Engine when it rescued the happy train sometimes approaches reality.

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EYECATCHERS

The Sunroof King

A German immigrant who arrived in the U.S. as a 22-year-old mechanical engineer ten years ago, Heinz Prechter has combined stamina with a knack for improvising to break into a lucrative phase of auto manufacturing. His specialty: the installation of sliding sunroofs, long popular on European cars but until recently rejected by U.S. automakers, who felt that demand did not warrant adopting a special assembly-line procedure.



PRECHTER

Prechter nonetheless went methodically from one auto company to another, installing demonstration roofs free of charge. After several years his persistence paid off: Dodge and Ford finally decided to offer the slide-back roofs as an option in 1968. Today, almost all of Detroit's models offer sunroofs as an extra, costing $400 to $600.

Automakers send their cars to Prechter's American Sunroof Corp. plants in Michigan, California and Georgia. This year American Sunroof, which is almost entirely owned by Prechter, will make and install about 38,000 roofs and have sales of more than $7,000,000. A millionaire at 32, Prechter owns two other companies that specialize in auto-customizing work. He counts among his clients Folk Singer Glen Campbell, for whom he transformed a Cadillac Eldorado into a station wagon, and many Saudi Arabians, to whom he has so far shipped 100 luxurious Prechterized Cadillacs.

The Zipper King

One day in 1923, a Japanese schoolboy named Tadao Yoshida ran across a seemingly bland maxim of Andrew Carnegie's, which he remembers as: "Unless you render profit and goodness to others, you cannot prosper." Inspired by it, Yoshida eventually derived his own rule for running a company: one-third of potential profit should be sacrificed in order to hold down prices, another third should be used to help customers with discounts and rebates, and only the final third should be retained as "pure profit."

Yoshida, now 65, insists that he still follows that formula, and it has made his company, YKK Manufacturing, the world's largest zipper maker. This year it will produce 500,200 miles of zippers, more than enough to stretch to the moon and back. Sales have grown from a pathetic $170 in 1934, YKK's first year, to $475 million in 1973. In 1974 they are expected to hit $625 million, on which Yoshida [illegible] for a "pure profit" of 9%, or $56 mill[ion]

More of those profits will belong [to] employees than to Yoshida; the com[pa]ny's 13,000 workers in Japan have [ac]quired almost two-thirds of the sto[ck] through a generous profit-sharing pl[an] Yoshida now plans to extend the sa[me] largesse to foreign employees—becau[se] he explains, "all along [we] have tried to inculcate a se[nse] of being a part of the YK[K] family." Profit sharing [will] soon be offered to 80 YK[K] workers in Canada, then [to] 400 in the U.S. and 3,500 [in] 27 other countries round [the] world.



YOSHIDA

Abrasion at Burlington

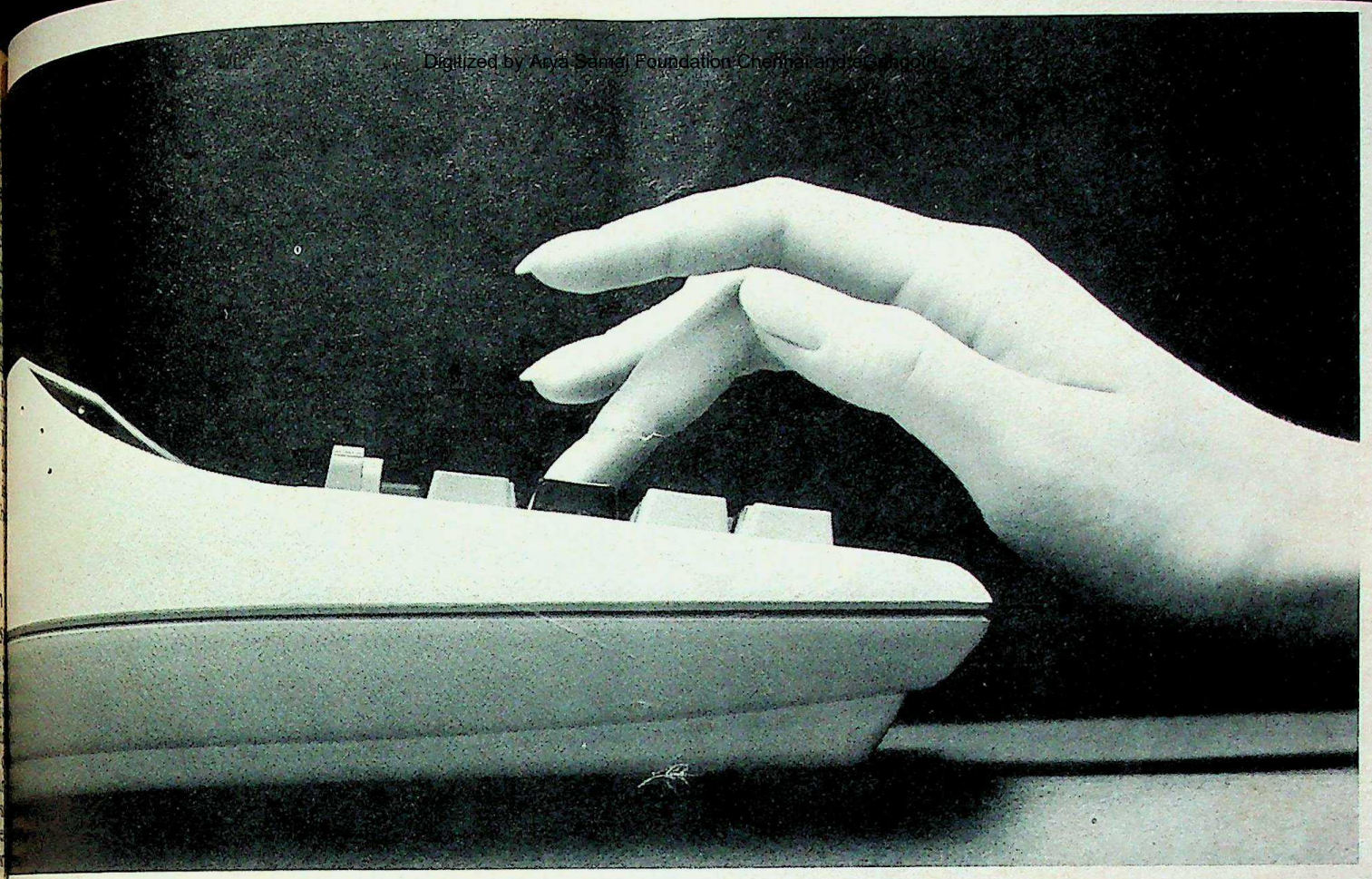
William A. Klopman, [who] was not the betting favorite [to] become president of Burlin[g]ton Industries; his abrasi[ve] personality had made [him] unpopular with some other executives [of] the world's largest textile company ([an]nual sales: $2 billion). Nonethel[ess] Klopman, then head of the appare[l] fabrics division, was chosen last Ap[ril] over three other executive vice pres[i]dents, largely because he had been ru[n]ning a segment of Burlington that [was] generating a hearty share of the com[-]pany's earnings. Indeed, Klopman, a tall, lantern-jawed New Yorker who had helped his father run a family company that Burlington bought in 1956, is known throughout the industry for his relentless desire to wring out maximum profit.



KLOPMAN

As boss, Klopman has been following the same strategy; among other things, he has been pushing the company's hosiery division to move faster in following a marketing swing out of department stores and in[to] supermarkets and drugstores. In his fi[rst] quarter as president, ended last Ju[ne], Burlington posted profits of $27.5 mi[l]lion, about 20% above the same perio[d] last year. But the success has brought [lit]tle harmony in the executive suite: wi[th] in a single week this summe[r] two executive vice presidents, Raymond E. Kassar and George L. Staff, abruptly re[-]signed. Some 20 lesser ex[-]ecutives have left or be[en] dismissed in recent weeks. Klopman, a secretive execu[-]tive who rarely gives in[-]views, will not discuss the d[e]partures. Few in the indust[ry] doubt his ability; the ch[ief] question about his presidency is whether he can put toge[th]er and hold a strong manage[-]ment team.

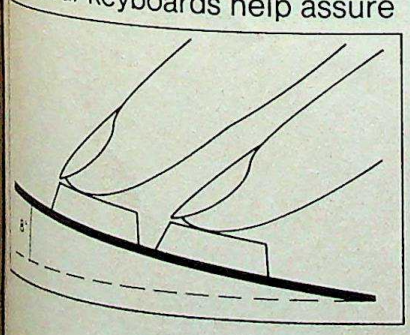
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Canon Canola

Let our conscience be your guide.



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It is easy to say a truck is good when it is new.

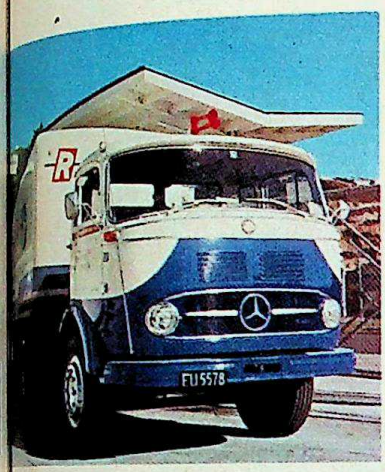
But you can still say this of Mercedes-Benz trucks after they've done several hundred thousand miles.



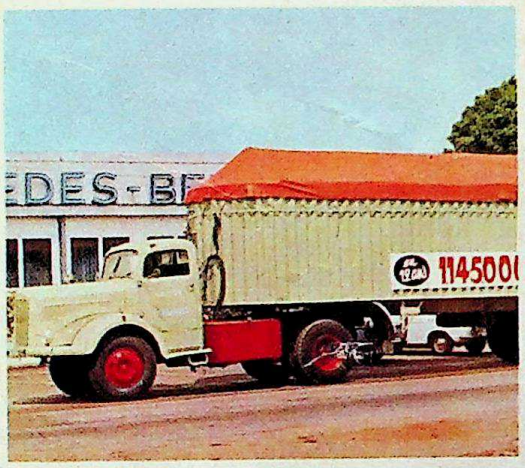
Mercedes-Benz. The largest manufacturers of commercial vehicles in Europe.
The biggest range of diesel-powered trucks in the world.

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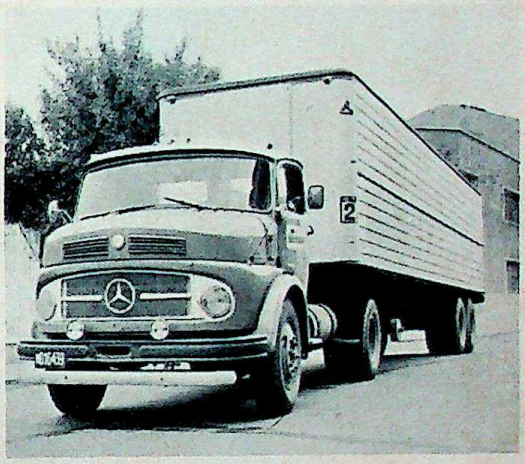
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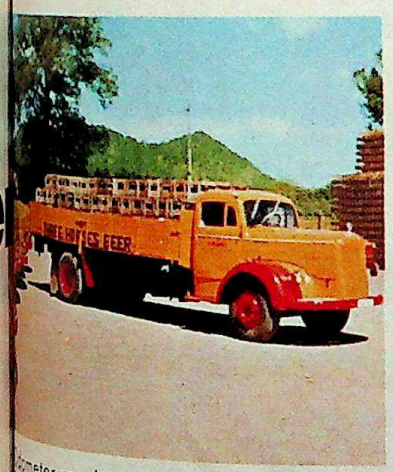
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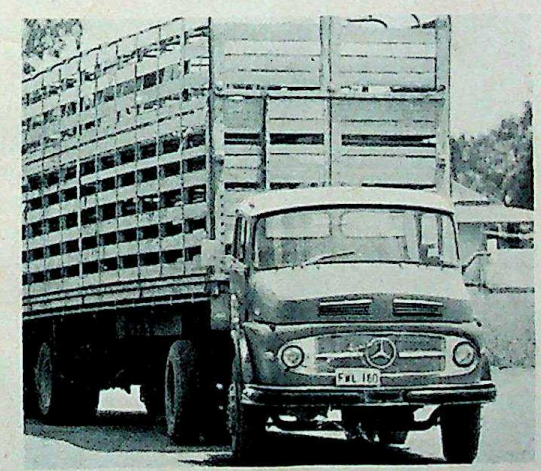
Odometer reading 710,000 miles.
Ets Jean Abile Gal, Abidjan (Ivory Coast)



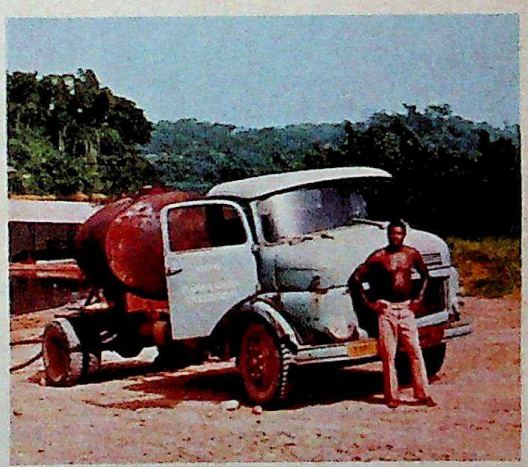
Odometer reading 680,000 miles.
Expreso Malargue S.A.C.I.F.,
Buenos Aires (Argentina)



ometer reading 620,000 miles.
very "Three Horses Beer",
ave (Madagascar)



Odometer reading 1,000,000 miles.
George & Cooke Transport,
Hunter Valley (Australia)



Odometer reading 660,000 miles.
Société d'Okoumé de la Ngounié
(S.O.N.G.I), Sindara (Gaboon)



ometer reading 620,000 miles.
Jepsen, Kirkebakken,
rup (Denmark)



Odometer reading 750,000 miles.
Bernd Woywode Transport Company,
Hattersheim (Federal Republic of Germany)



Odometer reading 935,000 miles.
Georg Stefanakis, Athens (Greece)

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ntellectuals: It Takes One to Know One

HE AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL ELITE
by CHARLES KADUSHIN
389 pages. Little, Brown. $8.95.

Between the time Spiro Agnew became a household word and the moment he passed into the garage sale of history, many of America's intellectuals feared a recurrence of McCarthy fever. But with the notable exception of Daniel Ellsberg, the Administration was not out to get those who, in the early cold war, were derisively called eggheads. The Vice President's bark was reserved for TV, newspaper and magazine journalists, a motley lot whom intellectuals sometimes refer to as middlebrows.

But what precisely is an intellectual? Four years ago, Columbia Sociologist Charles Kadushin and a fleet of researchers decided to find out. On the arbitrary and probably wrongheaded assumption that an intellectual is a generalist who writes literary or social criticism, Kadushin eliminated the hard scientists, theoretical physicists and mathematicians. He narrowed his field to 8,000 humanists and social scientists from leading schools who had contributed articles from 1964 to 1968 to the top 22 intellectual journals.

From these, 110 intellectuals were chosen to be interviewed. Working from the premise that it takes one to know one, the professor asked each to name the intellectual they thought had the most prestige and influence among intellectuals. What resulted was a list of "The Seventy Most Prestigious Contemporary American Intellectuals," broken down into four groups.

The list reflects almost totally the shades of liberal-left opinion from conservative to radical. It also reflects a certain confusion in the criteria. Listed in the first group of eleven, for example, is Robert Silvers, the editor of the *New York Review of Books*, the magazine that the study indicates is favored by intellectuals who want to reach other intellectuals. Silvers is an able editor but an infrequent writer; it must be assumed that his ranking at the top, along with Edmund Wilson, Lionel Trilling and Norman Mailer,* is due to a power not unlike that of the maître d' of an exclusive restaurant.

The decline of an interest in literature and the currently overwhelming concern with public affairs is evident too. Among the 70, only two poets are listed (the late W.H. Auden and Robert Lowell) and four major novelists (Mary McCarthy, Norman Mailer, Saul Bellow and Philip Roth). Popular critics also appear: *The New Yorker's* film reviewer Pauline Kael, who is in the third group, a fact that may curl the lip of *New York* magazine's theater critic John Simon, who just squeaked into the fourth and lowest category. Half of the chosen live within what Kadushin calls "lunch distance" of New York —a 50-mile limit he considers convenient for day trips to the city. Wherever they live, these intellectuals are well paid (average income: $35,000 a year). They write most frequently in such magazines as *Partisan Review*, the *New Republic, Commentary, Dissent* and the *New York Review of Books*.

Kissinger Syndrome. The direct power of Kadushin's intellectuals seems limited mainly to the ability to enhance or diminish each other's reputations. It is a power exercised largely through their journals, around which loose groups or cliques form, and it is diminished by the fact that intellectuals who take high jobs in Washington tend to lose their credentials temporarily. The most obvious case is Henry Kissinger. His name is nowhere on the official list, an omission that Kadushin informally corrects by noting that Kissinger is "a leading American intellectual." The Kissinger syndrome may also explain the absence from the list of Daniel Boorstin (author of *The Image, or What Happened to the American Dream* and *Decline of Radicalism*), who in 1969 was a divisional director of the Smithsonian Institution.

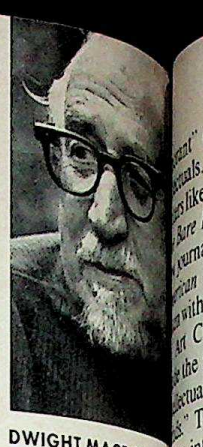
But no amount of sterilized sociological data can refute the fact that inside the "intellectual mafia" the elite sometimes gangs up to wield its power in peevish and arbitrary ways. Still Kadushin's study should reduce some of the paranoia that frequently afflicts non-New York intellectuals. For example, the reasons that Jews account for one half of his list are historical and cultural, not part of some ethnic conspiracy. Moreover, some of the nastiest splits and squabbles in literary New York have occurred between Jews. When *Commentary* Editor Norman Podhoretz published *Making It* in 1968, for example, another Jewish editor and writer, who ranks slightly lower on the list, began referring to the book as "Kike's Peak."

The most obvious fact about the select few is that most are over 50 (in fact, six on the list are dead). In the top groups, only 41-year-old Susan Sontag can be considered new blueblood, and she made her debut with an essay on camp more than a decade ago. Kadushin found that in general the people interviewed were "systematically

*The others: 1) Daniel Bell, 2) Noam Chomsky, 3) John Kenneth Galbraith, 4) Irving Howe, 5) Dwight Macdonald, 6) Susan Sontag, 7) Mary McCarthy.

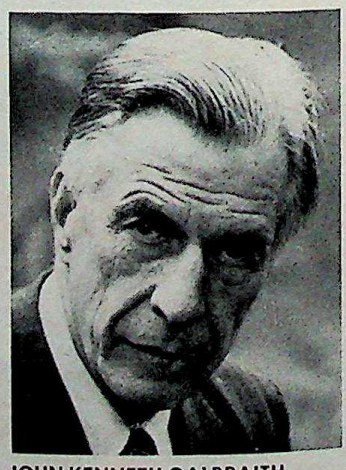
PHOTOGRAPHS BELOW BY JILL KREMENTZ


DANIEL BELL


DWIGHT MACDONALD


SUSAN SONTAG

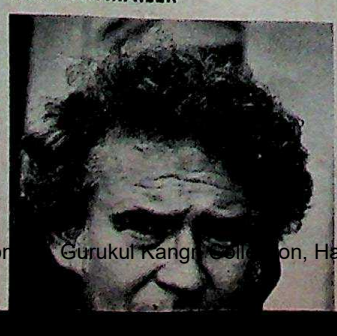
LIONEL TRILLING

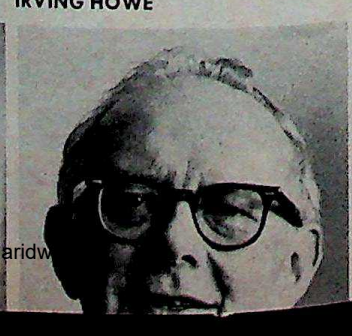

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH


NOAM CHOMSKY


ROBERT SILVERS


MARY MCCARTHY


NORMAN MAILER


IRVING HOWE


EDMUND WILSON

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...ant" of up-and-coming young in-...tuals. Brilliant youthful Catholic ...s like Gary Wills (*Nixon Agonistes, ...Bare Ruined Choir*) and important ...journals like Theodore Solatoroff's ...rican Review do not appear to be ...with sufficient seriousness.

...ary Critic Harold Rosenberg (he ...the fourth group) once described ...ectuals as a "herd of independent ...." That is largely true of the 70 ...g intellectuals on Kadushin's list. ...ading is precisely what contempo-...intellectuals do not do much of. The ...rd indicates that most of them fol-...d black activists into the race issue ...young antiwar militants into oppos-...the Viet Nam War. But then so did ...y everyone else who was not furious ...ung denied a job because of his color ...hreatened with having to fight a ...d war.

Mixing sociology with aspects of ...rket research, *The American Intellec-...Elite* substitutes too many measure-...s for the men and women it pur-...s to study. Chancellor of the New ...ol Harry Gideonese put more life ...o the subject when he casually defined ...ntellectual as "a person living artic-...ely beyond his intellectual means ...he lives within his intellectual ...ns, he is a scholar." ■ R.Z. Sheppard

...tting and Spending

...CONNOISSEUR

...AN S. CONNELL JR.

...pages. Knopf. $6.95.

A Manhattan insurance executive ...ed Muhlbach is scouting a rival's ...w Mexico operations. His object is ...ocrate merger, but Muhlbach finds ...wn independence endangered. In a ...s curio shop, he is transfixed by a ter-...tta nobleman. His soft, Prufrockian ...rility struggles briefly to under-...d the figurine's power. "Does he re-...d me of myself?" Muhlbach wonders ...ngruously. No matter. He pays $30 ...and takes the piece to an expert in ...uquerque. The verdict is quick: au-...ic Mayan, a dark survivor from ...Columbian burial rites. By the time ...plane touches down in New York, ...Muhlbach is possessed by his possession. ...With declarative simplicity, *The ...isseur* traces Muhlbach's plunge ...a world where everyone is "into" ...sort of object: wicker baskets, ...Columbian bowls, Oriental sculp-...early American leg irons. His new ...sistances are sharks, nuzzling ...igh dealers' galleries, circling ...ly at auctions. With cold passion, ...study the artifacts of vanquished ...es; blankly, they watch for signs of ...rance or weakness in competitors, ...cially newcomers like Muhlbach. ...ing acquired a little knowledge, he ...ly obliges them. He successfully ...on what he takes to be an Olmec ...falls that none of the authentic dealers had been nibbling.

Pangs of Greed. This small novel leaves Muhlbach dangling between pleasure and despair. Packed with pre-Columbian arcana (Connell himself is a collector), it conveys the joyous release that absorption in a stern hobby can bring. Something alien has penetrated Muhlbach's life and opened vistas he can never exhaust. Not certain whether his response is to beauty or authenticity, Muhlbach nonetheless responds. Yet he is aware of some disquieting side effects: increasing pangs of greed for what he can appreciate but not afford, a habit of judging people by their acquisitions —and of being judged and found wanting in return. Muhlbach knows that his addiction lends moral support to a rapacious modern traffic in antiquities; operating on his behalf, grave robbers and smugglers struggle to finish the dispersal of pre-Columbian civilizations begun by the Spanish five centuries ago.

In the past, Connell has explored —and refined—two different kinds of narratives. *Mrs. Bridge* (1959) and *Mr. Bridge* (1969) spun out a series of vignettes in the Midwestern lives of their protagonists; the accretions were devastating catalogues of anomie. In *Notes from a Bottle Found on the Beach at Carmel* (1963) and *Points for a Compass Rose* (1973), Connell shored fragments of history and reflection against our ruin, casting them in prose lines that rang with poetry.

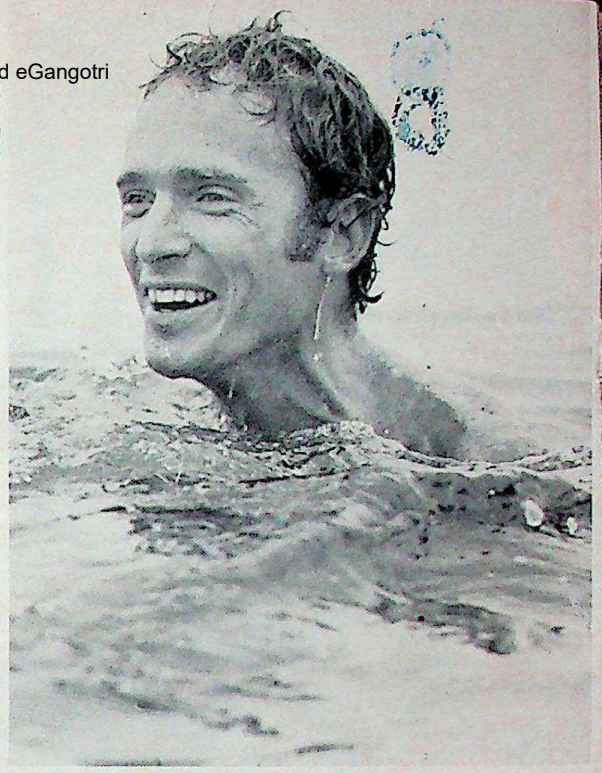
The Connoisseur is both more conventional and less informative than its predecessors; in it, Connell has emphasized clarity at the expense of resonance. But to hold him to his own standard is to tell the negative half of the story. Connell's style is a model of economy; it reveals the care of an artisan whose works should be collected. ■ Paul Gray

JILL KREMENTZ



EVAN S. CONNELL JR. & FRIEND

MIKE MAUNE



CAVETT AT PLAY

A Little Boy Blue

CAVETT

by DICK CAVETT and CHRISTOPHER PORTERFIELD

373 pages. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. $8.95.

Dick Cavett is the darling of people who say proudly that they never watch television. His wit is quick and responsive—it avoids the soggy, set-piece gag and flashes in reaction to what the guest has just said. When Norman Mailer once proclaimed that he was smarter than the other guests, Cavett briskly offered him another chair to contain his giant intellect. While the Jack Paars or the Merv Griffins or the Johnny Carsons put on guests like Zsa Zsa Gabor and Buddy Hackett, Cavett is likely to capture such provocative types as Katharine Hepburn, Laurence Olivier, Orson Welles and Lester Maddox.

Is Cavett as bright as he seems? A serious man in an unserious business? This book sets out to prove that he is. It is cast in the semispecious form of a talk show with Cavett the guest. His host-interlocutor is Christopher Porterfield, who was once Cavett's roommate at Yale and now acts as executive producer for Cavett's production company.

Porterfield is a critic and an experienced journalist (until this year he was a senior editor of TIME). His questions are thoughtful, if overlong, and the literary format works reasonably well. It allows Cavett to describe with amiable condescension his boyhood in Nebraska (his parents were both teachers), and his high school traumas (he was the shortest boy in any assembly). He was also the brightest and most competitive (he was twice a Nebraska state champion in gymnastics, a sport in which his 5 ft. 6 in. height was no handicap).

All together, an ideal candidate for

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a scholarship to Yale (class of 1998), and that's what he got. In New Haven the poor, bright, pint-sized Midwesterner felt left out, though his classmates were dazzled by his ability to make instant anagrams out of any name that was mentioned ("Alec Guinness" became "genuine class"). Along with French and German, he acquired a great many cultural tag lines and thriftily squirreled them away in the back of his mind for future use. Cavett is certainly the only comedian extant who could say, "Where did we get this obsession that exegesis saves? God forgive that pun." Cavett was of course show biz obsessed. He met Carrie Nye McGeoy, his future wife, while acting in a New Haven amateur production. After graduation he hung around Broadway theaters, cadged a job with Jack Paar as a jokesmith, wrote for Johnny Carson and tried his own nightclub act as a stand-up comic.

If the book at times has the stilted air of *This Is Your Life*, it is still top entertainment for the reader, with scarcely a dull minute and only a minimum of station breaks (*i.e.*, plugs for Cavett). Cavett is no one-shot, gag-line comedian but a man whose turn of mind brings intelligence and humor to bear on childhood memories and adolescent contretemps (mostly sexual), and produces marvelously generous yet accurate assessments of his rivals (Carson, Paar, *et al.*) and acknowledged betters (Groucho Marx and Woody Allen). May the book's Nielsen rating be higher than Cavett's is at the moment. ■ A.T. Baker

Best Sellers

FICTION

1—Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy, *le Carré (1 last week)*
2—The Dogs of War, *Forsyth (2)*
3—Watership Down, *Adams (3)*
4—Jaws, *Benchley (4)*
5—Cashelmara, *Howatch (6)*
6—The Fan Club, *Wallace (5)*
7—If Beale Street Could Talk, *Baldwin (8)*
8—The House of a Thousand Lanterns, *Holt*
9—Centennial, *Michener*
10—My Life as a Man, *Roth (7)*

NONFICTION

1—All the President's Men, *Bernstein & Woodward (1)*
2—The Gulag Archipelago, *Solzhenitsyn (2)*
3—The Memory Book, *Lorayne & Lucas (4)*
4—Alive: The Story of the Andes Survivors, *Read (5)*
5—You Can Profit from a Monetary Crisis, *Browne (3)*
6—The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence, *Marchetti & Marks (6)*
7—The Wall Street Gang, *Ney (7)*
8—Plain Speaking: An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman, *Miller (10)*
9—Working, *Terkel (9)*
10—Times to Remember, *Kennedy (8)*

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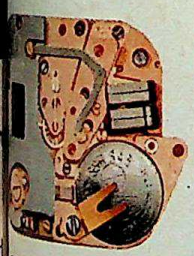
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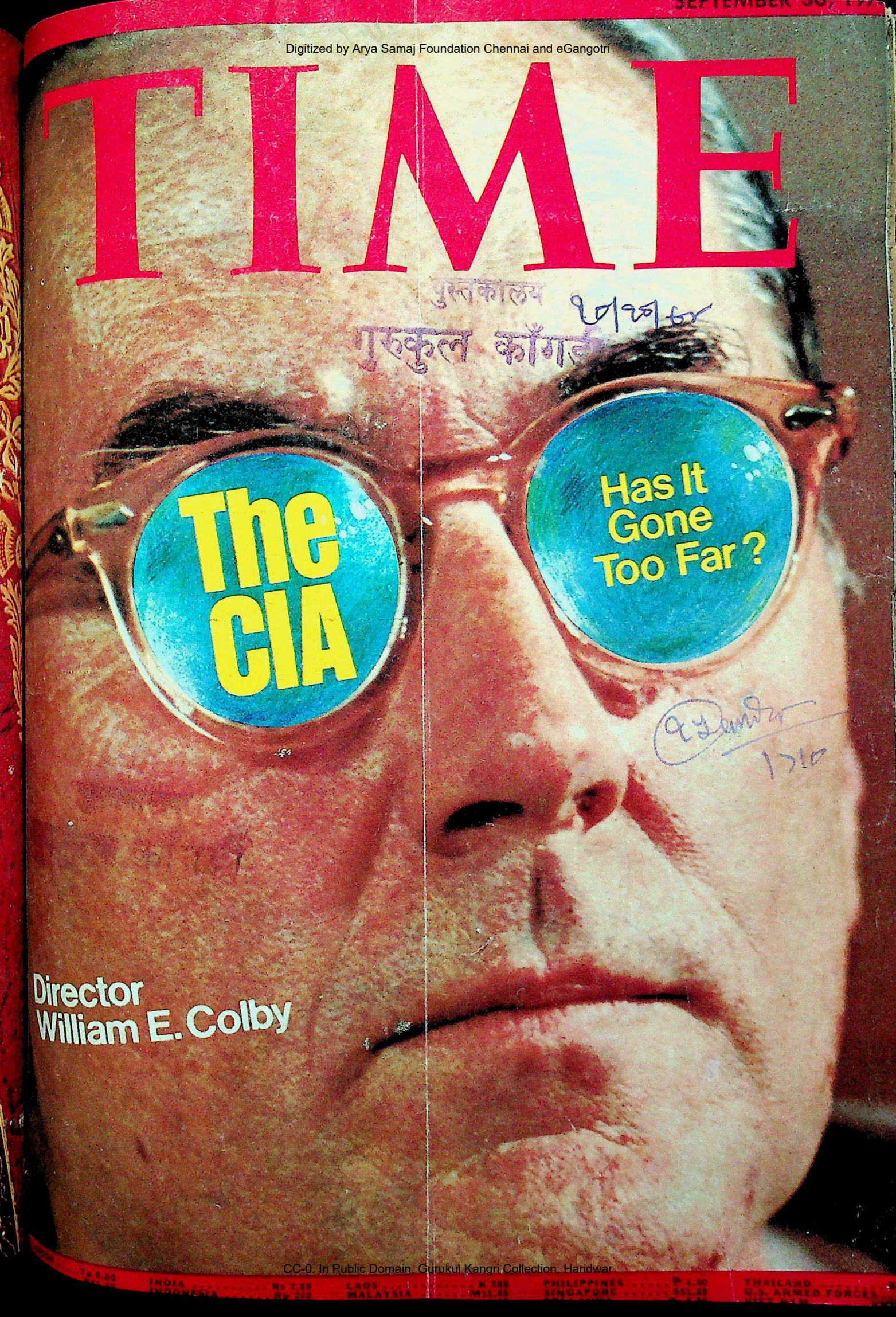
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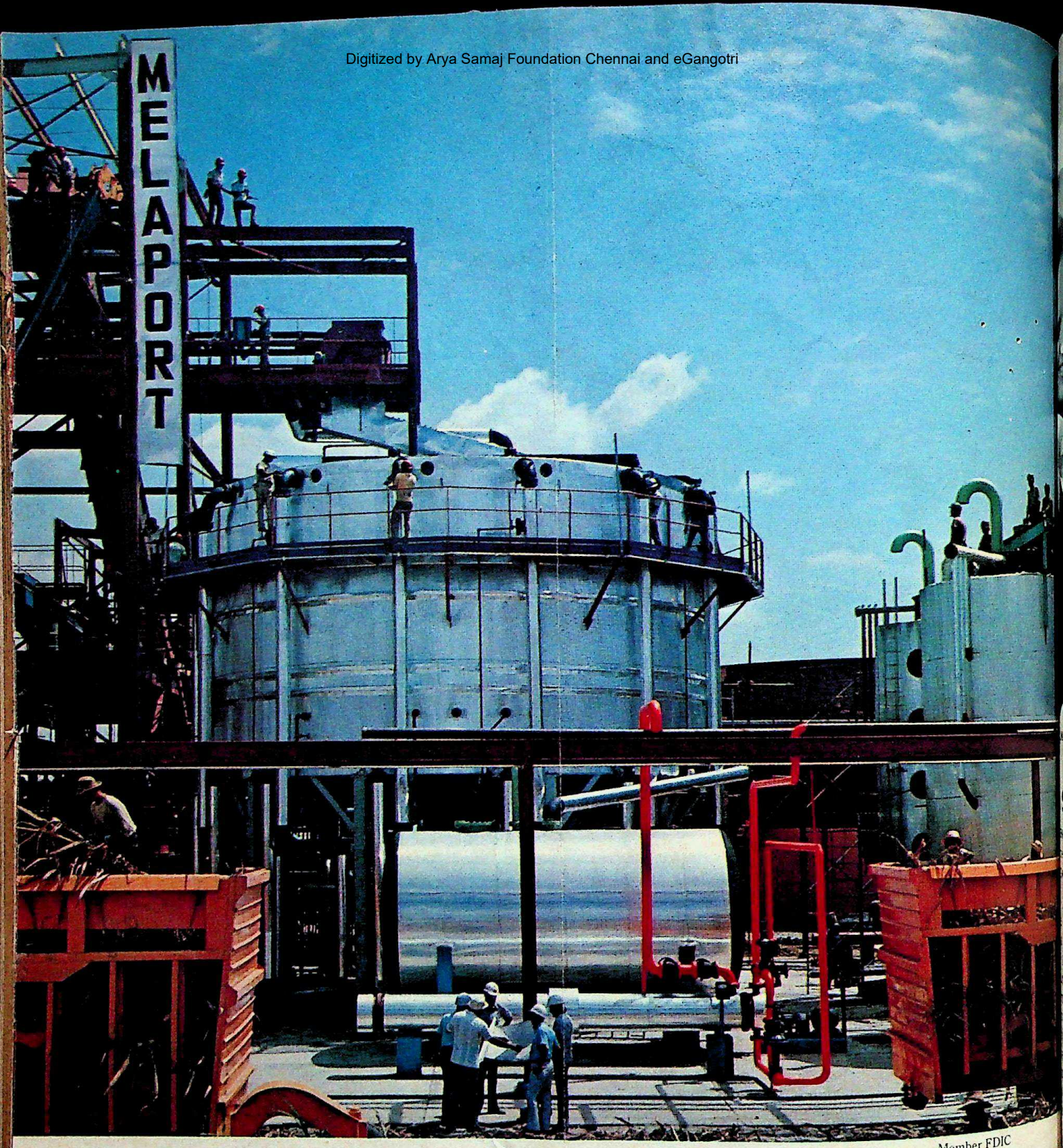
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BERGMAN & JOSEPHSON

Season in Hell

SCENES FROM A MARRIAGE
Screenplay and Direction by
INGMAR BERGMAN

All wars are cruel, but civil wars are the cruelest. A marriage in which love has turned to hate becomes a civil war. In this film, it is Writer-Director Ingmar Bergman's basic contention that something in the institution of marriage destroys love and ferments hate. It is possible to deny the premise, but the picture defies refutation. This is a work of dramatic force, searing intelligence and sometimes oppressive melancholy lightened by flashes of erotic ecstasy.

But early on, one must seriously question if *Scenes from a Marriage* is a movie. In content, it is a child of the stage, obviously Strindberg's *Dance of Death*, Ibsen's *A Doll's House* and Albee's *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* In form, unsettlingly, its form has been imposed by TV. Bergman wrote and filmed it as six 50-minute segments for Scandinavian television. Telescoping the series in length to just under three hours blurs some of the narrative line, and Bergman's unrelenting reliance on talking heads will give some filmgoers visual and auditory claustrophobia.

Marriage begins airily enough. Wedded for ten years, Johan (Erland Josephson) and Marianne (Liv Ullmann) have been selected by some national publication as a kind of "ideal couple" for a feature story on successful marriages. The superficially earnest lady interviewer asks the usual questions. Johan is 42 and a behavioral scientist. Marianne is 32 and a divorce lawyer. They have a lovely home, two lovely daughters, lovely meshing temperaments. Fill in all the blanks with lovely.

Celebrating at a dinner party with another ideal couple, their friends Katerina (Bibi Andersson) and Peter (Jan Malmsjo), Johan and Marianne have to face something rather unlovely. Beginning with taunting asides and barbed revelations (sexual and otherwise), Katerina and Peter erupt into one of those verbal cockfights designed to draw the other spouse's blood in front of mixed company. Johan and Marianne are embarrassed to silence, but what has really been stilled and wounded is their purring complacency in their own bliss.

Soon after, they begin to pick flaws in each other, to break out into raspy little headachy tiffs. Yet everything seems contained. The we-ness of the marriage web is tenacious even when its strands are mundane realities like dental appointments, plumbing repairs and dinner every Sunday with in-laws. Then one day Johan tells Marianne that he has fallen in love with a student in his seminar and is leaving to be with her. All the blood seems to drain out of Marianne's body. Ullmann even makes her lambent sapphire-blue eyes turn pale.

The Old Magic. Divorce time comes like a fifth season in hell. In one scene, Johan slaps and pummels Marianne till her nose sluices blood. Yet their fiercest encounters act as unconscious aphrodisiacs leading to sudden fervid couplings. Several years pass. Johan gets married again, but not to the student. So does Marianne. They meet. The old libidinous magic still works. They head for a clandestine weekend in a country cottage, free at last, or so Bergman would have us believe, to breathe the oxygen of joy that marriage to each other had throttled.

An hourglass motif is visible in the Johan-Marianne relationship. The sands of power, all his at the film's beginning, are all hers at the end. Women's libbers may applaud, but Bergman is less concerned with the inequality of the sexes than with the inequity of the cosmos. He seems to see the love of men and women as a metaphysical surrogate for the absence of God and God's love. It is an incommensurable task. But who could better symbolize the desperate gallantry of the venture than Liv Ullmann, the orchid of the snows? ■ T.E. Kalem

Mortuary Case

99 AND 44/100% DEAD
Directed by JOHN FRANKENHEIMER
Screenplay by ROBERT DILLON

Why quibble? Call it *100% Dead* and be done with it. Indeed, the cute title, like the pop-art credits and the ironically intended voice-over narration are in effect mortuary cosmetology—attempts to give an illusion of life to a moribund turkey.

Richard Harris is a hit man brought in by Underworld Overlord Edmund O'Brien to fight his gang war for him. O'Brien's rival is Bradford Dillman; Dillman's big gun is Chuck Connors, who performs various cruelties (on Kathrine Baumann, among others) with an artificial arm. This sadism strikes the moviemakers as funny; it is not. And as further evidence of the decline of Director Frankenheimer's creative energy, the film approaches tragedy. His flair for action—a chase involving a school bus, a shootout in a giant, steaming laundry—is there. But the rest of the film is noisily desperate. It is always sad to see an overreacher turn into an underachiever, but to find the tense talent capable of *The Manchurian Candidate* busying himself with feckless projects like this is infuriating. When Frankenheimer's contempt for the picture is not seeping onto the screen, his weariness is. One wants to (and should) turn away from the spectacle. ■ Richard Schickel



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Evidence of decline.

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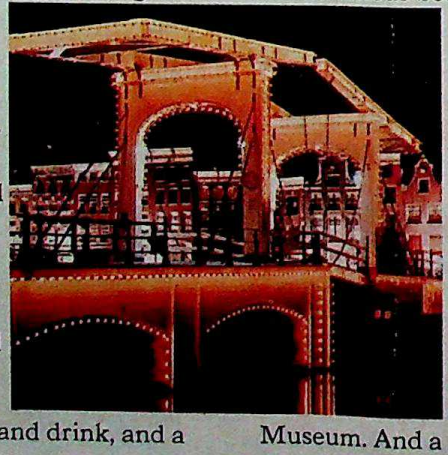
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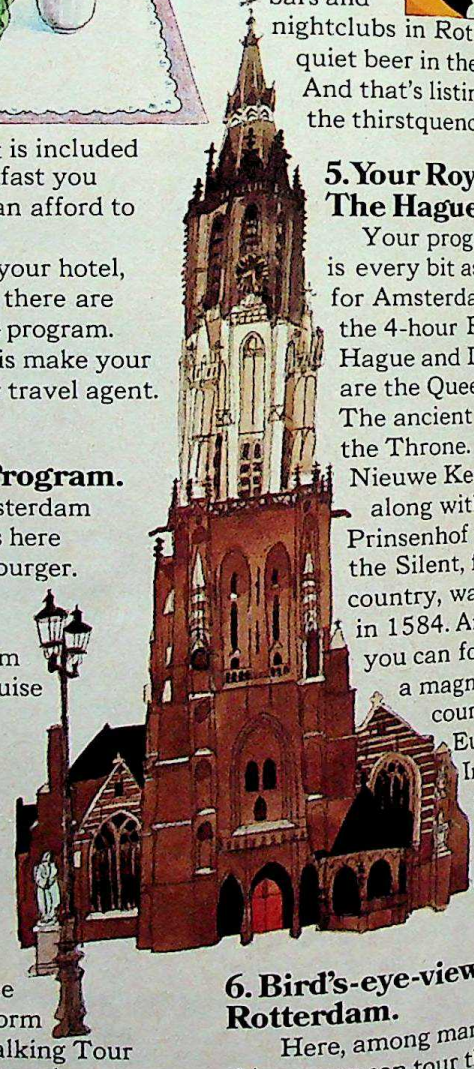
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Current and Choice

ESCAPE TO NOWHERE. French Director Claude Pinoteau's first full-length feature is a rare and welcome movie journey away from the Bondian glamorization of espionage toward that perpetually gray, drizzling landscape that Novelist John le Carré has mastered in fiction. As a French physicist abducted twice—first by the Russians, then by the British—Lino Ventura gives a convincing performance of a man who has had it with cold warriors of every political persuasion.

THE APPRENTICESHIP OF DUDDY KRAVITZ. A brash, wildly energetic title performance by Richard Dreyfuss galvanizes this adaptation of Mordecai Richler's novel, a mordant observation of a young Canadian Jew on the make in Montreal in the 1940s. For its bursts of comic invention—like a bar mitzvah film made by a soused English moviemaker of hilarious pretension—the movie wanders occasionally into melodramatic asides that detract from its raucous honesty. Its portrayal of middle-class Jewish life, though, is among the warmest and most telling the movies have ever done.

CHINATOWN. Jack Nicholson, impersonating a shamus named J.J. Gittes, roots through personal and political corruption in 1930s Los Angeles and discovers that the city is built on a morass of double-dealing and familial infamy. Roman Polanski's movie has nearly all the necessary ingredients of a classic private-eye caper except a toughly compassionate tone and a palpable sense of moral conflict. Still this is a creditably stylish recreation.

HARRY AND TONTO. An old man (Harry) and his pet cat (Tonto) take off across America, New York to Los Angeles, in an attempt to fight off stasis and the deepening encroachments of old age. Director Paul Mazursky (*Blume in Love*) is best at lancing the gaudy excesses of contemporary culture, less successful at portraying Harry's plight with anything stronger than good wishes. Art Carney's Harry catches only the surfaces of age, but there is some wizardly acting by Larry Hagman and Ellen Burstyn as a couple of Harry's grown-up, thoroughly mixed-up kids.

THE SEDUCTION OF MIMI. An Italian factory worker (marvelously played by Giancarlo Giannini) gives in with helpless delight as his stern political conscience is buffeted by the pleasures of the flesh. This is a funny, brainy social comedy, directed by Lina Wertmuller. The American version is a little dishevelled because the distributor excised 20 minutes, apparently for the sake of pace. The result is streamlined but somehow incomplete, like an undotted exclamation point.

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Something to talk to at last.

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As you flash by them, those yellow posts are not worth a glance. But when you've broken down, a motorway seems a very lonely place and one of these posts is a heart-warming sight.

You can talk to it, and someone (who knows exactly where you are from the call-number of the post) will answer; pass on messages to your home; arrange a tow.

In an accident they are vital. We call them talking posts; they are an example of how to make communications simple.

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PHILIPS

Working on communications.

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A Confession from The Children's Charities...

"WE HELP ONLY 3 CHILDREN OUT OF EVERY 10 THAT NEED US."

It's an ugly fact, but we have to confess, it's true. There are at least 10,000 children in Singapore who need the help of one of the five associations we support. The Deaf, the Spastic, the Retarded, the under-privileged children of Children's Society and the children at St. Andrew's Mission Hospital. We help only 3,000 of them. We can't do any more because we haven't the money, the trained personnel and the facilities to cater for all of them.

And although we're doing all we can, it's still not enough. But you can help. And we need your help now. Urgently.

Every donation, no matter how large or small, will go a long way. A long way towards giving us the means to provide these children with all the therapy, care and attention they so desperately need.

Also, every donation granted to the Children's Charities is now tax deductable. Please, spare a little . . . and help a lot.

WE'RE DOING ALL WE CAN, BUT IT'S NOT ENOUGH

Your Donation or Bequest . . . .

Name _____

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CHILDREN'S CHARITIES

Bequest forms are available on request from The Children's Charities, 844 Margaret Drive, Singapore 3.

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A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

Cloaks, daggers, clandestine cash, and spooks were the agenda last week as the U.S. and the world asked new questions about CIA operations. The TIME correspondents dispatched to report on our cover story had an old acquaintance with the curious ways of intelligence operators. "I've spent much of the last five years of my journalistic career worrying about spooks of one stripe or another," says Washington Correspondent Stanley Cloud, who in 1969-70 served in our Moscow bureau. "There the problem was the KGB," recalls Cloud. "We worried about phone taps, room bugs, whether we were being followed and just who among the Russians was and was not an agent." Cloud's next assignment helped give him background for this week's cover subject: "In Southeast Asia, it was not the KGB but the CIA that was a concern of most journalists. In Laos, where the CIA conducted a secret war, our every move was known and, we assumed, plotted on some map somewhere. The CIA was everywhere, but claimed to be nowhere."

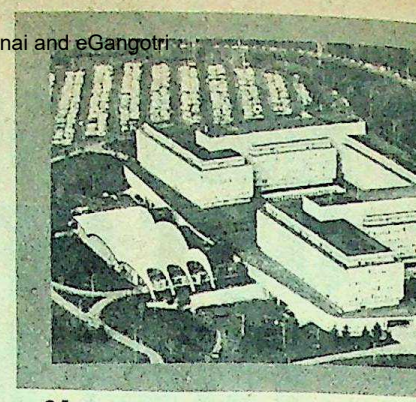
For State Department Correspondent Strobe Talbott, the CIA was suddenly right there when Director William Colby granted TIME a rare on-the-record interview. This was quite a departure for the former Eastern European correspondent. He explains: "In the Communist countries, Western newsmen are widely regarded by local authorities as licensed spies. That made us all the more chary about getting near the agency and its outposts, even for the legitimate purpose of seeing what the CIA was up to."

Our account of CIA involvement in Chile was reported mainly by Washington's Latin American specialist Jerry Hannifin, with supplementary material from Buenos Aires Bureau Chief Rudolph Rauch, who covered the overthrow of Allende. Before the Chilean coup, Rauch had asked a group of truckers who were enjoying a hearty barbecue on the tailgate of one of the vehicles blocking the road leading into Santiago where they got the money for such a feast. "From the CIA," was the laconic reply, and the incident was included in our Sept. 24, 1973 story. What seemed like a joke then has since turned out to be more than that. Some of the truck drivers may indeed have been getting money from the CIA.

In New York, Reporter-Researcher Sarah Bedell queried academics on the role of the CIA and checked the main story, which was written by Associate Editor Frank Merrick. Although a former correspondent, Merrick had never had an encounter with the CIA. "But then, being in the Boston and Chicago bureaus, I wouldn't have," says Merrick. "At least I don't think so."

The Cover: *Collage with photo by Ed Streeky—Camera 5.*

Cover Story 21
Art 42
Behavior 19
Books 51
Cinema 1
Dance 39
Economy & Business 46
Environment 40
Forum 33
Law 44
Market Week 50
Medicine 45
Milestones 41
People 35
Religion 38
U.S. 20
World 8



p. 21



p. 14

A Guide to This Week's TIME

COVER STORY: p. 21. President Ford's frank admiss last week that the United States had engaged in covert erations in Chile prior to the overthrow of the leftist re of Salvador Allende Gossens has set off a worldwide f The European press criticized Ford for confusing ca with naiveté. American diplomats in Latin America c plain that they will henceforth be blamed for every that occurred in the revolution-prone hemisphere. A pr inent U.S. Senator denounced the CIA's action as "unsa and unprincipled." While the CIA has been caught in barrassing situations before, the most recent exposé pro ises to have far-reaching ramifications. For one thing now apparent that several prominent U.S. officials, inc ing Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and former CIA rector Richard Helms, misled Congress in testimony garding U.S. activities in Chile. Both President Ford William Colby, director of the CIA, defend the Chilean erations on the questionable ground that they were essary to counter covert efforts being waged by Commu countries. Ford and Colby also claim that the operati were never intended to provoke a military coup but ra to maintain political opposition to Allende.

WORLD: p. 8. The United Nations, which now incl 138 member countries, convened its 29th General Ass bly session last week, with a former Algerian revolutio presiding as Assembly President. Fully 110 items are li on the General Assembly's lengthy agenda. Among t are such tortuous matters as Cyprus and a bid by C bodia's exiled Prince Norodom Sihanouk to rally U.N. port to regain control of his war-tattered nation.

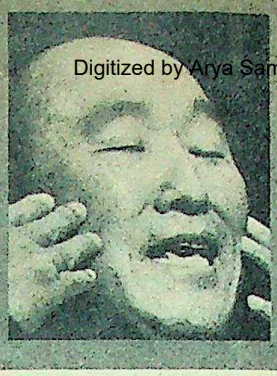
p. 9. As expected, British Prime Minister Harold Wi called for new parliamentary elections last week, but th was little hope that the Oct. 10 balloting would do mu solve the nation's serious economic problems. The elec outcome may well be another close vote, in which no p gains an absolute majority. Even if Wilson's Labor Par triumphant, it is so thoroughly beholden to Britain's p erful trade unions that it seems unlikely that there will be orous economic reforms. If the Conservatives, curr rated underdogs, should manage to win, the outlook w be equally gloomy. In that event the unions have th ened to call a general strike that would polarize the na and cause severe economic hardship as winter approa Increasingly, Britain seems to be caught in a dilemma its long tradition of democratic institutions appears to capable of solving. In addition to its story on Britain, also runs excerpts from its special symposium with four ish intellectual leaders on the future of the

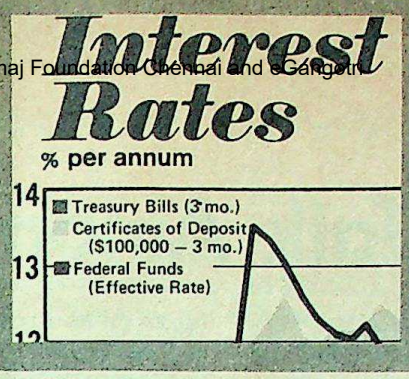
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p. 36 p. 38 p. 46 p. 51

A. Terrorism by both rightists and leftists has reached unprecedented intensity in Argentina. Since Aug. 1, more than 200 people have been killed in politically-motivated bombings and shootings. During his brief second tenure as Argentina's President, Juan Perón managed to keep his country's highly diverse factions at least somewhat subdued. But his widow Isabel, who succeeded him as President last July, appears to have none of his magic. The most pessimistic observers now believe Argentina is drifting toward civil war.

4. The Viet Nam War continues to rage at a torrid pace, claiming 4,000 lives per month. But when South Vietnamese citizens took to the streets in protest earlier this week, it was corruption, not the stunning amount of bloodshed that was uppermost in their minds. In the ancient imperial capital of Hué, 5,000 people, led by Roman Catholic priests, charged that President Nguyen Van Thieu and members of his family were practicing corruption on a grand scale. The press has also begun to bridle against Thieu's censorship, and Buddhist groups appear to be poised for such protests of their own. Thieu has so far dealt with the protesters with uncharacteristic gentleness. He appears to be fearful that a harsh crackdown would further endanger his request for sorely needed military aid from the U.S. Acting in his behalf, the U.S. Defense Department has asked the Congress for $1.6 billion in military aid, but only about half of that amount is likely to be appropriated.

UNITED STATES: p. 28. In an action that may have been intended to balance at least partly his pardon of Nixon, President Ford unveiled a plan to grant amnesty to Vietnam draft dodgers or deserters who refused to serve in America's armed forces during the Viet Nam War. Under Ford's plan, the war resisters will be spared prosecution if they agree to take public-service jobs in the U.S. for up to two years. Ford's plan drew criticism from veterans' groups, which generally oppose amnesty in any form, and also from the draft resisters, but most Americans felt that he had tried to set forth a reasonable solution to a divisive national problem.

PEOPLE: p. 36. Gina Lollobrigida, who long ago attained fame for her ample bosom and admirable acting abilities, has a second career: photographing a selection of the world's most interesting men. Last June she journeyed to Cuba to photograph Fidel Castro, who, she says, is a mysterious man both brute and soft. TIME presents selections of Gina's photographs of her favorite head of state.

RELIGION: p. 38. The Rev. Sun Myung Moon, the evangelistic Korean-born cultist, has launched a high-powered campaign to gain converts in the U.S. Moon, who claims 3,000,000 followers in South Korea and 100,000 in Japan, preaches that the time of the Second Coming of Christ is near and "America is the landing site!" Last week he embarked on an eight-city tour of the U.S., starting with a huge rally in New York City that filled Madison Square Garden to overflowing. Admission was free, but the well-financed preacher had enough income from other sources so that he was able to spend $300,000 on a massive multimedia campaign to publicize the event. Moon's followers believe that he is the second Messiah and as such will fulfill Jesus Christ's original mission of founding the Perfect Family. Moon has skillfully avoided every opportunity to deny this useful assumption.

ENVIRONMENT: p. 40. San Francisco last week opened the first regional urban rail-transit system to be completed in the U.S. in 50 years—but only after the project had run into a series of unforeseen difficulties. The cost of the transit line proved to be half again the $1 billion price tag originally estimated ten years earlier. Shortly after the first part of the system opened in 1972, electronic failures caused one train to plunge off its elevated track, injuring five persons. On 19 other occasions, the doors of trains opened while the cars were in motion, but fortunately, no one was hurt. In spite of all these difficulties, BART, as the system is known, is viewed as a highly progressive step toward limiting auto congestion in the San Francisco metropolitan area and in encouraging other cities to adopt similar forms of rail transport.

ECONOMY & BUSINESS: p. 46. Amid signs that the Federal Reserve Bank was easing up on its policy of monetary restraint, the depressed U.S. stock market scored its sharpest advance in weeks. Since May the U.S. money supply has been at or near a zero rate of growth. It is now believed that the U.S. central bank is aiming to achieve monetary growth in the range of 5% to 6% annually. Such a rate would, it is hoped, be expansionary without being inflationary.

BOOKS: p. 51. A new book written by Professor John Fairbank of Harvard University argues that, in spite of the Maoist revolution, Chinese society has not appreciably deviated from its centuries-old Confucian traditions. Rule by an imperial figure still persists, as does adherence to ideological orthodoxy and a general preference for remaining secluded from the rest of the world. Americans, who see in the present era of détente the prospect that China will begin to accept Western values, are bound to be disappointed, Fairbank maintains. The inward-looking, self-satisfied Chinese culture is still the virtual opposite of the dynamic, restless, expansive culture of the West. This vast philosophical gap is not likely to be significantly narrowed any time soon and will continue to generate political and diplomatic disputes between the U.S. and China.

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UNITED NATIONS

Straight Talk Among "Friends"

For once, as they gathered last week to inaugurate the United Nations General Assembly's 29th session, the delegates had little difficulty sorting out and settling on priorities. In his annual report, Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim described the world's economic situation as "a global crisis of extraordinary dimensions." Incoming General Assembly President Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria said that "the problems of development are spreading beyond national and continental limits." President Gerald Ford, appearing to deliver "the first of my addresses to the representatives of the world," agreed that "the economy of the world is under unprecedented stress."

Uncommonly Blunt. In his first formal venture into international diplomacy, Ford offered the delegates the same thing he had given the American people in his Inaugural Address, "a little straight talk among friends." The delegates who heard him agreed afterward that the President had been uncommonly blunt. "Developing and developed countries, market and nonmarket economies—we are all part of one interdependent economic system," he said. Ford went on to imply that some countries—namely the oil-producing nations—appeared to be acting less interdependently than they had a right to.

The President linked two pressing world supply crises, oil and food. Problems in either could "be resolved on the basis of cooperation—or can, I should say, be made unmanageable on the basis of confrontation." Ford deplored the use of oil as a political weapon, as Arab countries had employed it last year. "To use one commodity for political purposes," he cautioned, "will inevitably tempt other countries to use their commodities for their own purposes."

Ford pointed out that the U.S. is the world's leading food producer. "It has not," he said, "been our policy to use food as a political weapon despite the oil embargo and recent oil price and production decisions." Any implicit threat in that statement was softened by Ford's announcement that, despite inflated prices, the U.S. would increase food aid to developing nations. He did not, however, specify the amount of such aid. Almost as he spoke, Treasury Secretary William E. Simon was warning Congress that because of the impact of high oil prices, "we may be forced to reassess certain aspects of our policy as well as develop new policies that will increase our leverage."

Actually, the U.S. has relatively limited economic clout against the oil-producing nations, as Ford well knows. The oil countries depend on the U.S. for wheat, corn and tobacco generally, but they could get these from alternate sources. They do buy American petroleum-industry equipment, but for the U.S. to embargo such exports would be self-defeating. If the U.S. held back on sales of armaments or commercial aircraft, two major export items, the Arabs could easily find substitutes elsewhere, albeit of lower quality in many cases. The most compelling U.S. argument is actually an appeal to Arab self-interest: a worldwide depression caused by u stable energy prices could hurt oil pr ducers as much as oil customers.

Secretary of State Henry Kissing was set to re-emphasize the point t week to the General Assembly. He w also suggest some of the political im plications of a continuing energy cri Here U.S. leverage is a little strong One immediate tactic might be a slac ening of American pressure on Israel negotiate the return of occupied Ar territories. But there is an obviously mote long-range threat that some Ar nations have always taken serious U.S. occupation of their oilfields.

Majority Rule. President Ford plain talk referred to another intern tional complication that increasing vexes Washington: in an expandi United Nations, the U.S. and Weste Europe are more and more outvoted key issues by blocs of small Third Wor countries. The President reviewed a le son that he had learned during a qua ter-century in Congress: "We who b lieve in and live by majority rule m always be alert to the danger of ty anny of the majority.' "

Ford's hard-edged speech proved be an appropriate thematic counterpo to the opening address of General A sembly President Bouteflika. At 37, Algerian Foreign Minister not only the youngest person ever to occupy t seat but also appears to be among t least neutral in his sympathies. Bou flika's opening address scored impe alism in Southeast Asia, an obvious r erence to the U.S. presence there.

KISSINGER & BOUTEFLIKA WITH GERALD FORD AT UNITED NATIONS LUNCHEON FOLLOWING U.S. PRESIDENT'S SPEECH



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...ed "hidden hands" on Cyprus. He ...ulated Portugal, regularly scored ...e past by U.N. members as a co... ...oppressor, for "reconciliation with ...use of liberty" in granting inde... ...ence to Guinea-Bissau, and sug... ...st that other Western powers might ...w by Lisbon's example. Introducing ...nika to Ford later, Secretary of ... Kissinger jokingly told the Pres... "I have never known him to be ...rial."

Not all the concern, and the con... ...ations for the next three months of ...Assembly's meetings, will be eco... ...ic. The U.N.'s 25-nation steering ...mittee last week approved a 110... ...agenda. Among the more conten... ...issues:

North Korea, although not a ...ber, is seeking the removal of for... ...forces stationed in South Korea ...the U.N. flag, *i.e.*, U.S. troops. The ...ad is backed by China and the So... Union.

Cambodia's Prince Norodom Si... ...k seeks U.N. support in recover... ...ntrol of his country from the U.S.-...ed government of Marshal Lon ...Washington opposes the move.

Cyprus is asking U.N. aid to re... ...e its rending crisis, which will in... ...ly provoke a diplomatic imbroglio ...een Greece and Turkey.

The most combustible item on the ...da, however, is "the Palestinian ...m." It was put there by a group ...rab and nonaligned nations that in... ...to debate the case of Palestinian ...ns not as refugees, as the U.N. has al... ...considered them, but as a dispos... ...ed nation. In effect, this would pro... ...a status they have never achieved ...years of Middle East turmoil.

Broader Issue. The sides are squar... ...off for a bitter debate. Palestinian ...sentatives are already on hand; ...they have no standing, they are at... ...ed to other Arab delegations. Israe... ...bassador Josef Tekoah contends ...when the General Assembly de... ...Palestine, "the scourge of barbar... ...olished that has plagued mankind ...ent years would find itself gaining ...roval of the U.N."

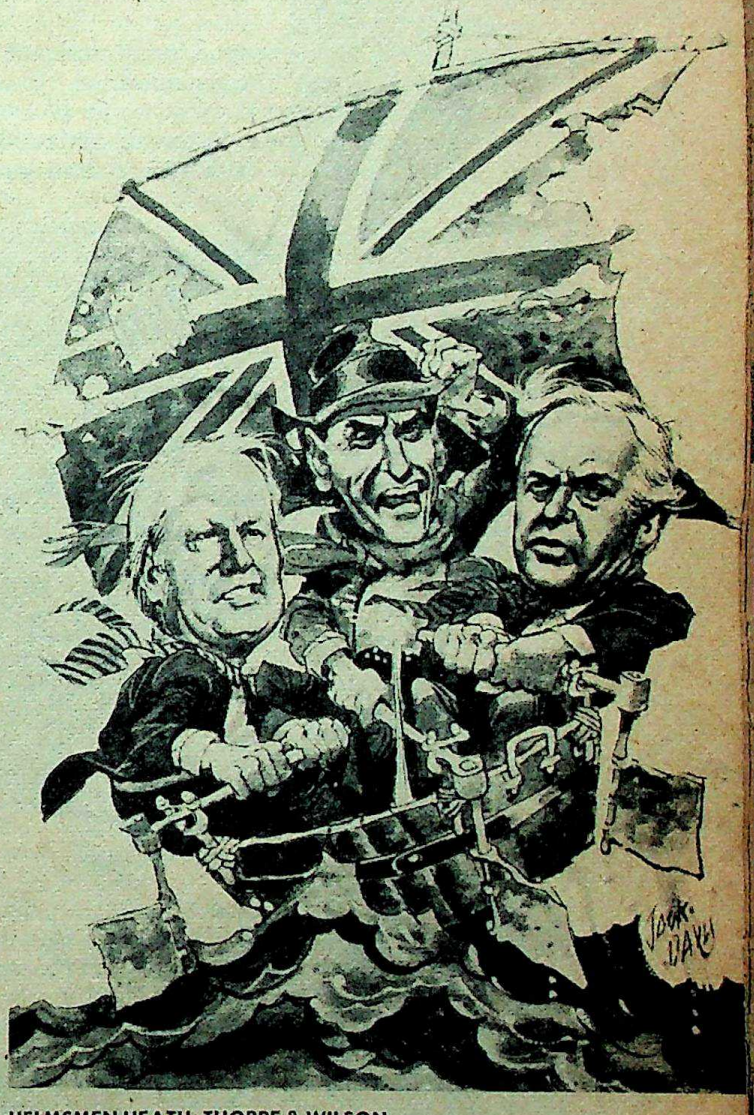
The fact is that Israel, by stressing ...problem of the terrorists, has never ...faced up to the broader Palestin... ...ssue. Nonetheless, Tekoah's fears ...understandable: no nation has suf... ...as much as Israel from the devel... ...t of a Third World hegemony in ...General Assembly and the bloc of ...mmunist and developing nations that ...created. Yet even if the U.N. were ...ally endorse the Palestinian po... ...this would not basically alter the ...ation. The real answer to the Pal... ...question will be found not in mar... ...alongside the East River but ...kind of face-to-face negotiations ...Kissinger has been pursuing in the ...of the last Middle East war a year ...mics may be the privilege of a .... It is rarely a panacea.

BRITAIN

Will Democracy Survive?

From No. 10 Downing Street last week came a long-expected announcement. Using the tradition-honed phrases, spokesmen for Prime Minister Harold Wilson declared that "Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to signify that she will comply" with his request to dissolve Parliament on Sept. 20 and hold elections on Oct. 10. The campaign machinery instantly shifted into high gear. Party leaders appeared on television, and more than 2,000 candidates headed for the hustings to begin three weeks of intensive politicking.

British voters greeted Wilson's announcement with about as much enthusiasm as they would show for a soccer game between two fourth-division losers. For them, the campaign must seem frustratingly déjà vu. It was only seven months ago that they went to the same polls to vote for the same parties on what may appear to them to be the same issues. Britain's problems, however, have grown considerably worse since then. The country not only faces what all party leaders agree is the worst economic crisis in 40 years, but also is suffering from a political malaise that some observers fear could threaten the existence of parliamentary democracy. It is, in short, a crisis of Churchillian dimensions —but no Winston Churchill is in sight. Instead, the voters will choose as their next Prime Minister a tired and familiar old face: either cunning, pragmatic Laborite Wilson, 58; schoolmasterly bachelor Edward Heath, 58, the Conservatives' leader; or likable but inexperienced Liberal Jeremy Thorpe, 45, who is a very dark horse indeed.



HELMSMEN HEATH, THORPE & WILSON

The dissolution of the Wilson government—the shortest-lived British Parliament of this century—was a result of the electorate's failure last February to give any party a majority in the House of Commons. Wilson, having led a minority government since then, is gambling that Labor will emerge from the elections in firm control of Parliament. Yet it is far from certain that any party will win a parliamentary majority. Polls last week gave Labor 42% of the vote, Conservatives 34%, and Liberals 20.5%, but another standoff is possible.

Britain can ill afford another minority government. More than anything else, it needs a Cabinet with enough strength and confidence to confront the country's economic problems: inflation approaching a rate of 20% annually, 700,000 unemployed now and an expected 1 million out of work next year (4% of the work force), a stock market that has plunged to a 16-year low, and a balance of payments deficit that could top $10 billion this year.

A Bank of England report last week cited some of the weaknesses that plague British corporations and could trigger a rash of bankruptcies: chronically low profit margins, diminished cash flow and tight money. Just as the bank's report appeared, London's financial community learned that Ferranti, a leading electronics and defense contractor, could not meet its obligations and had exhausted its lines of credit. Financiers in the City immediately began to worry about which company would be next.

Part of the problem is that many Britons do not yet realize quite how serious an economic problem their nation faces. Shops are packed with goods. "That casual visitor looking too intently for scars of crisis on the face of London," observes TIME Correspondent Herman Nickel, takes the risk of being hit by a Rolls-Royce while crossing Bond

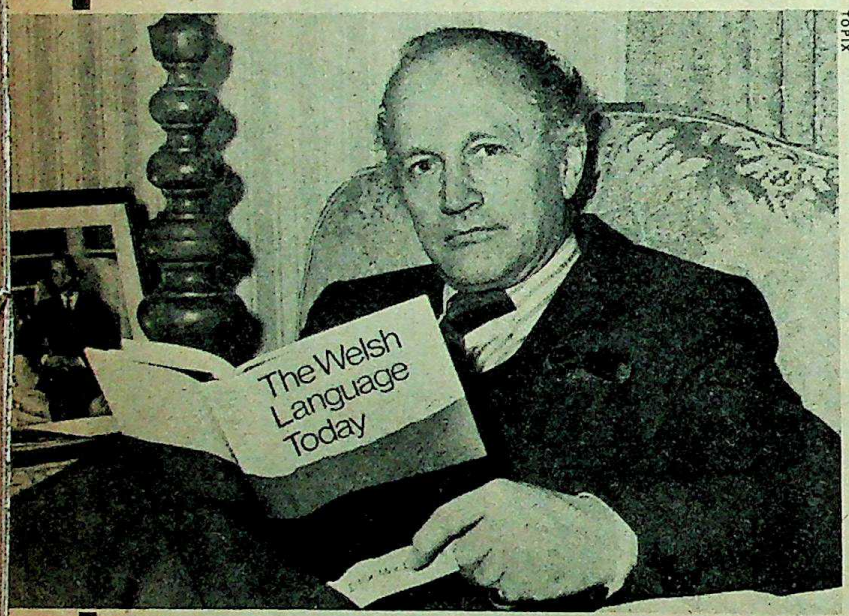
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"Closer to the Moment of Undermined Democracy"

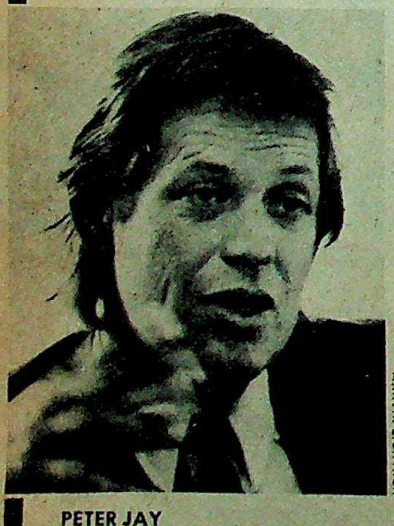
To analyze Britain's deepening crisis and what it portends for the English future, TIME *assembled four leading students of British institutions and prime movers in the country's intellectual and political life. They were Alan J.P. Taylor, 68, Oxford historian and director of the Beaverbrook Library; Alastair Buchan, 56, Oxford professor of international relations and founder of the International Institute for Strategic Studies; Lord Chalfont, 54, author, soldier and former Labor Minister of State; and Peter Jay, 37, economics editor of the* Times *of London. The meeting was chaired by* TIME's *London bureau chief Herman Nickel. Here are key excerpts from the discussion:*

NICKEL: After the Nixon resignation, Americans were congratulating themselves that "the system works." Britain seems to be in a strikingly different mood. I would like to ask you, Alan Taylor, to give us some historical perspective. Have there been similar crises of faith before, and what makes the situation different now?



TOPIX

LORD CHALFONT


MARVIN LICHTNER

PETER JAY

TAYLOR: British history, certainly from the beginning of the 19th century, is composed almost entirely of periods when the country was supposed to be going through disasters. After the Napoleonic wars, the Duke of Wellington was convinced that the country was ruined. Then came the hungry '40s, when the system was supposed to collapse. In the 1880s, the unemployed marched down Piccadilly and smashed every club window. There was a battle in Trafalgar Square. This was real crisis. William Morris believed that it could lead to Socialist revolution. Joseph Chamberlain, when he launched tariff reform, believed Great Britain was on the point of collapse. After World War I, inflation was much faster than now—prices doubled within less than a year. In 1931, people were convinced that the country was ruined, and formed a national government.

Technically this may be a serious crisis, but so far as the ordinary people of this country are concerned, it doesn't exist at all. The idea that there is going to be a seizure of power by somebody or other is childish. It is well known that all British generals are political imbeciles. So it may well be that tomorrow there will be catastrophe, but today everyone is nearly as well off as he was a year ago; and this is one reason why both the last general election, and I fear the next general election, will be indecisive. There is no sense of crisis except on Fleet Street.

NICKEL: Alastair Buchan, do you think this is simply a creation of the press?

BUCHAN: I quite agree with Alan Taylor that we have had much worse periods of social and political tension than this in the past. I also agree there is no prospect of the military getting involved in this. But this said, I think that we perhaps live in rather a dream world. Ordinary people have not really been aware of the way in which this country has declined in wealth and power, and I think the events of this year, and perhaps the next two or three years, may have a rather catalyzing effect. You may get quite a lot of political turbulence and a breakup of the two-party system in its present form at Westminster. But I don't see it taking the form of violence.

NICKEL: Lord Chalfont, you have broached the possibility of the military playing a role.

CHALFONT: The idea needs refining a bit. No one in his senses would suggest that the British army is about to take over the reins of power in this country. But I think there could be a breakdown of not only the existing political system but also of the rule of law, to an extent which might lead to an authoritarian form of government. If anybody doubts that there is a crisis, I have to disagree. I would suggest we are in danger of the disappearance of the kind of political democracy that we have known for a thousand years.

TAYLOR: Thirty years.

CHALFONT: That is the historian's view.

NICKEL: Economic crises in Britain are nothing new. What is the present crisis, in your view, Peter Jay, so much more dangerous than previous ones?

JAY: It is more dangerous only because it has brought us closer to the moment when the malfunctioning of the economy undermines our political-social democracy. I hope that Alan Taylor is right, but I have my doubts. My hypothesis is that it is no longer possible to maintain the illusion that our system can reconcile four absolutes: that we must have full employment, that we must have stable prices or at least a usable currency, that we must have free collective bargaining, and that we must have governments which depend for their right to govern on renewable popular consent. After the war it was possible to yaw back and forward between full employment and stable prices. After a while it became apparent that this was a rather sterile seesaw. You are trapped, rather like a billiard ball, between your commitment to full employment, your commitment to stable prices, and the impossibility of suspending, for more than a temporary period, collective bargaining. At that point, postwar parliamentary democracy ceases to be viable.

CHALFONT: I think real political power is moving away from the elected legislature. The large industrial trade unions are a classic example of bodies which are nonelective and, in many cases, nondemocratic, but which wield enormous power. They can bring down elected governments, they can affect and inhibit the policies of those governments. The problem is exacerbated by the very real increase in power of the extreme left wing, people who really want to see the existing political system of this country changed radically.

NICKEL: How much difference will the outcome of the elections make to the solution of the country's problems?

TAYLOR: I tend to believe that elections in themselves usually don't produce a result unless the crisis, the issue, is already there. Then the need for national unity is shown.

JAY: When ordinary, decent, sensible people are [illegible]

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conflict between what they perceive to be their own pri-
terest and what they probably accept are the interests
country, there is no way in which they can put the two
together. When Alan Taylor says that unity will ap-
he is failing to see the nature of the problem. The na-
of the problem is precisely that that moment will not
arise. When you have a situation such as the prob-
inflation creates, in which the sensible pursuit of pri-
terest produces a national breakdown, then calls to
unity don't make any sense at all. You have a fail-
the system. I mean there is nothing about which peo-
be united.

BUCHAN: There is now a sense of confusion that I don't re-
ber in my lifetime. We may be going through a period,
like the 1850s and 1860s, with the breakup of the es-
ed political alignment. I wouldn't be surprised if we
an election every year for the next three or four years,
that during this realignment Parliament will look much
like a continental legislature than the British are ac-
med to. It would have that spectrum character rather
the solid two-party basis on which all our political as-
tions are based.

CHALFONT: Whether we shall ever return to the classic
arty confrontation system, I am not so sure. I would re-
it if we did. This polarity between what is now the Con-
ative Party and Labor is an attitude to politics with which
people are totally disenchanted and frustrated.

NICKEL: Do you see coalition governments in the future,
sult of the rise of all these new groups?

BUCHAN: Yes, some form of a coalition government would
ably be inevitable.

NICKEL: A lot of people seem to see salvation around the
, when North Sea oil makes Britain self-sufficient in pe-
m and even a net exporter. What is your view?

JAY: North Sea oil is wholly irrelevant to the problem of in-
. It is probably relevant to our balance of payments def-
but that is not a fundamental problem. So I would forget
North Sea oil.

NICKEL: What you define as the real problem—is it not
that all Western parliamentary democracies are afflicted
?

JAY: It is not confined to the U.K. There is a spectrum of
ries which are farther or less far down this road. And
dangerous it is depends on an interaction between how
your economic problem is and how strong your polit-
nstitutions are. The U.K. has its problem in a very acute
economically. It also has very strong political insti-
ns. Therefore it is probably better placed than Italy, which
the economic problem in equally acute form but much
strong political institutions. Some countries, of which the
ed States certainly, and possibly Switzerland, seem to me
are hardly down the road at all, because they have ex-
ely strong political institutions, and they have the eco-
problem developed to an almost negligible degree. I
e that will surprise many Americans, but I don't think
ey always realize how un-unionized their labor market
in consequence, how little down this road they are.

CHALFONT: I find Peter Jay's suggestion that there is some
non-human system breaking down infinitely depress-
to suggest that human beings and politicians can't do any-
about it seems to me to be a negation of the whole
cal process. I do believe that it is possible to talk of a gov-
ent of national unity, which would have a broad enough
to persuade people that we should delay pressing our
ctional economic interests, and for a while place the in-
of society before them.

JAY: The question that a government of national unity in
d has to face is: How do you set up the operation of the
ery and industrial relations in such a way that some-
who wishes to be patriotic, but on the other hand doesn't
to garrote his wife and family, can reconcile those two

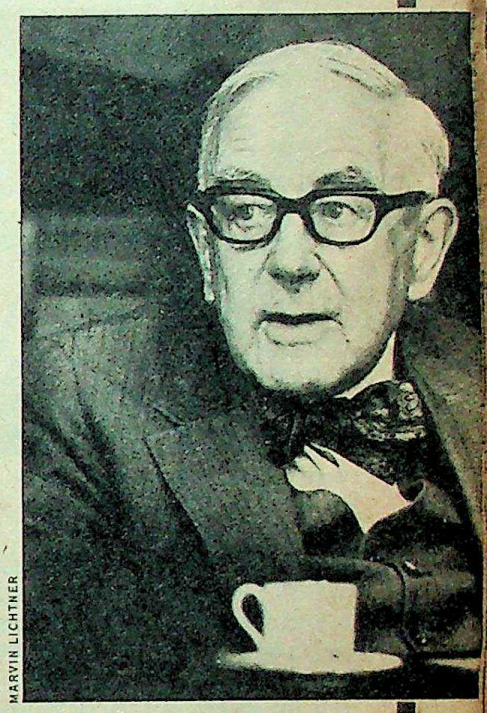
BUCHAN: And this happens to coincide with a period
your leadership, as in many other countries, is at best
ency.

CHALFONT: I have a theory that if a leader is going to emerge at all, he will emerge from a radical realignment in the British political spectrum. The majority of people in this country are saying they have no faith in either the Conservative Party or the Labor Party. They haven't much faith in anybody else, either.

TAYLOR: The great majority of people in this country voted either for the Conservative or the Labor Party.

CHALFONT: Well, as a matter of fact, a plurality voted Conservative, and yet we have a Labor Government, so this does seem to indicate a degree of confusion in the country. If another such result appears, I have an instinct that the more extreme elements in both parties will spin off by a sort of centrifugal force onto the edges of political life, with a more centrist Social Democratic Party emerging that might conceivably have the sort of broad-based support needed to solve these problems.

ALAN J.P. TAYLOR



MARVIN LICHTNER

JAY: My own view is that the solution to the problem lies not in the center, and that the country will be forced to choose between one of the extremes. I would guess that the right is more likely to emerge on top than the left within the next two decades.

NICKEL: In a way, it may be characteristic of the state of Britain, and the intense preoccupation with internal problems, that no one has said anything in this discussion about how this will affect Britain's relationship to the rest of the world.

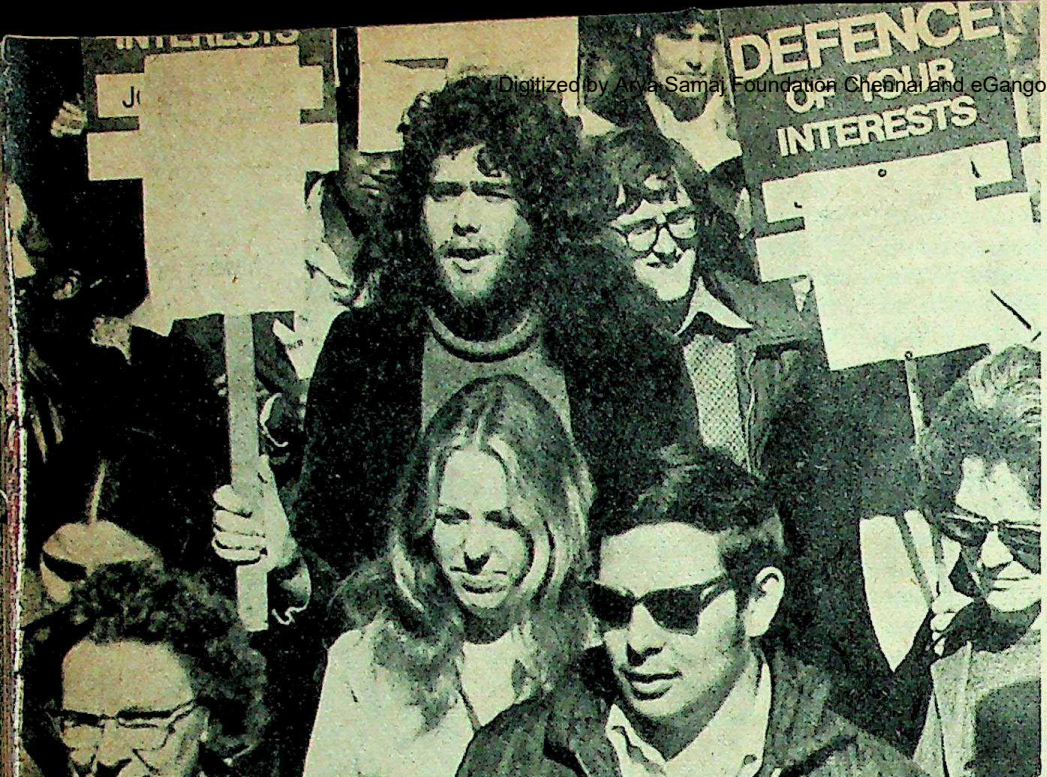
ALASTAIR BUCHAN



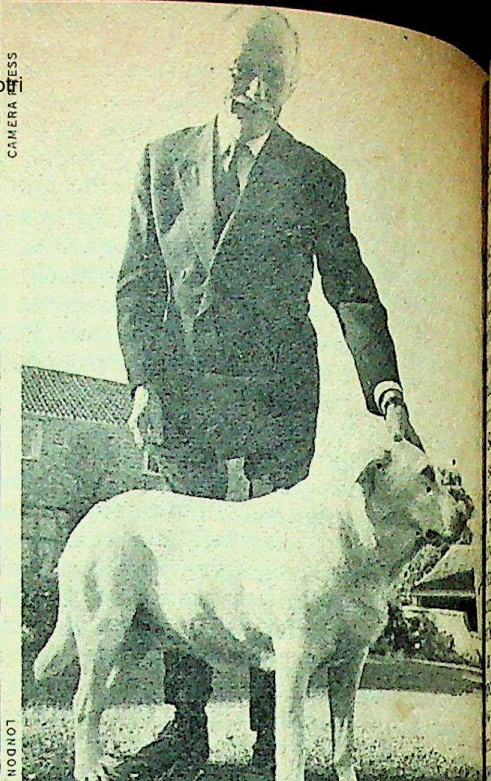
JAY: The pressures that are now being engendered are pushing not just the U.K., but most of Western Europe, in the direction of the political extremes. I think that this is likely to produce the traditional Western European pattern of violence and conflict. If you believe in a sort of liberal, middle-way, plural society, then it seems to me to follow that one needs to stay in very close touch with the one island I see being left by the end of this century which both embodies those kinds of ideas and is strong politically and militarily, and that is the United States.

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PROTESTING BRITISH GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES



SIR WALTER WALKER

Working class anger, middle class fears, and a crisis of Churchillian dimensions with no Churchill in sight.

Street." Britain has been able to maintain its living standard as high as it has largely because it has borrowed large amounts abroad (about $4 billion) and because Arab oil producers have deposited an estimated $2.5 billion in London's banks. The nation could be brought to the edge of bankruptcy if it started encountering difficulty renewing its loans or if the Arabs suddenly withdrew their deposits.

Wage Hikes. For the past seven months, Labor has tried to stem inflation, but with little success. Wilson has relied on persuasion to limit wage hikes. His chosen instrument has been "the social contract," an informal agreement between trade unions and government in which union leaders have pledged to seek salary increases only if they are needed to maintain their members' standard of living. So far, the social contract has not been tested by any major labor-management dispute. Many are skeptical whether Wilson's policy of persuasion alone could restrain wages if subjected to a series of important contract talks—such as the traditional autumn-round. Any attempt to put teeth into the social contract, however, would almost certainly split the Labor Party. Economist Peter Jay warns that an incomes policy "can be trapped like a billiard ball between its commitment to full employment, to stable prices and to collective bargaining. At that point, governments that depend on satisfying those three points cease to be possible."

The tenor of the Labor government deeply worried the middle classes. At first it was thought that Wilson, because of his precarious position in Parliament, would attempt to form a moderate consensus government. Instead, he appointed leading members of Labor's outspoken left wing to important Cabinet posts. Anthony (Tony) Wedgwood Benn became Minister for Industry and proposed "planning agreements" with the country's top 100 companies—a first step, many felt, toward outright nationalization. The Exchequer went to Denis Healey, who during last February's campaign pledged that he would cause "howls of anguish" from the rich. Actually, the higher taxes he imposed on those in the upper income levels and on corporations primarily hit the middle classes. The policies of Benn and Healey helped precipitate the drop in stock market prices and erode savings but, more important, they suggested that Wilson was a hostage of the Labor left wing and the unions.

Wilson realizes that Labor will have to broaden its appeal if it expects to win a majority of Parliament's seats. To placate the middle class, Labor in its election manifesto has reduced the number of industries earmarked for nationalization. To soothe the many Britons who still oppose membership in the Common Market—which the Tories boast was Heath's most important achievement as Prime Minister—Labor promises to hold a referendum within twelve months on withdrawal from the EEC.

The Tories are making inflation and Wilson's failure to handle it the campaign's main issue. They have promised to avoid the "confrontation politics" that led Heath to try last winter to force wage guidelines on the coal miners (leading to the miners' disastrous 11-week slowdown and 4-week strike). But the Conservatives insist that they are still prepared to enact laws to enforce wage-price restraints if necessary. They are also calling for strict control of public spending and for a more moderate growth of the money supply. These measures could probably slow the surge in prices, but they would also spur great unemployment. Thus the Tories' proposals are hardly designed to change the conviction of many union members that Heath has governed on behalf of the middle classes at the expense of the working people. Heath hopes that the specter of another Labor government will bring back to the fold those Tories who either sat out the last election or voted Liberal.

There is almost nothing new in the campaign rhetoric of either the Tories or the Laborites. Thus there is little to change the minds of the two-thirds of the electorate (according to recent polls) who believe that neither party has the answers for their country's problems. A young Birmingham housewife mirrored this frustration when she told Time: "The fight has been taken out of the people. You have Labor in, then suddenly the Conservatives come back, and then Labor again. It's like another cook taking over the stove and buggering the dinner. I don't care who does it just as long as something is done!"

Turned Off. Last February, more than 6 million Britons (about 19% of the electorate) took a plague-on-both-your-houses attitude and voted for the resurgent Liberal Party. Largely because of Jeremy Thorpe's vibrant personality, the Liberals appeal to voters who are turned off by the leadership of both major parties. The Liberals are committed to mandatory wage and price controls. Yet they also call for increases in the minimum wage and pensions—measures that would probably add to inflation. Although Thorpe's party may emerge from the elections a distant third, it could garner enough seats to

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either major party of a majority. Liberals might then be wooed as ers in a coalition government.

Regional nationalism, a once quix- movement that has intensified and serious in the past three years, also prevent a Tory or Labor ma- The Welsh nationalists currently two members in the House and pick up a third. The Scottish Na- Party, which won 22% of the vote Scotland last February, now has sev- seats at Westminster; some observers ve that they could double that num- ext month. Labor and the Conser- es are both trying to cut into the ish Nationalists' constituency by ising an impressive range of public- s projects for Scotland. Moreover, sharp reversal of its longstanding sition to regional autonomy, Labor advocates an elected Scottish as- and an executive with broad ers over local issues.

These concessions may not be gh. With their newly discovered h Sea oil bonanza, a growing num- Scots feel that they will soon have economic base to separate from Eng- Observes John P. Mackintosh, ish historian and Labor Party can- e from Berwick and East Lothian: en you look at the performances of government in London, what is there e proud of? What are you left to cling We could hardly do worse."

Long Queues. Such gloom is wide- ad, reports TIME's Herman Nickel. eys reveal that well over 1 million ns [out of a total population of 56 on] now express a firm intention of grating; 4.5 million are considering There are long queues waiting for im- ation permits outside the Canadian Australian High Commissions. An us of the sizable American commu- has already begun.

There are doubts that the Parlia- t elected next month will be able to the country's problems. 'Real pow- notes former Labor Minister Lord ford, 'is moving away from the ted legislature' and toward mighty lective bodies such as the trade ns. Polls indicate that only 10% feel the government is the real power in ain; 66% think that it is the unions. ath's disastrous confrontation with coal miners revealed the limits to an ted government's ability to enforce olicies."

It is this crisis of official authority has spawned the controversial vig- e movements that are now being or- ed throughout the country. Sir er Walker, 61, former commander ATO's northern flank, claims to have dy recruited 100,000 volunteers for civil assistance" movement, which to keep power plants going and age flowing if labor unions launch a pling strike. Colonel David Stirling, a onetime commando leader, is orga- g a smaller group of professionals, d "GB '75," for the same purpose.

Observes Nickel: "Though it is easy to lambaste those volunteers as Blimpish strikebreakers, they reflect the middle class's deep-seated anxiety that Britain's traditional institutions (which it controlled for so long) are giving way to new power structures dominated by the working class. Yet the crisis is more than a class conflict. The unions will soon be competing with each other for shares of the nation's shrinking economic pie."

Grand Coalition. Historian A.J.P. Taylor, a longtime Labor supporter, is more optimistic; he believes that Britain will eventually rouse itself to master this crisis, just as it has others. He argues that so far—despite gloomy economic statistics—most Britons have maintained their living standard. As more begin to feel the pinch and are convinced that "national unity will produce results," national unity will appear, most likely in the form of a coalition government. Indeed, there is increasing talk about the possibility of a coalition Cabinet. Tories and Liberals have already indicated that they are prepared to join one. Labor is opposed, however; its participation would be required for the kind of "wartime" grand coalition capable of making controversial economic decisions.

If the new Cabinet does not provide leadership, Oxford Political Scientist Alastair Buchan foresees, there will be a period of confusion and unstable majorities and coalitions resulting in a realignment of political forces. During this realignment, according to Buchan, the House of Commons may be divided along ideological lines, like a Continental Parliament. For example, there could be a new, centrist mass social democratic party, attracting the disenchanted from the ranks of Labor and Tory. To its left would be the radical remnants of today's Labor Party; on the extreme right would be a hard-line Tory Party dominated, perhaps, by Maverick Enoch Powell (who is planning to return to Commons via a safe seat in Northern Ireland). The regional nationalists, Liberals and others would all form minor blocs, creating "a spectrum rather than the present solid two-party basis," concludes Buchan.

Britain has survived wrenching political realignments before: the struggle of the middle classes for power in the 1830s and 1840s, the rise of Labor and the collapse of the Liberals in the early years of the 20th century. This time, however, there are fears that the country may not have the stability and resilience to survive the change with its parliamentary system intact. The august London *Times* has ventured to ask whether the voters in next month's election may not be choosing Britain's "Last-Chance Parliament." That warning may be a bit shrill, but the nation has no time to lose in demanding the sacrifices that are needed to solve its economic problems. If the new government fails in this, voters next time may be compelled to embrace more radical solutions.

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MIDDLE EAST

Agony in the Arqub

In 1973 Moslem observance of the month of fasting called Ramadan coincided with Yom Kippur, Judaism's most sacred day. So did the start of the October war. This year Ramadan coincided with Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year's Day. There was no recurrence of open warfare, but Israeli jets did attack villages in the mountainous border region of southern Lebanon known as the Arqub. Since 1969, this area, which fans out from the slopes of Mount Hermon, has been known as "Fatahland" because Palestinian guerrillas regularly cross it from havens in Syria to infiltrate the Israeli border. In reprisal for fedayeen raids, or to deter recurrences, Israeli aircraft, artillery and armored columns have regularly punished the Lebanese countryside. Last week's bombing of Hasbaya, Rashaya Fukhar and four other villages, according to the Lebanese government, marked the 65th Israeli air attack on southern Lebanon; in addition, there have been more than 1,000 artillery barrages and 222 armed border crossings.

Civilian Victims. The Israeli assaults are designed to keep the fedayeen off balance and to cut the so-called "Arafat trail" between Syria and Israel. They also serve a second purpose: putting pressure on Lebanon to police the Palestinians. But the main victims over the years have not been the mobile commandos but the Lebanese families who live in the border villages. Among the victims of last week's raids was the septuagenarian *mukhtar* (headman) of Hasbaya; he was the 137th civilian to be killed so far. In addition, 402 Lebanese have been wounded and 91 have been captured and forcibly taken across the

LEBANESE WIDOW GIBRAN & CHILDREN



ZOUBER SAADE

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border into Israel for interrogation.

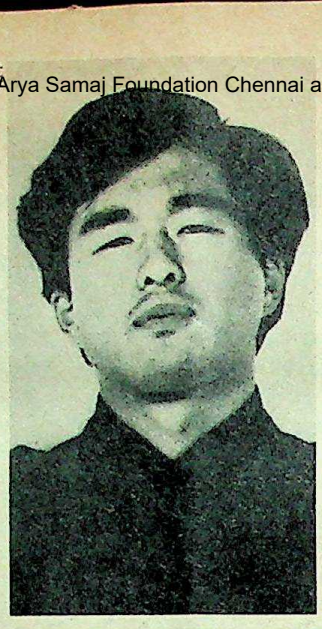
Almost every village in southern Lebanon has its variation on a common theme of misery. Last week TIME Correspondent William Stewart visited Rashaya Fukhar in the heart of the Arqub and sent this report:

As the road from Tyre turns inland at Naqura, the scenery suddenly changes from lush and crowded to barren and empty. As it wound through Dhayra, Awad Dib, a 35-year-old tobacco farmer and father of nine, could be seen doggedly rebuilding his house. One April night last spring, after the fedayeen raid on Qiryat Shemona that killed 18 Israelis (TIME, April 22), an armored column rolled into the village. "About 35 men came to my farm," he told me. "They said I helped the fedayeen. They took all the furniture in my house and piled it in one room. Then they took my family outside and they blew up the house. My brother and I and two others were kept in Israel for two months."

At 'Udaysah, the Lebanese road parallels an Israeli road across the barbed-wire border. Israeli automobiles zoom along past rich orchards and a soldier grins and waves. Rashaya Fukhar is slightly different from other villages in the Arqub. For one thing, most of its inhabitants are Christian. For another, every structure in the village is made of stone, which can save lives. Almost every house has doors off hinges, cracked walls or damaged roofs; some have been totally destroyed. Two months ago, a villager named Elias Gibran was caught in the fields during an air raid and killed. He was Rashaya Fukhar's third fatality in such attacks; 25 others have been wounded. A widow and seven children survive him.

Black Hulks. Rashaya Fukhar was once populous and happy. But 2,500 of its people have emigrated to Europe and the U.S. in the past 20 years or more. In a second wave of emigration, another 1,000 have fled the bombings since 1970. Only 500 villagers remain. Recent raids have turned their 1,000-year-old olive trees into twisted black hulks and churned their fields full of bomb craters.

The settlement is dying economically as well as literally. "Fukhar" means pottery in Arabic; there used to be 70 kilns in the village, employing 500 people. Now there are only two. Farmers are afraid to work their fields for fear they will step on an Israeli antipersonnel mine. At night, most of the villagers huddle inside the thick walls of St. George's Greek Orthodox Church for sanctuary. From St. George's terrace, Father Moussa Khoury points out the only glow visible in the valley below. It comes from Qiryat Shemona, the Israeli town 13 miles away. Looking at the silhouette of a giant oak tree near the terrace, Father Khoury reflects: "It's been here for a thousand years, they say. But then so have we. And here we stay."





YUTAKA FURUYA (LEFT); AMBASSADOR SENARD & WIFE AFTER HIS RELEASE

TERRORISM

The Red Army Returns

The pattern was all too familiar. Three men, armed with pistols and a grenade, strode into the French embassy in The Hague just before closing time and occupied the fourth floor of the modern concrete and glass building. Seizing eleven hostages, including French Ambassador Count Jacques Senard and several business executives, they issued a nonnegotiable demand: a comrade held in a French prison must be released or the hostages would be killed one by one, beginning at 3 next morning. The demand was scrawled in red ink on a piece of paper and tossed out a window. It was from the Japanese Red Army, the terrorist group that two years ago gained international notoriety by massacring 27 people at Lod Airport in Tel Aviv.

Dutch police immediately rushed into the embassy but were repulsed with two wounded; two of the Japanese were also hit in the exchange of fire. The police then laid siege to the occupied building while French and Dutch authorities hastily acted to meet the terrorists' demands. One was that Red Army Member Yutaka Furuya—who was arrested in Paris last July after he was found carrying counterfeit bills, fake passports, and a plan for attacks on embassies and businesses throughout France—be freed. He was whisked from his Parisian jail to The Netherlands in a French air force jet. (Strangely, Furuya resisted the move so strenuously that when the plane landed at The Hague airport, he had to be dragged off it.)

The next morning the situation became deadlocked as Dutch negotiators, led by Premier Joop den Uyl, tried desperately to whittle away the resistance of the terrorists. At one point, the talks broke down entirely when the commandos refused to communicate with government spokesmen. The Dutch reopened communications by writing a plea in huge Japanese characters on a 20-ft. roll of paper that was spread out on the street below the embassy windows. The following night, a Boeing 7[illegible] and a crew, demanded by the Red Army commandos, was readied for takeoff at nearby Schiphol Airport. Several hours later, two women were released, but the only confirmation that the other hostages were still alive came when Ambassador Senard waved briefly from a fourth-floor window. One hostage later reported that several of the prisoners quietly discussed trying to overcome the three Japanese while they dozed, but the terrorists quickly awoke whenever anybody got near them.

White Gloves. Last Tuesday, after four days of talks, the terrorists accepted a Dutch offer of $300,000 in exchange for the hostages (France earlier had refused to meet a $1 million ransom demand). Wearing black hoods and white gloves and holding guns at the backs of six hostages (three had been left behind because they were sick), the commandos boarded a bus to go to Schiphol Airport. After the hostages boarded the Boeing, Furuya was handed over to the terrorists. Then, as a flight crew boarded the aircraft, the hostages one by one disembarked. Surrounded by hundreds of troops and armored vehicles, the plane lifted off the runway, carrying enough fuel for an 8½-hour flight.

The plane landed first in Aden, then went north to Jordan and finally to Syria. On board, Flight Engineer Bernard Knight talked the terrorists into returning the $300,000 ransom. "They came to the conclusion that the money was no good to them anyway," he said, apparently because the notes were marked.

On arrival in Damascus, the airliner circled overhead for more than an hour while Syrian leaders discussed French and Dutch requests that the plane be allowed to land. Permission was finally granted for "human reasons," and the plane taxied to an isolated part of the airfield. After an hour of negotiations, the terrorists disembarked and were taken to an undisclosed location.

Apparently, the Japanese wanted to be turned over to representatives of

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stine Liberation Organization, one those commando groups has close ts with the Red Army. Although P.L.O. played a crucial role in get- the Japanese released, the Pales- s, who are trying to get recogni- for the U.N., denied that they had custody of the men. At week's end whereabouts remained a mystery. thing, however, seemed highly ble: like 25 other Arab and Jap- hijackers who have surrendered Arab governments in the past 20 ths, the three men responsible for latest terrorist incident would even- be freed without punishment.

GENTINA

e War Against Isabel

Violence is nothing new in Argen- politics, but it has now reached pro- ons that are staggering even by standards. Last Sunday night ter- s scattered more than 50 bombs Buenos Aires, mainly at automo- showrooms, banks and financial panies. Two men, including a po- man who was trying to dismantle a when it exploded, were killed and eral others wounded. Next night, be- the city had recovered from the first ight, 60 more bombs were plant- Earlier that day the bullet-riddled of Atilio López, a leftist labor lead- former provincial vice governor, discovered along a highway 45 miles the capital. The following after- Alejandro Bartosch, a police phy- n, was shot to death as he stood in of his home.

Since Aug. 1 the toll from both left- right-wing terrorism has averaged death every 19 hours, and it is ris- steadily. That chilling statistic is only ign of Argentina's turmoil. Late last two members of one of Argenti- richest families, Juan and Jorge , were kidnaped by left-wing guer- s in the Buenos Aires suburb of La a while a trainload of commuters ed on in horror.

Strange Bedfellows. In large part, wave of violence is a consequence resident Juan Perón's death on July n his widow Isabel succeeded him resident, her most pressing task was aintain some semblance of unity g the diverse political factions that supported her husband. Peronism always been more of a personality than a cohesive political ideology. El Lider gone, the danger was that llowers, who ranged from conser- businessmen to radical students ationists, would realize what im- ly strange bedfellows they made. evitable splintering of the Peron- ovement, whose fundamental divi- were clear long before Perón died, briefly forestalled by a period of in- national mourning that united Ar- As the current violence attests, the widow's honeymoon is now definitely over.

Earlier this month the Montoneros, a leftist guerrilla organization that helped return Perón to power in 1973, accused Isabel of "harboring imperialists and oligarchs" and then declared war on her government. Issuing their "War Communiqué No. 1" at a clandestine press conference, the Montoneros threatened a terrorist campaign of arson, assassination, sabotage and bombing. As a chilling reminder of their past exploits, they also released a detailed report of how they kidnaped former President Pedro Eugenio Aramburu in 1970, stuffed him into a truckload of hay, and transported him to a ranch outside Buenos Aires, where he was summarily tried, sentenced and executed. Although the Montoneros are not the sole purveyors of Argentine violence, they are widely believed to be responsible for most of the recent bombings.

Diplomatic observers are divided on whether or not the latest round of terrorism might burgeon into full-fledged civil war. The heavily armed Montoneros may have as many as 3,000 combatants plus 100,000 noncombatant supporters. Argentina's other major terrorist group, the 20,000-member (1,000 combatants) Marxist People's Revolutionary Army (E.R.P.), has also announced a policy of bombs and bullets. Last week they vowed to kill 16 army officers to avenge the deaths of 16 guerrillas following an abortive arms raid on army headquarters in Catamarca province.

Banned Meat. With the Montoneros and the E.R.P. ranged against it, the 35,000-member federal police force may well find it virtually impossible to maintain order. Both the government and the military would prefer to keep the 75,000-man Argentine army out of any anti-guerrilla campaign, rather than risk action that might broaden popular support for the Montoneros by making them seem like romantic underdogs.

Compounding Mrs. Perón's difficulties, the violence comes at a time when Argentina is suffering serious economic setbacks. Inflation, which Perón had reduced last year from an annual rate of 80% to about 20% by a comprehensive wage-price freeze, has started to accelerate again and is now close to 40%. Shortages of items from soap to cars developed when manufacturers started hoarding their merchandise rather than selling it at unprofitable frozen prices. Widespread strikes further aggravated the downward spiral. In mid-July, Argentina began losing an estimated $40 million a month in crucial sales when the European Economic Community banned all meat imports until the end of October. The economic slump is only coincidentally tied to Mrs. Perón's accession to power, but it nevertheless handicaps the chances of her political survival. Despite the mounting challenges to her government, *la Presidente* seems more determined than ever to stay in power. In a dramatic balcony appearance at an outdoor rally held last Friday to boost national morale, Mrs. Perón asserted that "nothing or no one will keep me from making Argentina happy." It was telling, however, that only 60,000 of the 2.5 million workers who had been given time off to attend the rally showed up. The fear of violence apparently kept many of the others away.

ISABEL PERÓN IN HER PRESIDENTIAL ROBES



STUDENT DEMONSTRATORS ARRESTED IN BUENOS AIRES



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NEWSPAPERS BEING BURNED IN PROTEST AGAINST CENSORSHIP IN SAIGON

SOUTH VIET NAM

Thieu's Travails

These are not the best of times for President Nguyen Van Thieu. Since the 1973 Peace Accords were signed in Paris, the opposing sides in South Viet Nam have methodically killed each other at a doleful rate of 4,000 a month. What makes the fighting utterly futile is the fact that neither the Communists nor the Saigon government has scored any strategic gains. Moreover, public discontent with Thieu's tautly run regime has been fueled by inflation, which is currently running at a staggering 70% a year. As a result, Thieu, for the first time since the cease-fire, now faces a disparate but potentially volatile opposition from militant Roman Catholics and Buddhists, as well as from the normally docile Saigon press.

Land Deals. The opposition first surfaced a fortnight ago in the shattered former imperial capital of Hué, where 5,000 civilians gathered in front of the city's Roman Catholic cathedral to protest government corruption. The complaint was familiar enough, but the specifics were startlingly new. In a document that quickly circulated throughout the country, priests charged that Thieu had profited handsomely from housing and land deals, that his wife Nguyen Thi Mai had taken a rake-off from running a hospital that admits mostly well-to-do patients, and that his brother-in-law Nguyen Xuan Nguyen had made hundreds of millions of piasters in fertilizer speculation.

The priests also accused the mother of freewheeling Information Minister Hoang Duc Nha, 32, a cousin of the President's and his closest confidant, of profiteering in sales of subsidized rice in the largely barren central coast. Police roughed up some of the Hué demonstrators, but to avoid triggering trouble elsewhere, they dispersed the crowd peacefully.

Next a group of editors and publishers met in Saigon to protest the press code that has long muzzled South Vietnamese newspapers and magazines. After a long series of unproductive meetings with Information Minister Nha, the editors announced that they would henceforth ignore government restrictions. When three Saigon newspapers published the full text of the Catholic priests' charges against Thieu and his family, about 60 Catholics, Buddhists and journalists marched to prevent police from entering the printing plants. One newspaper proprietor burned 10,000 copies of an edition the police had ordered confiscated while a crowd shouted, "Down with dictatorship and corruption!" Such public displays would have been unthinkable only a few months ago.

Although Buddhist immolations in 1963 roused American opinion against Ngo Dinh Diem and in 1966 forced Thieu to promise elections, until recently the Buddhists had limited their anti-Thieu protests to pathetic little marches in downtown Saigon, in which they were outnumbered 10 to 1 by police. They have now formed an organization called the Forces for National Reconciliation. The Buddhists carefully refrained from labeling the "force" a political party in order to avoid legal harassment, but they clearly intend to exert renewed political influence. Says Senator Vu Van Mau, leader of a Buddhist group in the Thieu-dominated Senate: "I think in a democracy—and Thieu claims that this is a democracy—he must take account of the opinion the people. He must explain himself

Even more explicit was Tran Van Tuyen, leader of the 27-opposition bloc in the lower ho which is also dominated by Thieu vorites. "There have always been cha es of corruption," said Tuyen, "but open charges [of the priests] were the last drop of water that makes full glass overflow. President Thieu has to make an answer."

So far none has been forthcomi Thieu seems reluctant to gag the opp sition, at least for now, apparently fe ing the impact that a crackdown wo have on Gerald Ford, the U.S. Congr and American opinion. The Penta had originally asked for $1.6 billion military aid, which South Viet Nam d perately needed, but Congress has t tatively trimmed aid for the next fis year to $700 million. The Administ tion had hoped to get $750 million fr Congress to shore up Saigon's sagg economy, but Capitol Hill seems m likely to settle for a modest $400 m lion. For Nguyen Van Thieu, it is mo that counts.

PORTUGAL

Return of the Colonials

The first TAP Airline jumbo jets gin arriving at Lisbon's Portela de cavém International Airport at 7:5 the morning. By 10 o'clock customs immigration offices are overflowing per-middle-class professional men their well-dressed families "on holid civil servants "on extended leave," dents looking for places at Lisbon versity, shopkeepers, farmers, Asians, mulattoes and frightened people. Pushing a cart piled high 14 suitcases and carrying a bicycle, Tudo Bem, a civil servant from the golan capital of Luanda expressed prevailing sentiment: "I have six mo vacation now, but I will go back work for the new government—if don't throw us out."

No Brass Bands. At Lisbon's the scene was much the same last as the troopship *Niassa* arrived, ing 1,400 soldiers from Guinea-Bis There were no brass bands, nor matter were there any high-ranking ernment officials. One by one, as the diers were demobilized on ship, walked off carrying homemade gu cardboard boxes or cheap suitcases their belongings. Many sported T with pictures of Amilcar Cabral, the sassinated Guinea liberation le against whose cause they had so re ly been fighting. Some, but by no all, were enthusiastic about retur home. Says Joaquim Pinedo Martins "The war was a fascist disaster. don't plan to emigrate. I will find m ture in Portugal."

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Adieu to the *France*

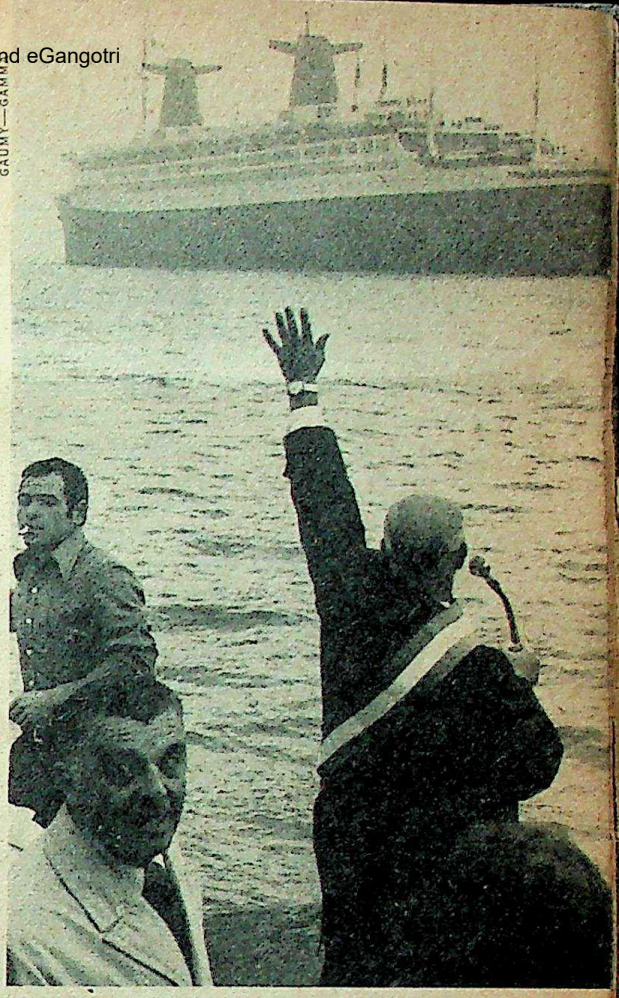
She had been launched in an era of Gallic grandeur. From the moment that the *France* first slipped into the Loire estuary at St. Nazaire 14 years ago while French President Charles de Gaulle looked on, this ultimate luxury liner sailed the oceans as a glittering symbol of French elegance. A magnificent example of marine engineering, she was the longest (1,035 ft.) and one of the fastest (30 knots) passenger liners afloat. The service was superb (the ratio of passengers to crew was less than 2 to 1) and so was the food. The *France's* gourmet dining rooms, particularly the gold-walled Chambord, ranked among the best restaurants on land or sea, dispensing caviar, *foie gras* and champagne as if they were going out of style.

As a matter of fact, they were. Last week the *France* fell victim to a new era of French economic realism. After negotiations between government authorities and striking crewmen broke down, the French Line announced that it was canceling the liner's four remaining voyages, all of which were fully booked, and was pulling the ship out of service immediately. The decision left only the British Cunard Line and the Italian Line offering regular transatlantic service between Europe and the U.S.

Rebellious Sailors. The liner's fate had been sealed last July, when French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing announced that the government could no longer afford to subsidize the ship. A fourfold increase in oil prices had pushed the liner's estimated deficit to an intolerable rate of $21 million this year. Although the ship was to have been pulled out of service on Oct. 25, the end was hastened when the crew went on strike two weeks ago as the liner approached Le Havre on its regular crossing from New York. Rebellious sailors forced the *France's* captain, Christian Pettre, to drop anchor in the approach channel to Le Havre, blocking the harbor's entrance to larger oil tankers. The crew then announced that they would occupy the ship until the government guaranteed jobs for the 3,000 or so employees who would be affected by the liner's demise. After a last nostalgic night, the ship's 1,264 passengers were taken ashore on a Norwegian ferry.

The demonstration won strong support from the French Maritime Union, which staged a two-day sympathy strike and brought out thousands of demon-

GAUMY—GAMMA



THE *FRANCE* AT ANCHOR NEAR LE HAVRE
Victim of a new era.

STRIKING CREW MEMBERS RELAXING ABOARD SHIP



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strators who marched along the quais of Le Havre shouting "Giscard at the helm, *France* is sinking,"—a parody of the President's successful campaign slogan "Giscard at the helm."

At week's end the crew showed no signs of relinquishing control of the liner, boasting that they had enough provisions on board to last until Christmas. They had set up a mini-government complete with premier and ministers in charge of administration, maintenance, security, information, leisure, domestic life and social and medical problems. They were also publishing a daily newspaper and had even devised a special postmark for their mail. Apparently they were working even harder than usual to keep the *France* in tiptop shape. But they rejected a call by Premier Jacques Chirac to end the strike and resume talks. "We've heard all that before," said a spokesman for the crew. "We'll stay where we are until the government turns serious."



UPI

WATER TRUCK SPRAYS FLEEING SPECTATORS AS POLICE BREAK UP OUTDOOR ART SHOW
A mini-Czechoslovakia took place in a Moscow suburb.

SOVIET UNION

Art v. Politics

Soviet artists have long chafed under ideological commands that they stick to the rigid canons of socialist realism, and have flirted with such decadent Western forms as abstract expressionism and even pop art. Works in these styles obviously cannot be sold openly in Russia, but there is a well-established private market for them among discreet collectors, including many senior officials in the Foreign Ministry, scientific institutes and universities. Many of the painters would like to make that market public. Last week 20 Moscow artists tried to bring abstract art out of the ideological closet by mounting an open-air exhibit in Moscow's Smenovskoye suburb. The result was a violent confrontation between art and politics in which art literally took a beating.

Accompanied by 200 friends and sympathizers, the painters arrived about noon to set up their exhibit in a vacant lot surrounded by bleak new apartment towers. As they began putting canvases on improvised wooden stands, a man who called himself Ivan Ivanovich Ivanov (the Russian equivalent of John Doe) announced that he was leading a group of volunteer workers to turn the site into a "park of culture." At a signal from Ivan, the burly "volunteers" began grabbing paintings, ripping canvas and splintering frames. At another signal, several handy bulldozers and dump trucks roared to the site and began churning the art works into the mud.

One truck backed into the crowd of about 500 onlookers and dumped a load of mud, half burying a six-year-old child who was pulled out scared but unhurt. A bulldozer started the crowd scattering by rolling a massive pile of steel sewer pipes at it. While water wagons high-arched jets of cold water at the crowd, other trucks careened along sidewalks and up grass embankments in pursuit of fleeing people.

Roughnecks. The "volunteers" also menaced foreign correspondents and diplomats who had turned out for the show. Christopher Wren of the New York *Times* had his camera shoved into his face, painfully chipping a tooth; then two roughnecks held his arms while another punched him in the stoma Other reporters, including Lynne Ol of the Associated Press and Mich Parks of the Baltimore *Sun*, got simi treatment when they came to Wr aid. While all this was going on, u formed militiamen and KGB (secret p lice) agents stood by or took pictur When the hour-long fracas was o some "volunteers" were observed cha ing into militia uniforms at a nearby p lice station.

"A mini-Czechoslovakia," said disconsolate painter as he walked a with a ripped canvas. "Now you kn what they mean by socialist realism art," said another. Five painters were rested and charged with "petty ho ganism" for trying to resist the bulld ers. By week's end all had been releas

But effects of the incident contin to be felt. The police action had c verted a minor act of dissent into an e barrassing political incident that w headlined next day in newspapers a the world. Soviet authorities ind seemed to react to the unfavorable p licity. Though there had been no c cial word from the government, week's end one of the artists told f eign newsmen that permission had b granted to hold another exhibit at a ferent site this week.

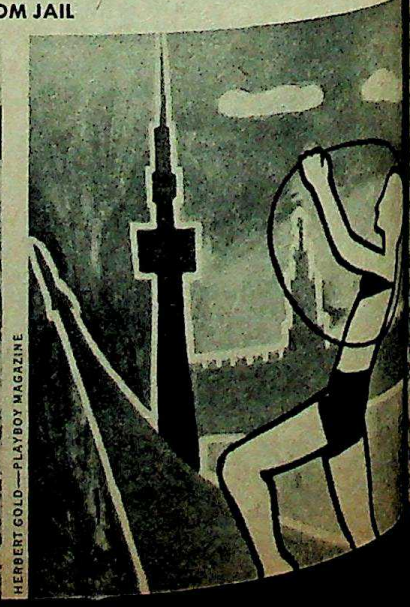
SAMPLES OF UNDERGROUND ART. CENTER: MOSCOW ARTISTS DISPLAY PAINTING AFTER RELEASE FROM JAIL



UPI



HERBERT GOLD—PLAYBOY MAGAZINE



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ychosomatic Phlebitis?

Dr. Samuel Silverman, 62, is one chanalyst willing to declare that ard Nixon's phlebitis is psychoso- He is aware of the pitfalls of glib, distance analyses of public figures. his 30 years of research lead him to clude that all illnesses are probably chosomatic—the result of interaction ween emotions and the body. While analyzing patients in the late s, Dr. Silverman, associate profes- of psychiatry at the Harvard Med- School, noticed that dreams, fears personal associations sometimes gured physical diseases. In one case man who reported a cluster of hints t a coming illness, including a m of riding in a red car with a Ger- shepherd, soon produced the famil- red rash of German measles.

In another case, a guilt-ridden pro- r unconsciously turned his eyes into get organs" for disease by becoming pear (as a relief from a bad sexual re- nship with his wife) and by wish- for the death of his father, who had ous eye problems. To Dr. Silverman predictive clues were all there, in- ing the fact that the professor's eyes ld ache badly when he read pornog- y or attended a sex exhibition. But doctor missed the clues, and the pro- r is now blind from detached ret- in both eyes.

evere Stress. In four cases report- n his book, *Psychologic Clues in suring Physical Illness,* Dr. Silver- successfully predicted when, after e, prolonged stress, illness would e and which part of the body would . One successful prediction—of im- nt respiratory disease—came after tient said his girl friend's heavy ing reminded him of his mother, died of a chronic respiratory ail- . Another clue: he had dreamed of ently forgotten girl friend and casu- ntioned chest pains he once suf- in an auto accident with her.

"For years," Dr. Silverman says, e been stuck on the question of er illness is emotionally or phys- caused. It's caused by the inter- n, and the clues are psychological ll as physical." When a person de- s "critical stress" and cannot cope, s either the mind or body has to down. If physical illness strikes, esn't do so randomly, but at vul- le spots unique for each of us." ciqueness will depend on which have been "sensitized" by hered- hood diseases or neurotic strat- like those the blind professor used. The illnesses of many political lead- Dr. Silverman believes, fit his the- Lyndon Johnson's last heart at- Robert Taft's terminal cancer, McCarthy's fatal liver ailment and Richard Nixon's phlebitis, all seem to him to have been triggered by the intense emotional stress of a traumatic event, though not enough is known about the "target organs" involved.

Purely on the basis of published medical information, Dr. Silverman suggests that Richard Nixon's target areas are the legs (phlebitis in 1964 and 1974, two knee injuries in 1960, foot injury in 1952) and the respiratory system (pneumonia in 1973 and as a child in 1917), with the ominous possibility that the two areas could be connected by a fatal blood clot traveling from leg to lung.

"The man has been under extraordinary pressure for more than a year," Dr. Silverman says. "Mr. Nixon seems to keep his emotions under such control that we might have expected physical instead of emotional breakdown."

AP



NIXON FAVORING AILING LEG, JUNE 1974
A theory that pardons can kill.

Dr. Silverman believes that the reports of Mr. Nixon's "serenity" between the resignation and the pardon could have been taken as indicators that emotions were bottled up and physical illness was near. Later reports, he adds, that Mr. Nixon refused to allow the afflicted leg to be bandaged, declined the prescribed anticoagulant drug and put off entering a hospital all point toward possible self-destructive impulses.

"It's also interesting that the phlebitis apparently didn't recur until the pardon was in the offing. I have no way of knowing whether Mr. Nixon has any unconscious guilt. But if he does, with the threat of legal punishment now removed, the only punishing force left is himself. That's why pardons can kill."

Child's Point of View

In divorce cases, most people consider it obvious that one parent should get the child and the other parent legally enforceable visiting rights. But "most people" does not include the authors of *Beyond the Best Interests of the Child,* a surprising application of psychoanalytic insight to child-custody law.

Among the conclusions of the book:

▸ The parent who wins custody of a child should make all decisions about the child's life, including when—or whether—the other parent should visit. The courts must not be used to enforce visiting privileges if the parents fail to agree.

▸ A "natural" parent who has given up a child for any reason should have no legal right to reclaim him.

▸ Adoption should take place early, even before birth, when possible.

The authors are Joseph Goldstein, professor of law, science and social policy at Yale; Anna Freud, Sigmund's analyst daughter and an authority on children; and Albert Solnit, director of Yale's Child Study Center.

Child development studies stress the crucial importance of an early, nurturing and continuing relationship between a child and a mothering figure. To guard this continuity, the authors are willing to go far. In divorce cases, they suggest that two equally acceptable parents draw lots for custody.

Gross Abuse. In adoptions, decrees should be final and unconditional, except in cases of gross neglect or abuse. From the child's point of view, the authors argue, a struggle between natural and adoptive parents is not a dilemma; his "real" parents are the ones who raised him. The authors also insist on quick disposition of cases, since delays are disruptively long in terms of a child's sense of time.

Some critics detect a whiff of the unreal about the conclusions. Judge Nanette Dembitz of New York State's Family Court, for example, calls the proposal that can deny visiting rights "blind and untenable." But the book is making headway. In Washington, D.C., Judge Tim Murphy cited it in denying a custody claim by a natural parent. He also heeded the warning on the child's timesense: once he made up his mind, instead of keeping the parties waiting for a written decision, he ushered them into chambers for an immediate ruling.

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AMERICAN NOTES

Washington Stirs

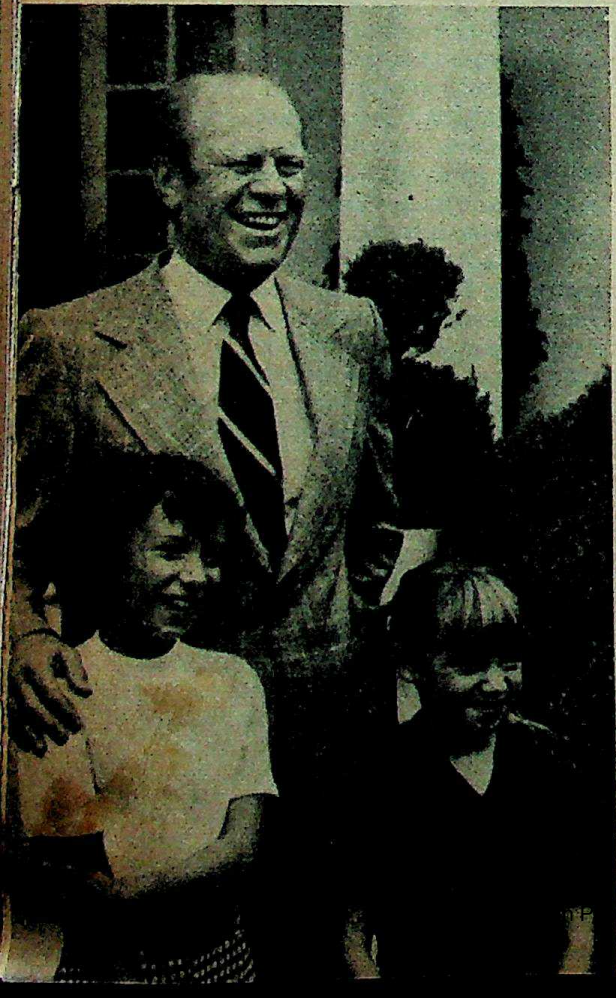
Something was happening last week in Washington. There was more open, glorious debate on more subjects than anyone could remember in recent years. The old mess of democracy had returned —and that looked all to the good.

The CIA was under scrutiny; so was Henry Kissinger. Ford launched himself into foreign policy with a speech on food and oil. The President directed that income tax returns were not to be scrutinized except on his order—in writing. He decreed no more politics in the civil service. There was an amnesty program of sorts. Ford even found time to greet the one millionth visitor to the White House in 1974: Patti Albers, 9, who came with her seven-year-old sister Kelly.

To the pinched eyes of Nixon loyalists around this city, it probably seemed hopeless: there was no apparent order, and very little secrecy. But it all represented, one would hope, the first whiff of the Federal Government again beginning to function as it should. Right or wrong, Ford was making firm decisions. The CIA flap, however embarrassing, indicated that the U.S. was coming to grips with the realities of the world and the national mood. Henry Kissinger was being reduced from God to just a very good Cabinet officer. The fact that Rockefeller's $182 million was being laid out for scrutiny suggested there would be no sacred cows for a spell.

New directions, new pressures, new voices: it all made for a healthy web of creative tension.

FORD WITH PATTI (LEFT) & KELLY ALBERS



Tale of Two Cities

More than a century ago, Boston was a sternly self-righteous center of abolitionist sentiment, while Montgomery, Ala., was the capital of the Confederacy. After World War II, Bostonians played a major role in carrying the crusade for civil rights to the South, and Montgomery remained one of the obdurate centers of resistance.

Thus there is a particularly bitter irony in the contrast between two recent events involving the two cities. Last month the Federal Government decided that Montgomery was so peaceful that the guards could be safely removed from the home of U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson. Armed men have been standing watch nightly since 1956, when two fiery crosses were burned on Johnson's lawn, apparently in protest against his liberal decisions on civil rights.

While all was calm in Montgomery, Boston was still reeling from angry demonstrations against the busing of black children to schools in white neighborhoods. In the city that had done so much to advance the cause of civil rights, a group of Ku Klux Klan members arrived last week to stir up more trouble, as did a contingent of neo-Nazi white supremacists from Virginia.

Fantasy in Atlanta

Chicken for 28¢ per lb. Five pounds of flour for 48¢. Six bottles of soda for 38¢. A decade ago? A generation ago? No, this month in Atlanta, where the Richway food stores rolled back prices in the hope of attracting some attention.

They got it all right. Housewives jammed by the thousands into the chain's five supermarkets. Check-out lines stretched far back down the aisles. Produce men wheeling out huge dollies of potatoes were clawed at as if they were so many Robert Redfords. Customers jostled for position as giant baskets of chickens were dumped into counter bins. One strong-armed customer managed to walk out with 36.

It was delightful nostalgia, a reminder of times past when a family could afford to eat without thinking about the price. The customers were smiling in Atlanta, something few Americans have done in grocery stores for years. But with the sale over, reality—and inflation—returned. Chicken was going for 54¢ per lb., five pounds of flour for 98¢, and a six-pack of soda was up to $1.09.

BILDERBERG PHOTO

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INTELLIGENCE/COVER STORY

The CIA: Tim

Question: "Under what internati law do we have a right to attempt to stabilize the constitutionally elected ernment of another country?".

Answer: "I am not going to pass ju ment on whether it is permitted or thorized under international law. It recognized fact that historically as as presently, such actions are take the best interest of the countries involv

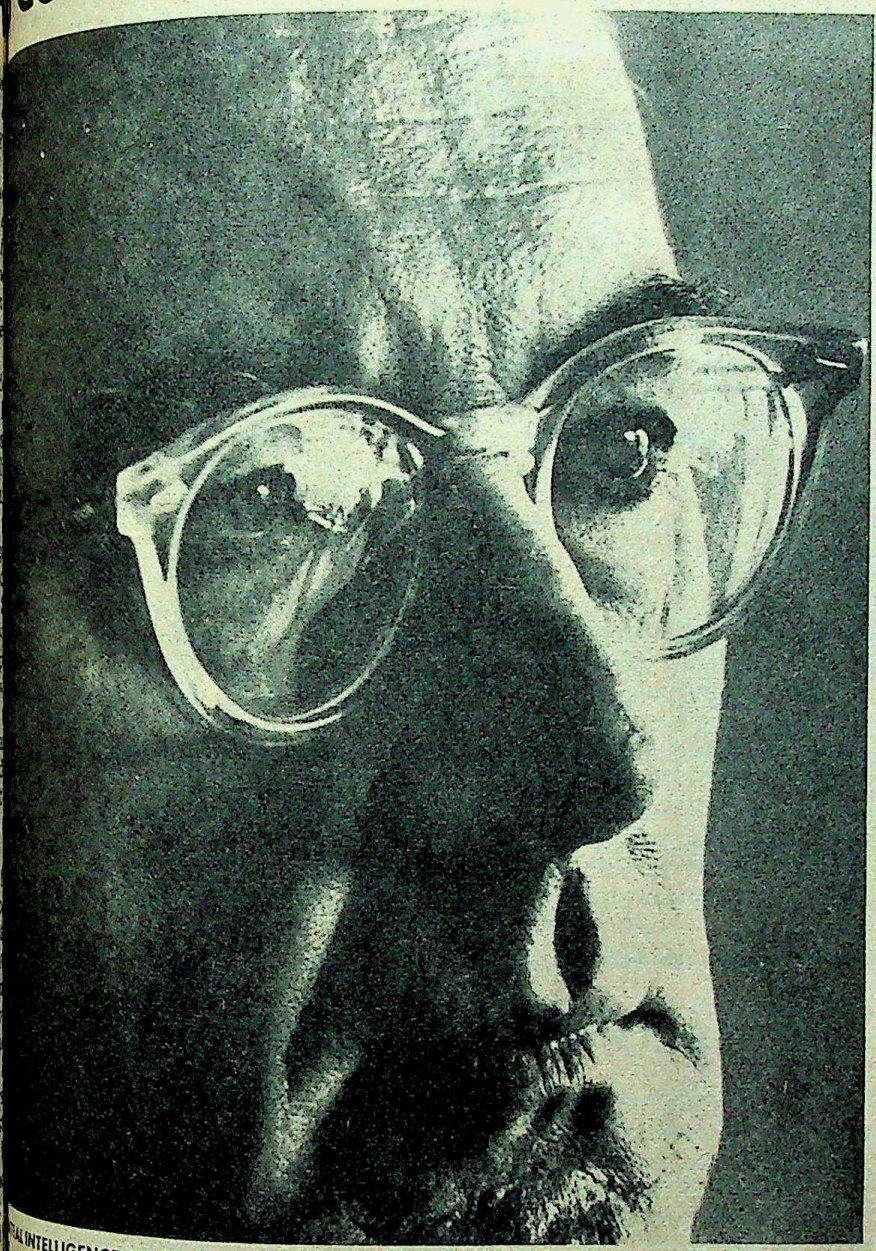
That blunt response by Presid Gerald Ford at his press conference week was either remarkably careles remarkably candid. It left the troub impression, which the Administra afterward did nothing to dispel, that U.S. feels free to subvert another ernment whenever it suits Ameri policy. In an era of détente with the viet Union and improving relations China, Ford's words seemed to re sent an anachronistic, cold-war vie national security reminiscent of 1950s. Complained Democratic Sen Frank Church of Idaho with consid able hyperbole: "[It is] tantamount saying that we respect no law save law of the jungle."

The question on "destabilizing" eign governments followed Ford's c firmation that the Nixon Adminis tion had authorized the Cen Intelligence Agency to wage an $8 lion campaign in 1970-73 to aid op nents of Chilean President Salva Allende's Marxist government (see *page 25)*. Until last week, members both the Nixon and Ford Adminis tions had flatly denied that the U.S. been involved in undermining Allen regime. They continue to insist that CIA was not responsible for the coup that left Allende dead and a pressive right-wing junta in his place

Congressmen were outraged by news that they had once again been led by the Executive Branch. More portant, disclosure of the Chile op tion helped focus and intensify debate in Congress and the nation the CIA: Has the agency gone too far recent years? Should it be barred interfering in other countries' dome affairs? Where it has erred, was the out of control or was the White Ho at fault for misdirecting and misu the agency? Should it be more tightly pervised, and if so, by whom? In dition, the controversy spotlighted fundamental dilemma posed by an democratic society using covert as —the "dirty tricks" or "black" side telligence organizations—as an ment of foreign policy.

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Come In from the Cold



BRACK—BLACK STAR

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY DIRECTOR WILLIAM E. COLBY
"There's nothing wrong with accountability."

At the center of the storm was William Egan Colby, 54, the CIA's director for the past year. Shrewd and capable, Colby has sought from the day he took over as director to channel more of the agency's efforts into the gathering, evaluation and analysis of information and away from covert actions—the "operational" side of the intelligence business. Says Colby: "The CIA's cloak-and-dagger days are ended."

Certain Actions. But obviously, not all. It was Colby who oversaw the last phase of the CIA activity in Chile as the agency's deputy director for operations in 1973, though this operation apparently ended shortly after he became director. But it was also Colby who disclosed details of the covert action to a subcommittee hearing of the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Intelligence last April 22. A summary of his testimony was leaked to the press two weeks ago. By the time Ford met with the press, Colby's revelations were more than a week old; the President had been briefed by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and doubtless was ready to field reporters' questions. Said Ford: "Our Government, like other governments, does take certain actions in the intelligence field to help implement foreign policy and protect national security. I am informed reliably that Communist nations spend vastly more money than we do for the same kind of purposes."

Since so much had already leaked out, Ford perhaps had no choice but to make an admission. But his statement seemed to set no or few limits on clandestine intervention in another country. A somewhat sharper but still highly flexible limit was set afterward by Kissinger. He told TIME: "A democracy can engage in clandestine operations only with restraint, and only in circumstances in which it can say to itself in good conscience that this is the only way to achieve vital objectives."

Moreover, there was an unsettlingly disingenuous quality to Ford's words. Was the intent of the Chilean operation really to preserve freedom of the press and opposition political parties, as he insisted, or simply to undermine Allende? In this context, it is worth noting that after the coup, the U.S. did not object when the new military regime banned all political parties and shut down all opposition publications.

There were other disquieting notes in the statement. Ford described the operation as being "in the best interest of the people of Chile"—a throwback to an America-knows-what's-best-for-you line of years past that was particularly offensive to many countries. In addition, Ford did not make the small but crucial distinction between intelligence gathering and covert operations, which led some critics to suspect that he was not wholly familiar with the subject.

Misled Congress. There was a degree of ingenuousness, perhaps even hypocrisy, in much of the indignation, since the CIA is widely known to have carried out Chile-style operations elsewhere before. What galled Congress and many other U.S. and foreign leaders was the fact that members of the Nixon Administration had repeatedly misled Congress about the Chile operation. At his confirmation last year as Secretary of State, Kissinger assured the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that since 1970, the U.S. had done nothing in Chile except try to "strengthen the democratic political parties"—although critics argue that fostering strikes and demonstrations amounted to a lot more than that. During another hearing, then CIA Director Richard Helms was asked if the CIA had passed money to Allende's political opponents. Helms' response: "No, sir." Former Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs Charles A. Meyer, former Ambassador to Chile Edward Korry and other Administration officials gave similar testimony, though they may not have known about the operation.

The revelations, and Ford's confirmation of them, stunned many in Congress. "Unbelievable," declared Democratic Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota. "Unsavory and unprincipled," said Church. Democratic Senator Stuart Symington said that the disclosure "certainly does not coincide with the testimony that this committee [Foreign Relations] has received." The com-

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"The CIA did it. Pass it along."

mittee launched a review of the testimony and a probe into the Chilean affair.

Anxious to heal the rift with Congress, Ford and Kissinger briefed nine senior Congressmen at breakfast the next day on Chile and covert affairs in general. Later, at a previously scheduled hearing on détente, Kissinger reiterated before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the intent of the CIA operation in Chile was merely to keep the Allende opposition alive and "not to destabilize or subvert" his government. Kissinger also conducted two separate briefings at the Senate. Still, Congress was neither convinced nor mollified. As the week progressed, growing numbers of Representatives and Senators called for an all-out review of the CIA.

The affair served to confirm all worst suspicions about the CIA and exaggerated image as a vast conspir Reaction abroad ranged from incre lity to dismay. The London *Times* ca the revelations "a bitter draught" those who regard the U.S. as "someti clumsy, often misunderstood, but damentally honorable in its conduct international affairs." West Germa *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* pred ed that "the disconcerting naiveté which President Ford enunciated his cret service philosophy" would hav "provocative" effect.

Grave Decadence. That was case in the capitals of the so-called T World. From New Delhi, U.S. Am sador Daniel Patrick Moynihan ang cabled the State Department that he assured Prime Minister Indira Gan that the CIA had not been involved in Chilean coup. Now, he said, she w dered whether India might not be n Many Latin Americans shrugged; episode seemed to confirm their su cions that the CIA invariably is beh the continent's frequent upheavals— litical and otherwise.

Some cynical foreign reaction not so much concerned with the CIA tivities themselves as with their bea ing known. Said a former Presiden Argentina: "If you ask me as an gentine, the CIA intervention in C was wholly illegal interference in sovereignty of another state. If you me to see it from the point of view of American, the fact that Senators Congressmen can interfere with the

Director Colby on the Record

In a rare on-the-record interview with TIME Correspondent Strobe Talbott, Director William Colby defended the CIA against its critics, ranged over the current functions of the agency, and discussed future prospects. Highlights:

Why does the CIA intervene in other nations' internal affairs?

I'm not saying we're engaged in a campaign to bring democracy to the world. That's not what the U.S. Government expects from this agency. We're expected to carry out U.S. policy. Over the years, we've helped democratic forces rather broadly. In those cases where we have got involved with military regimes, we did so because there was a greater danger from some place else. I don't think we've toppled democratic regimes, and I don't think we did so in Chile. First, we didn't bring about the coup, and second, the Allende regime was not democratic. Granted the military regime is not democratic, I don't think a Communist regime is democratic.

Our program in Chile was to sustain the democratic forces against the Allende political forces, which were suppressing various democratic elements in a variety of ways—harassing radio stations, harassing some parts of the press and some political groups. We looked forward to the democratic forces coming to power in the elections of 1976.

To what extent had Communist forces intervened in Chile?

Castro spent about a month down there in the late spring of 1973. There were a lot of extremist exiles in Chile from other countries in Latin America. There was a lot of assistance going into Chile from Cuba and other Communist sources. There are indications that there was some Soviet activity. They were putting some money in, as well as hardware of various sorts. This was a program to support an eventual takeover in what I would call a nondemocratic fashion—suppressing the opposition and extending Communist influence elsewhere in the hemisphere.

Will the CIA continue to mount vert operations?

The CIA has three major functi science and technological work, an sis, and the clandestine collection of telligence. Now there's been a fourth sponsibility, and that is positiv influencing a situation through politi or paramilitary means. That's the that goes up and down depending on tional policy. Right now it's way d

The degree of our involvement in vert activities reflects the kind of w we live in. If it's a world where two perpowers are peering over the fen each other, then it's a matter of cern when a hostile political grou about to take over a country. But i a world in which we've worked out a lationship of reasonable restraint détente, with the other superpow then it won't matter to us who runs of these countries in a far-flung a Of course, something very close t might still be important for politica security reasons. There may still be tain situations where U.S. inte —and I don't mean corporate inter but fundamental political interests be adversely affected. In some of th

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security interests of the country political motives indicates a grave ence in the system."

e uproar recalled two earlier CIA s the Bay of Pigs disaster in 1961 e revelation in 1967 that the agen- years had partly funded and ma- d the National Student Associ- and dozens of business, labor, ns and cultural groups. Both flaps llowed the positive services that had rendered before; there were ds for greater restraint by the CIA loser, control by the Executive t, but no real changes came.

e Chilean affair, however, poten- has more lasting impact, for the has already been badly bruised e Watergate scandals. Says Mich- Representative Lucien Nedzi, chairman of a House committee that oversees the agency: "I don't believe that the CIA will ever be what it was before."

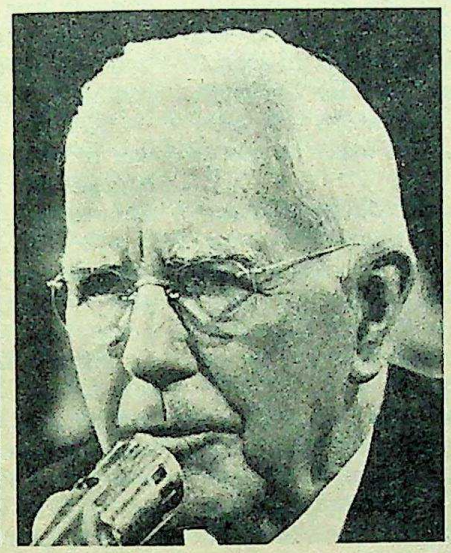
Agency officials have admitted that despite laws against domestic CIA activity, they supplied one of the White House "plumbers," former CIA Employee E. Howard Hunt, with bogus identification papers, a wig, a speech-alteration device, and a camera in a tobacco pouch. In addition, the agency provided the White House with a psychological profile of Daniel Ellsberg.

Political Police. Much to the agency's discomfiture, criticism has come from disillusioned former CIA employees. For two years, the agency struggled in court to stop publication of *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence,* whose principal author is ex-CIA Officer Victor Marchetti. The book accused the agency of using outmoded cold war methods and urged that it be prohibited from intervening in other nations' affairs under any circumstances (TIME, April 22).

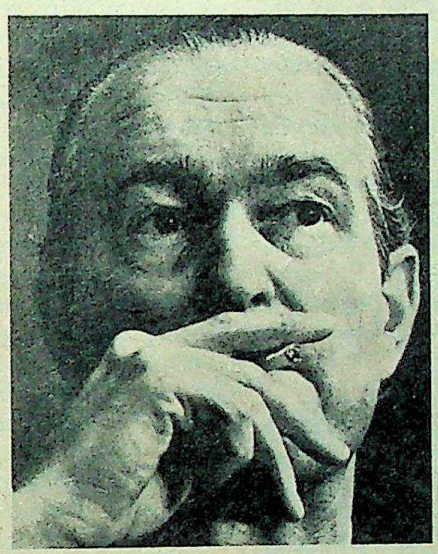
Another critical book, *Inside the Company: A C.I.A. Diary,* will be published in London this January. In it Author Philip Agee, who, after twelve years of undercover exploits for the CIA in Latin America, switched to the side of the leftist revolutionaries he had been hired to defeat, calls the CIA "the secret political police of American capitalism."

On the contrary, CIA directors have maintained since the agency's founding 27 years ago last week that clandestine actions constitute only a small part of CIA activities. Indeed, over the years, the agency has provided a huge volume of

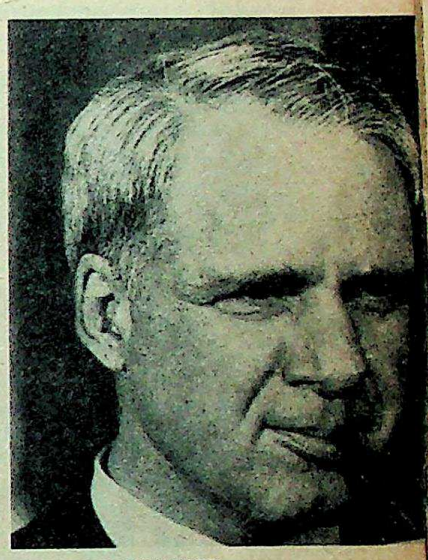




CHIEFS ALLEN DULLES . . . JOHN MCCONE . . .



RICHARD HELMS . . .



JAMES SCHLESINGER

it would be appropriate to take modest action such as establishing tionship with somebody who needs lp. But I stress: it's not now our rnment's policy to engage in these ions around the world.

is a covert operation started?

e follow the traffic with the em- . We follow the political attitudes e have toward that country. We ke a specific suggestion in the light at we think would be national st: We don't do anything without oval.

metimes we get the specific sug- on from the outside—from an am- dor, from the State Department or the National Security Council staff. n say: "Why don't you guys do so ly?" We have the technicians here decide what is possible and what is s the same sort of thing you get military activity. How you land on a hostile shore is not devel- in the White House. The Joint ds develop a proposal. Then if the House approves it, you go ahead. But I want to emphasize that we're about a very small number of covert actions. Policy is generated at the NSC, not here.

What would you regard as a successful covert action?

Laos. It was considered important to the U.S. that a country remain friendly and not be taken over by hostile forces. Rather than use our military force or an enormous political effort, you try to influence some key people and key political groups. The Laos operation cost substantial amounts but was cheap compared with other ways of doing business. We were not involved in the 1967 coup in Greece or in the coup in Chile last year.

Should the operational side of the CIA be separated from intelligence gathering?

That proposal stems from the Bay of Pigs. The problem there was that we didn't let the analysts in on the act. Now senior levels of the analyst community are aware of covert activities and have a chance to comment. In the early years of the agency, we tried conducting intelligence and action operations through two separate units, but they kept getting in each other's way.

What alternatives to covert operations are possible for the CIA?

We could not—and did not—conduct the SALT negotiations and reach a SALT agreement until after our intelligence techniques had improved to the degree that we could tell whether the Soviets were going to abide by the agreements. On a number of occasions, we have identified a situation that was getting very sour in some country or between two countries. By reporting the facts and our assessment, we generated diplomatic action so that the trouble we predicted did not happen. For instance, peace arrangements might have broken down, but because of our intelligence, negotiations saved the situation.

In the future this sort of intelligence will help our country in negotiations and diplomatic relationships. As a result, we will be less likely to get into screaming crises, and there will be less need for covert action. It will be the increasing responsibility of the CIA to give our leaders the knowledge necessary to move into a diplomatic situation and defuse it.

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reliable analysis and intelligence data that has served in part as the basis for U.S. defense and foreign policies. But Marchetti reports that the CIA devotes two-thirds of its annual budget (which totals around $750 million) and some 60% to 70% of its estimated 5,000 overseas employees to clandestine operations.

That evidently was not the intent of Congress in creating the CIA and giving it almost complete autonomy to safeguard its secrecy. Originally the agency's principal task was to gather intelligence and keep the Government informed about other countries, particularly the Communist nations.

That mission was incorporated symbolically into the CIA's seal: an eagle signifying strength and alertness, and a compass rose representing the collection of intelligence data from all over the world. But as the cold war grew, so did the scope of the CIA's duties. The law provided that in addition to collecting information, the CIA was "to perform such other functions and duties related to intelligence affecting the national security as the National Security Council may from time to time direct." Under that directive, the CIA actively began trying to penetrate and even roll back the Bamboo and Iron Curtains, and to counter Communist influence in other countries. Its methods included support of pro-American political parties and individuals, covert propaganda, economic sabotage and paramilitary operations.

Under Cover. In theory, at least, the station chiefs who head CIA offices overseas operate under the cover of some innocuous-sounding embassy job such as attaché or special assistant. In practice, some chiefs are well known and some remain under deep cover, depending on the nature of the country. In London, for example, practically anyone who is interested can learn the identity of the CIA station chief; his arrival was even disclosed in the Manchester *Guardian*. In Saigon, the station chief's identity is well known but, by tacit agreement, never publicized by reporters. In politically turbulent countries, the identity of the station chief is a closely guarded secret. Warns one U.S. ambassador in South America: "If he is named, he will have to be recalled or his life won't be worth a nickel."

The extent of their duties also varies widely. In Hong Kong and Taiwan, the CIA operatives are all ears but no hands, their activities confined to monitoring radio broadcasts from the mainland, interviewing refugees and other information gathering.

By his own less than impartial account, Agee's main function for the CIA was to recruit agents in Latin America. In nearly every case, he says, the lure was money. He describes the CIA method of snaring an agent: "You start out by giving him money for his organization—lots of it—knowing that he will eventually take some for himself. When he gets dependent on it, you move in." Once hooked, the recruit is given a lie detector test to discover his weaknesses. Continues Agee: "Then it all hangs out. He can go on serving you as a spy for the rest of his life."

Americans usually learn of the agency's covert actions only when they fa so spectacularly that they cannot be ke secret. Examples: the U-2 incident 1960, when the Soviets shot down spy plane piloted by Francis Gary Po ers; the CIA-directed invasion of Cu in 1961; the Chilean operation. Over years, there were successes for the C as well: the 1953 coup that deposed P mier Mohammed Mossadegh (who n nationalized a British-owned oil comp ny and was believed to be in league wi Iran's Communist Party) and kept pr American Shah Mohammed Reza Pa lavi on the throne of Iran; the 1954 re olution that overthrew the Communi dominated government of Presiden Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala. The C has been suspected of participating the 1967 military coup in Greece, t capture and killing in 1967 of Cub Revolutionary Che Guevara in Boliv and the 1970 overthrow of Prince N rodom Sihanouk of Cambodia.

The CIA was deeply involved in th war in Southeast Asia. Starting in 19 it organized and equipped an army Laos to fight the Communist Pathet La The army, which grew to 30,000 me costs the U.S. at least $300 million year, but Colby credits it with havi prevented a Communist takeover.

Prison Camps. The chief justifica tion for CIA operations is that the oth side is doing the same—and more. Co munist powers have an advantage ov Western democracies. Communist pa ties can be directed from Moscow other Communist centers (although recent years many have become mo independent) but take the guise of loc political movements. Moreover, Co munist dictatorships without inquisiti legislatures or press can organize an finance secret operations in other cou tries in a way that no open society ca Unlike American leaders, Communi leaders never acknowledge such acti ities. The Soviet Union's KGB, head by Yuri Andropov, regularly runs wh the Russian bureaucrats call *akhiv meropriyatiye* (literal translation: activ measures). The KGB's budget is u known, but it has about 300,000 emplo ees, many of them assigned to domes duties like operating the vast netwo of prison camps. Overseas, a majori of the Soviet embassy personnel are K officers.

As with the CIA, the KGB's failu are better known than its successes. T organization apparently no longer co mits political assassinations abroad it does try to subvert or overthrow friendly governments—as in the Con (now Zaïre) in 1963 and Ghana in 19 In Mexico, authorities uncovered a K sponsored guerrilla group in 1971. Ju last week officials in Belgrade disclos an unsuccessful Soviet attempt to set a pro-Moscow underground party in goslavia. Moreover, the KGB's Disin mation Department tries to sow susp cion abroad by circulating false rumors and forged documents. A cur

MOHAMMED MOSSADEGH JACOBO ARBENZ



NATIONAL PHOTOS

CUBAN EXILES AFTER SURRENDERING DURING THE BAY OF PIGS INVASION (1961)



PARIS MATCH

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hile: A Case Study

The U.S. began its heavy investment in the political fate Chile in the early 1960s. President John Kennedy had met ardo Frei, leader of the Christian Democratic Party in e, and decided that he was the hope of Latin America. was a man of the left, but not too far left, a man who s not hostile to U.S. interests and just might be able to ve needed reform without violent revolution. When Frei d Salvador Allende, a self-professed Marxist with a Com- ist following, in the 1964 election, the U.S. made no se- of where its sympathies lay.

Frei became the recipient of American political advice, en- agement and hefty financial aid. Between 1962 and 1965, U.S. gave Chile $618 million in direct economic assistance ore per capita than any other Latin American country. a diary due to be published in Britain this year, former Operative Philip Agee describes how he was called upon ssistance from his post in Montevideo in 1964: "The San- o station has a really big operation going to keep Sal- dor Allende from being elected President. He was almost ted at the last elections in 1958, and this time nobody's tak- any chances. The trouble is that the office of finance in dquarters [Langley, Va.] couldn't get enough Chilean es- ds from the New York banks; so they had to set up re- nal purchasing offices in Lima and Rio. But even these fices can't satisfy the requirement, so we have been asked help." The results were gratifying. Frei won with 56% of vote, and the future of Chile seemed to be assured.

But from the outset, Frei ran into trouble. He was at- ked by the right for moving too fast and by the left for ng too slowly. Allende's Socialist Party continued to grow, cking up defecting left-wing Christian Democrats and unit- with other opposition parties. It became a case for the . A station chief had been sent to Santiago in 1964; later agency's presence began to multiply in preparation for 1970 election, when Frei would be constitutionally barred m seeking a second term and Allende would pose more of reat than before.

■

TIME has learned that a CIA team was posted to Chile orders from the National Security Council to keep the ction "fair." The agents interpreted these instructions to an: Stop Allende, and they asked for a whopping $20 mil- to do the job. They were given $5 million and ultimately ent less than $1 million. "You buy votes in Boston, you buy es in Santiago," commented a former CIA agent assigned the mission. But not enough votes were bought; Allende d a substantial following. He was prevented from winning jority, but with only 36% of the vote he narrowly won a ee-way race that was finally decided in the Chilean Con- ss. CIA officials in Washington were furious.

The Nixon Administration saw the Allende regime as ge of a threat than Cuba to the hemisphere. The White se feared that Chile would serve as a base for South Amer- n revolutionary left as well as a convenient outpost for the et Union. So many Marxist activists were pouring in from a, Czechoslovakia and China that a special team of CIA rs was dispatched to Chile to start indexing thousands of ds on their activities. Publicly, Henry Kissinger warned of e domino effect in Latin America. If Communism could d a secure berth in Chile, it would be encouraged to spread ughout the continent. Privately, the 40 Committee, the h-level intelligence panel headed by Kissinger, authorized million to be spent to make life even tougher for Allende e he was making it for himself.

The extent of the CIA's involvement was revealed earlier this month by congressional sources who had been privy to ier testimony by CIA Director William Colby. Further de- ls have been supplied by other agency officials. Precisely w much was spent by foreign Communists—principally Moscow—to get Allende into office and then to keep him there is not known. Most Western intelligence experts figure that the CIA campaign was scarcely comparable in terms of expenditures or intensity. Nonetheless, the agency went further than even many of its critics imagined.

■

For a Marxist government, the Allende regime had moved relatively slowly toward suppressing free institutions. But the CIA believed it was only a matter of time before all dissent would be muffled. Approximately half the CIA funds were funneled to the opposition press, notably the nation's leading daily *El Mercurio;* Allende had steered government advertising to the papers supporting him while encouraging newsprint prices to rise high enough to bankrupt the others. Additional CIA funds went to opposition politicians, private businesses and trade unions. "What we were really doing was supporting a civilian resistance movement against an arbitrary government," argues a CIA official. "Our target was the middle-class groups who were working against Allende."

Covert assistance went beyond help for the democratic opposition. The CIA infiltrated Chilean agents into the upper echelon of the Socialist Party. Provocateurs were paid to make deliberate mistakes in their jobs, thus adding to Allende's gross mismanagement of the economy. CIA agents organized street demonstrations against government policies.

THE NEW YORK TIMES



ALLENDE'S LAST HOURS

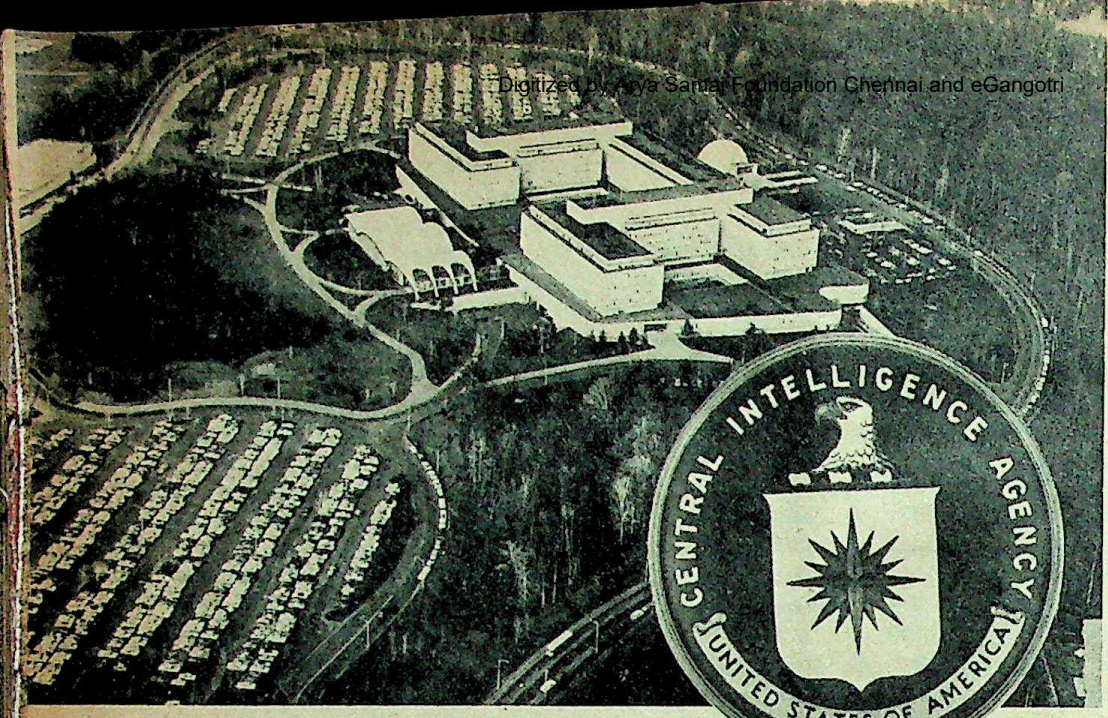
As the economic crisis deepened, the agency supported striking shopkeepers and taxi drivers. Laundered CIA money, reportedly channeled to Santiago by way of Christian Democratic parties in Europe, helped finance the Chilean truckers' 45-day strike, one of the worst blows to the economy. Moreover, the strikers doubtless picked up additional CIA cash that was floating round the country. As an intelligence official notes, "If we give it to A, and then A gives it to B and C and D, in a sense it's true that D got it. But the question is: Did we give it to A knowing D would get it?"

While owning up to CIA efforts to weaken Allende, Colby insists: "We didn't support the coup, we didn't stimulate it, we didn't bring it about in any way. We were quite meticulous in making sure there was no encouragement from our side." Most U.S. policymakers would have preferred that Allende be ousted in democratic fashion at the election scheduled for 1976. That kind of exit, they feel, would have decisively proved the bankruptcy of his policies.

Clearly the CIA considers the junta to be the lesser of two evils. Still, it rates the Chilean enterprise a failure since it ended in military dictatorship. Several years of dangerous, costly and now nationally divisive intervention in another country's internal politics might better have been avoided. Though Soviet propaganda blames the CIA for the Chilean coup and the death of Allende, Soviet intelligence analysts do not give the CIA any credit. The Russians think the fault lay with Allende himself for not being enough of a strongman. He temporized with constitutional processes when he should have disregarded them. He did not follow the example of Fidel Castro, who executed more than 1,000 of his opponents when he came to power; 15 years later, he still rules Cuba. Nor did the CIA have any better luck against him.

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WARD—BLACK STAR

AGENCY HEADQUARTERS (INSET: CIA SEAL)
An end to cloak-and-dagger days?

point: the KGB campaign now going on to convince Indians that American exchange scholars and Peace Corps volunteers are actually CIA agents.

Communist China's equivalent of the CIA and KGB is so secret that the Chinese are believed not to even have a name for it. Among Western Sinologists, it is known as the Chinese Intelligence Service and is believed to be part of the foreign ministry's information department. The service's primary job is to sift intelligence data from members of Chinese embassies and overseas news correspondents, who act as secret agents. The Chinese Communist Party, however, does funnel funds to revolutionary groups abroad, particularly in Asia and Africa. From time to time, Chinese covert operations also have failed spectacularly. In 1965, Indonesia reacted to China's attempt to sponsor a revolution in the archipelago by butchering tens of thousands of Communists.

Phoenix Program. Few men understand better these clashes of anonymous armies on darkling plains or are more practiced in the covert arts than the CIA's William Colby, who has spent most of his adult years in the world of spies. Son of a career Army colonel, he is a Princeton graduate who worked for the Office of Strategic Services during World War II. In 1943 he parachuted into France to join a Resistance outfit. Later, he headed a unit that was dropped into Norway to sabotage a railway line.

Mustered out as a major, Colby earned a law degree from Columbia. He practiced law in New York until the Korean War, when he joined the successor organization to the OSS, the CIA. After serving in Stockholm and Rome, he was named CIA station chief in Saigon in 1959. Three years later he became chief of the CIA's Far East division in Washington. He returned to Saigon in 1968 to take charge of the pacification effort, which included the notorious Phoenix program. By 1971, Phoenix had caused the deaths of 20,587 Viet Cong members and sympathizers, according to Colby's own count. He explains, however, that when he took over, a year after the program began, he "laid stress on capturing rather than killing." In discussing the victims, he claims that "87% were killed by regular military in skirmishes."

To all outward appearances, Colby is unsuited for dirty tricks. "I'd call him an enlightened cold warrior," says a CIA officer. "But remember that this business is cold." In 1971, Colby went back to the CIA labyrinth in Langley, Va.

His private life-style matches his professional modesty. Father of four (a fifth child died last year), he lives inconspicuously in an unpretentious house in suburban Maryland. He does not smoke, drinks only an occasional gin-and-tonic or glass of wine, and is a devout Catholic. His favorite recreations are sailing and bicycling.

Since taking over as director, Colby has tried to reform the CIA's operations and rehabilitate its reputation. To woo support, he has made a point of being more open and candid than his predecessors. He has in effect undertaken a task that to many seems self-contradictory: to be open about operations that by definition must be secret. Who ever heard of an espionage chief being publicly accountable? So far this year, Colby and other CIA officials have testified before 18 congressional committees on 30 occasions. Colby estimates that he has talked with 132 reporters in the last year, though rarely for quotation.

He has also made more public speeches than any previous CIA director. Recently, for example, he agreed to speak at a conference on the CIA and covert actions, which was sponsored in Washington, D.C., by the Center for National Security Studies. When associates warned that he would be up against a stacked deck, Colby shrugged: "There's nothing wrong with accountability." The conference was dominated by critics like Ellsberg, who harangued Colby for 20 minutes, and Fred Branfman of the Indochina Resource Center, who accused the director of telling "outrageous lies." Colby kept his temper.

With Colby's encouragement, eleven agency analysts, wearing lapel tags labeled CIA, attended the recent Chicago convention of the American Political Science Association. Explains Graham Foster, the agency's coordinator for academic relations: "We wanted to demonstrate that we are a functioning, bona fide research organization." In addition, Colby has permitted the agency's analysts to publish articles in scholarly and popular journals under their own names and CIA titles. At the same time, however, Colby has lobbied in Congress for a bill that would make unauthorized disclosures of CIA activities by past and present employees a criminal offense. The bill is now bottled up in committee. If it is enacted, ex-CIA employees like Marchetti and Agee would risk jail for exposing the agency's secrets.

An Appendage. Above all, Colby has taken steps to reduce covert action and direct more of the CIA's energies back to its original mission of intelligence gathering. Spies still have a role in the modern CIA, but the U.S. now depends less on men and more on satellites, high-altitude reconnaissance aircraft like the SR-71, and equipment that intercepts rival nations' secret communications. Such technical advances make the CIA highly successful in collecting military and other strategic information.

Even so, Kissinger complained throughout Nixon's first term that CIA assessments of the state of the world, which were prepared by the agency's Board of National Estimates, were unfocused and useless for policymaking. Last year Colby abolished the twelve-

NOVOSTI—SOVFOTO



KGB BOSS YURI ANDROPOV
Rumors and forgeries.

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ember board and replaced it with ex-
ers assigned to a country or region.
ow they periodically make concrete
commendations through Colby to the
ational Security Council. The result
s been to make the CIA in its intel-
gence work less of a semiautonomous
nk tank and more of an appendage
the NSC and the White House.

Many skeptics view Colby's green-
of the CIA, his assurances of reform
d restraint *(see interview page 18)* as
ceptive. They think these steps are de-
igned merely to enable "the firm" (as
is sometimes known) to carry on busi-
ss as usual. But Colby clearly realizes
at he faces a serious questioning of the
ency's purposes and function, which
closely related to America's view of
own role in the world.

In the postwar era, covert action
emed eminently justifiable on the
ounds that the U.S. was in a mortal
uggle with the Communist world.
ow that the cold war has abated and
mmunism is no longer a monolith,
any scholars, diplomats and congres-
nal leaders favor ending the CIA's co-
rt operations altogether, leaving it an
telligence-gathering agency.

No Secret. The reasons are both
ral and practical. Says Richard N.
ardner, an international-law specialist
Columbia University: "Dirty tricks
ve always been immoral and illegal.
ow they also have outlived their use-
ness." Former Ambassador to the So-
et Union George Kennan disapproves
covert operations as "improper and
desirable." But he also disapproves for
gmatic reasons: "The fact that we
n't keep them secret is reason enough
desist." U.C.L.A. Soviet Specialist Ro-
an Kolkowicz argues: "The track rec-
d is deplorable. By and large, these
erations have been a series of disas-
." Adds Eugene Skolnikoff, director
M.I.T.'s Center for International
dies: "The resulting scandals provide
t for attacks on the U.S., retroactive-
validate charges—true or false—that
e U.S. makes a habit of overthrowing
vernments, and even exacerbate do-
stic distrust of public officials."

Last week Democratic Senator
mes M. Abourezk of South Dakota
reasored legislation that would prohib-
the CIA from "assassination, sabotage,
itical disruption or other meddling in
ation's internal affairs, without the
proval of Congress or the knowledge
the American people." That propos-
is unlikely to be enacted because most
ngressmen believe that restricting the
A would unwisely limit the President's
eedom of action.

Further, says William Bundy, for-
er CIA officer and now editor of *For-
n Affairs:* "The last thing in the world
ere is ever going to disappear is Soviet
vert activities of a political nature. To
y détente stops them is grossly naive."
t Bundy argues that the U.S. should
ot be precluded from covert actions,
should not use such actions as ex-
tensively as in the 1950s. Bowdoin Col-
lege Provost Olin Robinson, an author-
ity on intelligence organizations in
democratic societies, agrees: "Unless
you've got a cast of world characters who
are willing to play by a certain set of
rules, you're going to have covert op-
erations." In other words, the CIA should
be left the capacity for covert action but
forbidden to use it except in tightly re-
stricted circumstances.

Colby himself believes that more
stress on intelligence gathering will
make it less likely that various situations
will develop into crises; the occasions
where covert action might be considered
would thus be reduced. But he main-
tains that to prohibit the CIA from con-
ducting any covert actions would "leave
us with nothing between a diplomatic
protest and sending in the Marines."

Ideas vary about what limits should
be set. Harry Howe Ransom, professor
of political science and an intelligence
specialist at Vanderbilt University, be-
lieves that "covert operations represent
an act just short of war. If we use them,
it should be where acts of war would oth-
erwise be necessary." Ransom would
permit covert actions only when U.S. se-
curity is clearly in jeopardy. William
T.R. Fox, professor of international re-
lations at Columbia University, would
additionally permit them "to undo the
spread of Hitler and other like govern-
ments." Dean Harvey Picker of Colum-
bia's School of International Affairs
would allow clandestine operations to
prevent nuclear war. As Senator Church
points out, however, the "national se-
curity considerations must be compel-
ling" for covert action to be justified. For
his part, Colby declines to say under
what precise circumstances he would fa-
vor covert action.

Many critics who concede the need
for covert action in some cases never-
theless propose two other reforms: 1)
separating intelligence gathering from
covert operations and 2) tighter control.

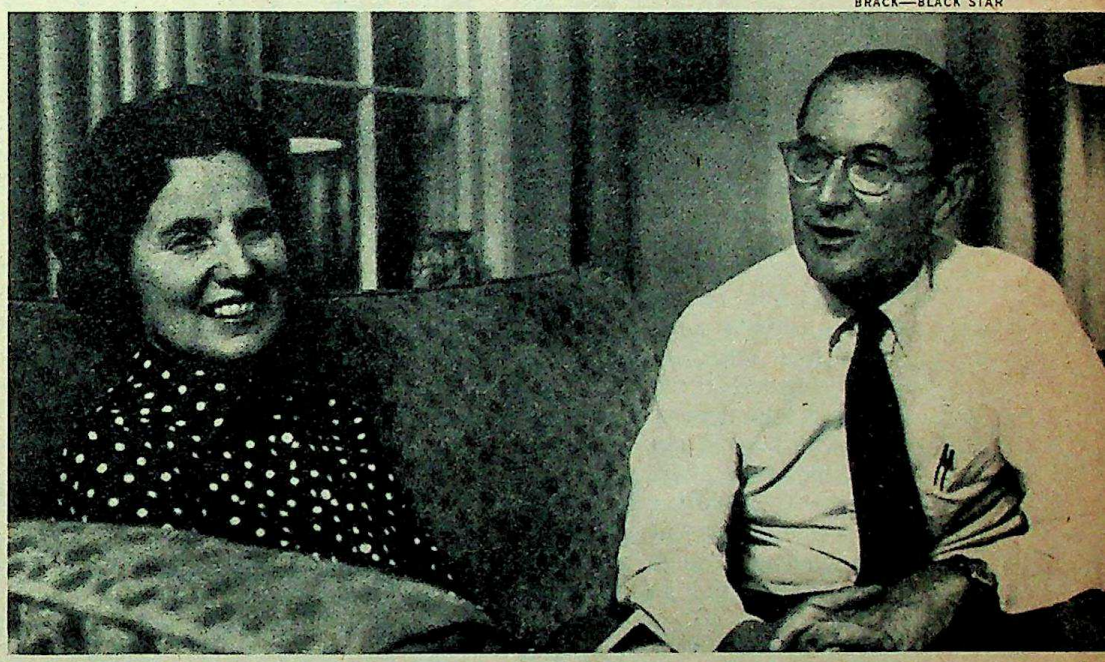
Most experts doubt that "dirty
tricks" can be separated from intelli-
gence gathering. Explains Richard Bis-
sell, onetime head of CIA covert oper-
ations: "The gathering of information
inevitably edges over into more active
functions, simply because the process of
making covert contacts with high-rank-
ing officials of other nations gives the
U.S. influence in them." To eliminate
that problem, the U.S. could run two
separate agencies. Bissell claims that
this idea was found to be impractical
by both Britain and Germany in World
War II because agents kept "running
into each other."

The case for closer surveillance is
much stronger. Says Kolkowicz: "En-
trusting covert operations to a secretive
agency lacking effective supervision
amounts to leaving policy to faceless bu-
reaucrats whose judgment is question-
able." Although somewhat exaggerated,
his warning reflects widespread concern
that the CIA may be too independent.

The CIA takes its orders from the
40 Committee, which has existed under
various names since 1948. It screens ev-
ery proposal for clandestine activity.
Chaired by Kissinger, the committee is
made up of Colby, Deputy Secretary of
State Robert S. Ingersoll, Deputy Sec-
retary of Defense William P. Clements
Jr., and Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman
General George S. Brown. In his book,
Marchetti describes the committee as a
rubber stamp that is predisposed to give
the CIA what it wants. But others say
that the committee frequently rejects or
orders revision of CIA proposals. More-
over, recommendations for major covert
actions like the Chile operation require
presidential approval.

Congress's supervision of the CIA is
inadequate; in some respects, it is a
myth. A Senate subcommittee headed
by conservative Democrat John Stennis
of Mississippi meets irregularly and has

BRACK—BLACK STAR



COLBY & HIS WIFE BARBARA IN THEIR SUBURBAN MARYLAND HOME
An unusual degree of openness and candor.

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almost no staff. Member Symington complains that, from the U-2 incident to the Chile affair, the subcommittee has known less about CIA activities than the press. A House subcommittee chaired by liberal Democrat Nedzi meets more often, but he looks on his responsibility "as making a determination as to whether or not the CIA has acted legally, after or during the fact." Thus no one in Congress knows in advance about potentially controversial CIA operations. Complains Democratic Representative Michael J. Harrington of Massachusetts: "There is a studied inclination in Congress toward noninvolvement, superimposed on a pattern of deference toward the Executive Branch. If the Executive is in the dock, you have got to put the Congress in there too—and firmly."

More than 200 times in the past two decades, Congressmen have sponsored bills and resolutions calling for more effective supervision of the CIA. At least twice, Congress has voted on such legislation, and both times the bills were soundly defeated. Last week Republican Senators Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee and Lowell P. Weicker Jr. of Connecticut made another attempt. Their bill would create a committee of House and Senate members to supervise and regulate the CIA and all other members of the U.S. intelligence committee.

Possible Leaks. Its chances of passage are rated better than even, because of the storm over the CIA and because the bill was referred to reform-minded Sam Ervin's Government Operations Committee. But the bill may yet be defeated. Even many members of Congress believe that they should not be entrusted with CIA secrets because of possible leaks. The alternative is to keep Congress uninformed, which seems equally unacceptable.

Whatever the degree to which Congress can be informed—and even critics of the CIA concede that it is tricky for legislators to be in on the decision-making of an espionage agency—there is a clear necessity for Congress to hold the Executive more accountable for what the CIA does.

To some extent, the dilemma over the CIA has to do with an American need to have it both ways: the U.S. wants to be (and to see itself as) a morally responsible country and yet function as a great power in an immoral world. As Bowdoin's Robinson puts it, "There is an inevitable tension between an organization like the CIA and a democratic society. From time to time there will be pulling back when the organization may have gone too far." The U.S. has reached such a point with the revelations about its actions in Chile, which, on balance, are hard to justify. While it cannot rule out covert operations in all circumstances, the nation must remember that it has better and stronger weapons to rely on: its economic and technological weight, its diplomacy, its cultural impact and —though tarnished—its freedom.

Limited Program, Limited Response

As President Ford last week unveiled his program to permit Viet Nam War evaders and deserters to earn their way back into U.S. society, he termed it "an act of mercy to bind the nation's wounds and to heal the scars of divisiveness." But the wounds bled anew. Leaders of veterans' organizations immediately denounced the plan as "a gross injustice" to those who had served, died, and suffered. Members of war resisters' groups assailed it as a "punitive" assault upon men who had been guilty only of "premature morality." Yet Ford's plan, an extremely complex attempt to resolve a national dilemma, doubtless reflected the middle position of most Americans on the issue.

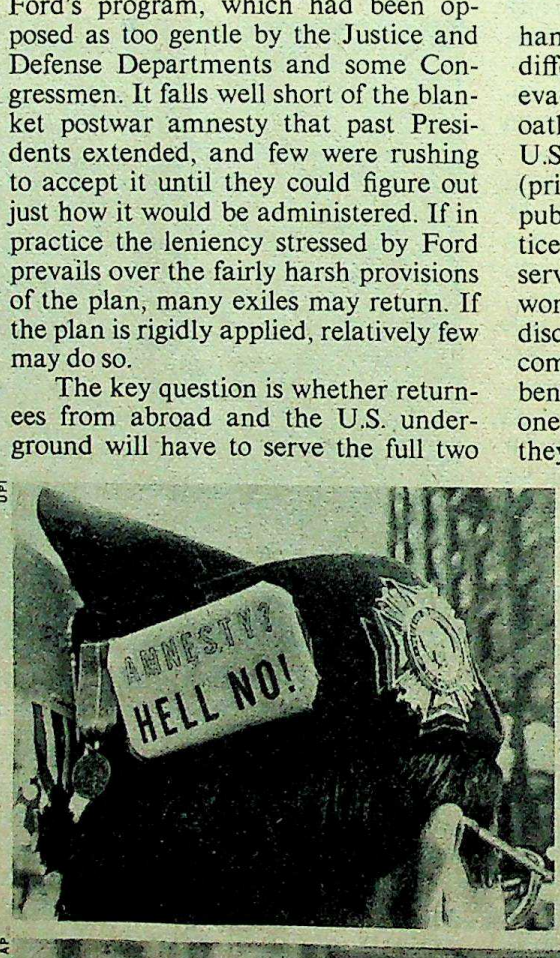
Certainly, there are inequities in Ford's program, which had been opposed as too gentle by the Justice and Defense Departments and some Congressmen. It falls well short of the blanket postwar amnesty that past Presidents extended, and few were rushing to accept it until they could figure out just how it would be administered. If in practice the leniency stressed by Ford prevails over the fairly harsh provisions of the plan, many exiles may return. If the plan is rigidly applied, relatively few may do so.

The key question is whether returnees from abroad and the U.S. underground will have to serve the full two years in low-paying public-service jobs. Ford's proclamation requires that the jobs be in fields that "promote the national health, safety or interest"—in hospitals, forests, schools and public institutions, usually as menial laborers.

Uncertainty arises because the plan empowers officials to reduce a term of the vague basis of past "honorable service, penalties already paid under law and such other mitigating factors as may be appropriate to seek equity." The judgments will be made by regional U.S. Attorneys or a military Joint Alternate Service Board at Indiana's Fort Benjamin Harrison under general guidelines from their Washington superiors. The scheme is designed to minimize inequities stemming from local prejudice.

Incredible Oversight. The plan for handling deserters contains two sharp differences from the treatment of draft evaders: 1) only deserters must take an oath reaffirming their allegiance to the U.S.; 2) through an incredible oversight (privately admitted by the Pentagon but publicly denied as a mistake by the Justice Department), deserters can escape serving the alternate public-service work. They will be given "undesirable" discharges" and must pledge to take a compensatory job, but will lose only the benefit of changing their discharge to one termed a "clemency discharge" if they fail to do so. Neither type of discharge is a legal barrier to employment in civilian jobs, but can deny veterans' benefits to the holder. Few deserters are likely to find two years of enforced labor worth the distinction.

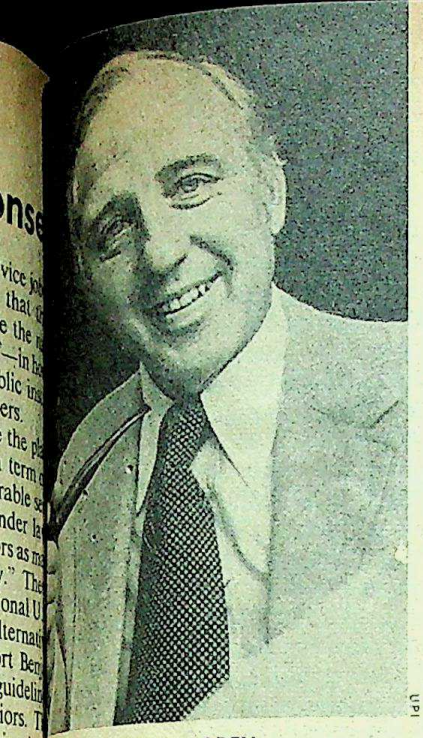
Men who have already been convicted of draft evasion, including those in prison, will also



V.F.W. OBJECTOR IN CHICAGO & DRAFT EVADER BITLE IN SAN FRANCISCO
Going down the middle to resolve a dilemma.

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NCY CHAIRMAN GOODELL
sh to return.

ted differently. Their cases will be ewed by a new nine-member Presi- al Clemency Board, headed by for- New York Republican Senator les Goodell, who sharply opposed Nixon Administration's Viet Nam policy. This board will be able to mmend to the President that spe- men serving in prison be released. will determine how much compen- g service in jobs must be performed each case. It will also have the task reviewing the files of some 216,500 ans who received less than honor- discharges, and upgrade those dis- ges if the rating seems unjust.

Assessing Motives. Precisely how y men will be eligible for the pro- is in dispute. The White House is- the following figures: 15,500 draft ers (including 8,700 men who have convicted, 4,350 under indictment, under investigation and 96 in pris- 12,500 deserters at large; 660 de- s either confined or awaiting mil- trial. Draft resisters' groups place umber of dodgers and deserters at than 50,000.

Whatever the number of men who respond by the Jan. 31, 1975 e, the case-by-case review is cer- to be a difficult task. To assess ac- ely the motives of men who evad- ervice as long as five years ago may impossible. There is a problem of too for the many men who sought as conscientious objectors and have served 24 months in alter- work, but were denied that clas- ion by local draft boards. To ask to take menial jobs now, when they acquired careers and families, harsh. Many also became fugi- before the Supreme Court, in June broadened the definition of con- ious objector to embrace persons g service on ethical rather than religious grounds. In addition, draft evaders have received short ded sentences from compas-

sionate judges. Finally, most draft evaders convicted during 1971, for example, served terms averaging only 9.4 months.

The program got off to a slow start last week as only 18 military deserters reported to Fort Benjamin Harrison, where the joint review board is prepared to process some cases in as little as four days. The Pentagon released 95 convicted deserters from military prisons while their situations are being studied. Attorney General William Saxbe gave 30-day prison furloughs to 83 convicted evaders pending reviews.

Contrasting Fates. The first men seeking to turn themselves in to civilian authorities met contrasting fates. Doug Bitle, 28, flew to San Francisco from Vancouver and basked in a well-publicized welcome. But he was unable to get any definitive information on his case by telephone from the U.S. Attorney's office. Unwilling to surrender without legal advice, he contends that every lawyer he contacted wanted between $500 and $2,500 to take his case, so he returned to Vancouver. "If I had had the opportunity to do valid public service four years ago," he says, "I never would have left the country." On the other hand, John Barry, 22, a draft-dodging San Francisco musician, hired a lawyer and gave himself up to the same U.S. Attorney's office. Considered a hardship case because he supports his widowed mother, he was told that he would probably have to work for only six months.

No amnesty plan, of course, could be expected to bridge the gulf between extreme views of the problem. To many, failure to fight when the nation called was a cowardly, treasonable act and an assault upon the values of all those who sacrificed so much. To others, evasion of service in an unprincipled war was a courageous and lonely act of high patriotism, challenging the national conscience and making future such wars less probable. Put more moderately, the problem is how to distinguish between society's need to enforce its laws and the individual's right to follow his conscience.

A balanced assessment of the Ford program was offered by Bill Meis, 29, an aspiring novelist who lives with his wife and two children in Montreal. Denied conscientious-objector status, he fled in 1968. "O.K., I accept the sentiment behind the proposal," he says, "but it's a kind of humiliation, a concept that we were subversive. It's a hardship for our families. Some of them would have to go on welfare for two years while husbands served out their debts. I've had a very good life here, but there's no point in denying it —there'll always be a lot of me that's American. I think that over the next three or four months, as a few test cases go through, the resistance is going to break down a bit. Maybe 15% or 20% will go home if leniency is shown."

THE ADMINISTRATION

Taking the Heat On Nixon Pardon

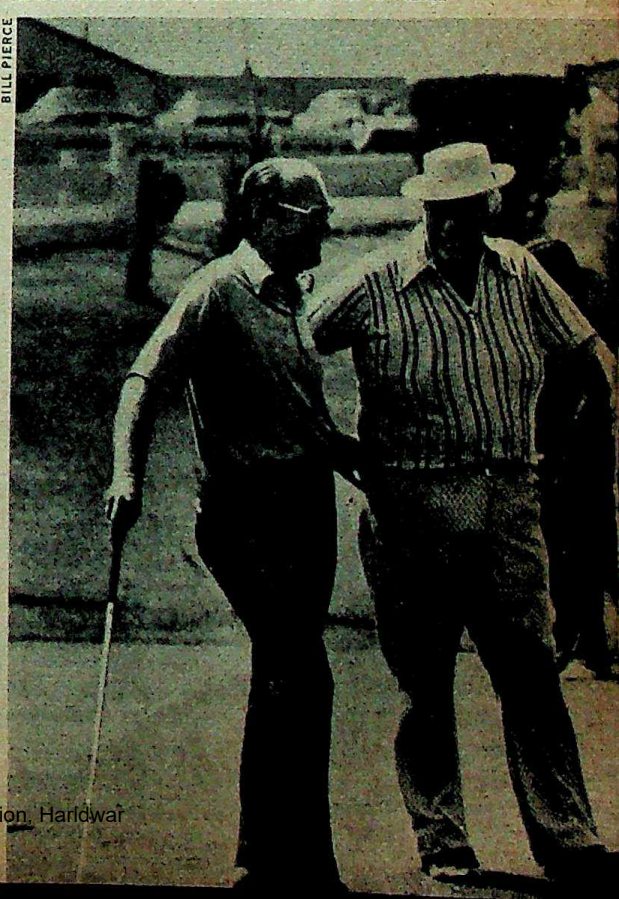
Gerald Ford demonstrated one refreshing presidential trait last week: when the heat is on, he does not flee the kitchen. Despite the outcry over his premature pardon of Richard Nixon, Ford held the second press conference of his presidency—in prime televiewing time. Apart from some touchy questions about the CIA in Chile, most of the questions (16 out of 20) related to Nixon. Most of the questioners implied, and some said with insulting directness, that Ford had been deceptive and devious in reaching his decision. The President unflinchingly stood his ground.

Was there some undisclosed reason that made him shift so abruptly and free Nixon from prosecution? "I had no secret reason," Ford replied. But wasn't Nixon guilty of an impeachable offense? Ford found the unanimous report of the House Judiciary Committee "very persuasive" and conceded that acceptance of a pardon "can be construed . . . as an admission of guilt." Ford thought it was sufficient that Nixon had been "shamed and disgraced."

The President insisted that reports of Nixon's ill health were not a major factor ("I was more anxious to heal the nation"). He conceded that new negotiations were under way with Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski on the controversial arrangement under which Nixon would retain effective control of

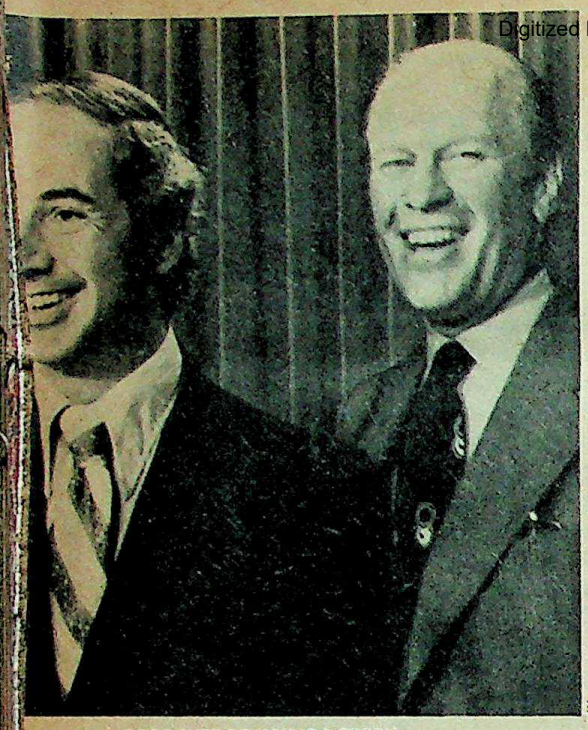
GOLFING WITH CONGRESSMAN TIP O'NEILL

BILL PIERCE



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AP

FORD INTRODUCING NESSEN
Flawless start.

his tapes and presidential papers. As for the pardon, however, "there was no understanding, no deal, between me and the former President." Ford admitted that "the decision has created more antagonism than I anticipated."

Inevitably, Ford was asked why he gave a full pardon to Nixon and only conditional amnesty to Viet Nam War evaders. Ford said that he saw no real connection between the two—hardly a convincing reply. Overall, it was a gutsy performance under fire, although Ford's explanation of the timing of the pardon remained thoroughly unsatisfying.

Continuing his frenzied pace but in an unperturbable fashion, Ford in one day rushed through eleven meetings, running from 8 a.m. until past 10:30 p.m. At a press party the next evening, he laughed when the Washington *Star-News'* Ronald Sarro, the first male president of the formerly all women's Washington Press Club, commented: "I guess it just proves that in America anyone can be President." In his own speech, Ford quipped: "You don't need a pool in the White House to get into deep water."

Sharp Defeat. Ford's extraverted socializing included some golfing with members of Congress. Yet this did not avert a sharp congressional defeat for him on the first issue on which he directly challenged the legislators. The Senate rejected, by a vote of 64 to 35, Ford's plan to save $700 million by postponing for three months a pay raise for federal employees.

Ford continued to grapple with problems of fratricide within his own staff, mainly between his recent appointees and Nixon holdovers. The imminent exit of Chief of Staff Alexander Haig, who was approved by the NATO Council last week as Supreme Allied Commander of Europe effective Dec. 15, will help; more departures may follow.

For the first time, Ford ventured publicly into foreign policy. In an address to the United Nations General Assembly in New York City, he expressed strong views on the need for international cooperation on oil and food (*see* THE WORLD). He wrote into his text an expression of firm support for Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, leading some diplomats to wonder just how serious Kissinger's domestic troubles may be.

With scores of foreign ministers in the U.S. for the convening of the Assembly, Ford seized the opportunity to invite a number of them to Washington. One visitor was Russia's Andrei Gromyko, whose search for trade concessions from the U.S. has so far been thwarted by congressional demands that Soviet immigration policies be liberalized first. As Gromyko entered the Oval Office, Senator Henry Jackson, chief opponent of the Soviet trade bill, was departing. Jackson introduced himself, waggled his forefingers from his forehead like horns, and declared good-humoredly: "I am the villain." Gromyko smiled noncommittally—but whether any progress on the matter was made during his 2½-hour meeting with Ford was not revealed.

■ ■ ■

"A press secretary is responsible first to the public," said the new man. "I will never knowingly lie to the White House press corps. I will never knowingly mislead the White House press corps. And if I should, you are justified in questioning my staying in this job."

With that ringing declaration of conscience, Ron Nessen, 40, last week took on the demanding post of press secretary to President Ford. A White House reporter for NBC, Nessen replaces J.F. terHorst, Ford's first press secretary, who quit on the day that the President pardoned Richard Nixon.

Before taking the job, Nessen got Ford's promise that he would be kept fully informed of the President's plans. Nessen told newsmen: "A press secretary does not always have to agree with the President. My job is to report to you the action and how the President arrived at the action."

Nessen, who comes across as a cool and balanced analyst, is the first electronic journalist to serve in the post of press secretary. But he is more a reporter than an on-camera showman. A graduate of American University in Washington, D.C., he spent five years in the capital with United Press International, joining NBC in 1962. While covering the Viet Nam War, Nessen was hit by a grenade fragment, which punctured his left lung.

Assigned to cover Ford last October, Nessen and his future boss became friends during long chats on the 57 trips that they made aboard Air Force Two.

After Nessen was introduced by Ford as the new press secretary, he could not resist the obvious joke: "I am a Ron, but not a Ziegler." It was a flawless start.

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THE EX-PRESIDENT

A Question of Fitness

"Richard Nixon may not listen to Dr. Tkach, but he'll certainly take advice from Dr. Miller." That wasp Washington gibe reflected the cynicism perhaps unfair, that greeted the new that this week the ex-President will finally enter a hospital for treatment of his thrombophlebitis. Dr. Walter Tkach, of course, is the former White House physician who two weeks ago, on a flying trip to California, had no luck at all in persuading Nixon to go into a hospital. Tkach even quoted his patient as saying that he feared he would die if he did so. "Dr." Miller, of course, is Nixon's lawyer, Jack Miller, who knows that health grounds could possibly help Nixon escape taking the stand as a witness in upcoming trials.

In California, Nixon's medical care is being handled by the ex-President's longtime friend and personal physician, Dr. John C. Lungren, an internist and cardiologist. Until 1971 he was chief of staff at the Memorial Hospital Medical Center of Long Beach, 50 miles north of San Clemente. That is where Nixon will be taken this week. Before flying to San Clemente to see her father, Julie Nixon Eisenhower told a press conference in New York City: "Mother says he is more irritable than usual, but that is because of his leg . . . He is taking medication and getting better, but he has to go in for a checkup."

Newsmen clustered outside the gates of San Clemente were able to pick up only a few crumbs of information. For a while, television crews tuned in on walkie-talkie conversations between Secret Service men patrolling the grounds.

Nixon's Shrinking Fund

Administration request		Subcommittee recommendation
$ 55,000	Pension	$ 55,000
302,000	Staff	151,000
25,000	Travel	12,000
88,000	Printing & postage	47,000
172,000	Office supplies & equipment	87,000
72,000	Communications	36,000
110,000	New vault for pres. documents	—
26,000	Miscellaneous	11,000
$850,000		$398,000

TIME Chart by The CHARTMAKERS, Inc.

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ding regular reports on the where-
ts of "Searchlight," as Nixon is
e-named. Then the Secret Service got
e and all that the TV crews could
was an electronic hissing. But
men did learn that Nixon was still
ing a golf cart to his office a short dis-
e from the house. He was seen in
e swimming pool and walking about
grounds without crutches or a cane.
While Nixon is in the hospital, his
yers will be questioned about his
alth. A California judge must decide
ether to grant their motion to quash
bpoena for Nixon to appear in San-
ta Ana and give a deposition in a civil suit challenging security arrangements at a 1971 rally in Charlotte, N.C. The plaintiffs charge that their civil rights were violated when they were refused entry. Miller & Co. argue that giving the deposition would impose an "unreasonable burden" on their ailing client.

Too Ill. That proceeding is overshadowed by the Watergate conspiracy trial scheduled to begin Oct. 1. Dr. Tkach has advised the defendants that Nixon is too ill to testify in court and that it might jeopardize his health even to take a deposition from him. But Nixon has been subpoenaed as a witness by both Defendant John Ehrlichman and Prosecutor Leon Jaworski. Federal Judge John J. Sirica has turned down Ehrlichman's motion to delay the trial again because of Nixon's ill health, and the U.S. Court of Appeals has upheld an earlier Sirica ruling turning down six requests for delay on other grounds. To forestall any further postponements, Jaworski suggested last week that Miller "inform the court, if he is able to do so, what Mr. Nixon's present condition is." Despite news reports, Jaworski added pointedly, the court has "no sound ba-

E PRESIDENCY/HUGH SIDEY

A Loyalist's Departure

General Alexander Haig has paid his dues to the United
es. Several times.

From West Point to Korea, from the Pentagon to Viet
n, he answered every call to duty. Then Richard Nixon
ed him one day when Haig, at the time a four-star gen-
and Army vice chief of staff, was visiting Fort Benning.
lderman and Ehrlichman, about to be thrown out of the
te House, wanted Haig to come take charge of the staff.
really don't think I'm the man," he said. "You don't want
military man in that job."

The loyalty ethic is strong with Haig. He went. But not
ully. "You won't come out alive," a friend told him. Haig
been through the Cuban missile crisis, made 13 trips to
t Nam. "I don't think professional public servants have
e luxury to play it safe in time of national crisis," he said.

Haig sat last week in the luxurious office that Haldeman
d crafted so carefully for himself. Almost by the hour there
e new accusations hurled at him—he had got Nixon his
ton, he had subverted the Ford transition with his se-
cy and obsession to protect the Nixon record. He was
g blamed for more than he had ever done. But he has
er admitted just how much he did do. "I may write it
the day when I'm 60," he mused (he is now 49). He saw the
truction of a President at closer range than anyone else.

"Nothing on the battlefield was as tough as this," Haig
d. "Nor did I ever see any more human tragedy."

Never in our history has a White House aide been at the
ter of such pressure, been the man to orchestrate so many
matic events, been torn by so many personal emotions,
ds, loyalties. How could he have continued to believe in
on? It is no simple matter to arrange your sense of duty
en you see it as Haig did. "It involves the country and the
erican people," is all he will say now. "That's what it was
about." He deserves to be listened to.

■

Was he acting President in those last Nixon months? "I
to do things I would not have done under ordinary cir-
mstances," he replied. "You cannot avoid responsibility."
Is there ever a time that Nixon was irrational, unable to
? "If there were, I wouldn't tell anybody," he said.

When he began his last White House tour of duty, he
d almost total paralysis in the wake of the Haldeman-Ehr-
man firing. He got the machinery going again. He found
Nixon had no Watergate counsel. Haig recruited Fred
ardt from the Pentagon and urged Nixon to lay out all
e Watergate case. When Nixon made his May 22 state-
t, Haig thought that was the whole story. How could he
continued to believe as one by one Nixon's defenses
re shown to be false, incomplete? That is the part that
cannot explain away. Maybe it was the fighter in him re-
ding to his commander no matter what. The transcripts show that he helped Nixon continue his deception.

Yet, six months before the end, Haig and Kissinger saw an anguished impeachment trial, bare survival for Nixon. And even that was the thinnest of hunches. Did Haig begin to ease the way for a Nixon resignation then? Probably.

Haig knew that Watergate was taking a terrible physical toll of Nixon. The viral pneumonia was the first signal. Yet Nixon could come back to his peak. Said Haig: "The President performed brilliantly in the Middle East and Russia."

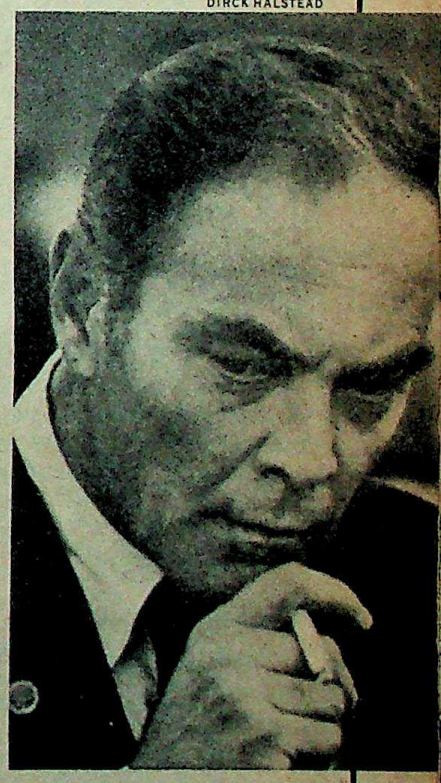
When Haig learned of the last transcript, he knew Nixon was finished. He believes Nixon knew it too. Some others in the White House did not. Haig moved through the murk. The question that concerned him most was whether the country was ready for the events ahead, and Haig moved skillfully to get the tapes out and bring the country abreast of them.

■

Haig retains admiration for Nixon in that dark hour. "There was every idea imaginable around," he declared, "including the idea that Nixon should pardon himself and everybody else." There were only two options seriously considered. The first was to resign unconditionally, as he did, or see it through and let the system work to the end. He knew the outcome. He felt an obligation to the country."

Haig never worried about Nixon or anybody in the White House turning to the military to preserve his power. "The danger was from outside forces—that from so much frustration somebody would take events into his hands and use extraconstitutional means or some distortion of the 25th Amendment. The country was very fortunate in the outcome. I am at peace with myself. The system works. We have seen a total transfer of power in a way that brings us nothing but hope for the future."

DIRCK HALSTEAD



ALEXANDER HAIG

Haig was for the Nixon pardon. But he was not responsible for Ford's granting it, he insisted. "Had I been asked to be an advocate, I would have been. I was never asked."

Haig is wiser now than when he came to the White House 17 months ago. He still is a fighter. He goes to the NATO command with relish, despite criticism. And even with some humor. Henry Kissinger came into Haig's office the other day, when the morning papers were filled with accusations against Haig. "The trouble with Haig," said Kissinger, "is that he is always improving his image." The two friends exploded with laughter.

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sis for concluding that his health is so precarious . . . that he will be unable to appear as a witness." Should Miller make such a claim, said Jaworski, the court should consider taking the "customary step" of sending an independent medical team to examine his client. Nixon would be forced to testify if such a team found him fit to do so; if the doctors said that he was too ill, a deposition could be taken. Even serious illness cannot keep witnesses from testifying; in some cases they have been wheeled into the courtroom in their hospital beds.

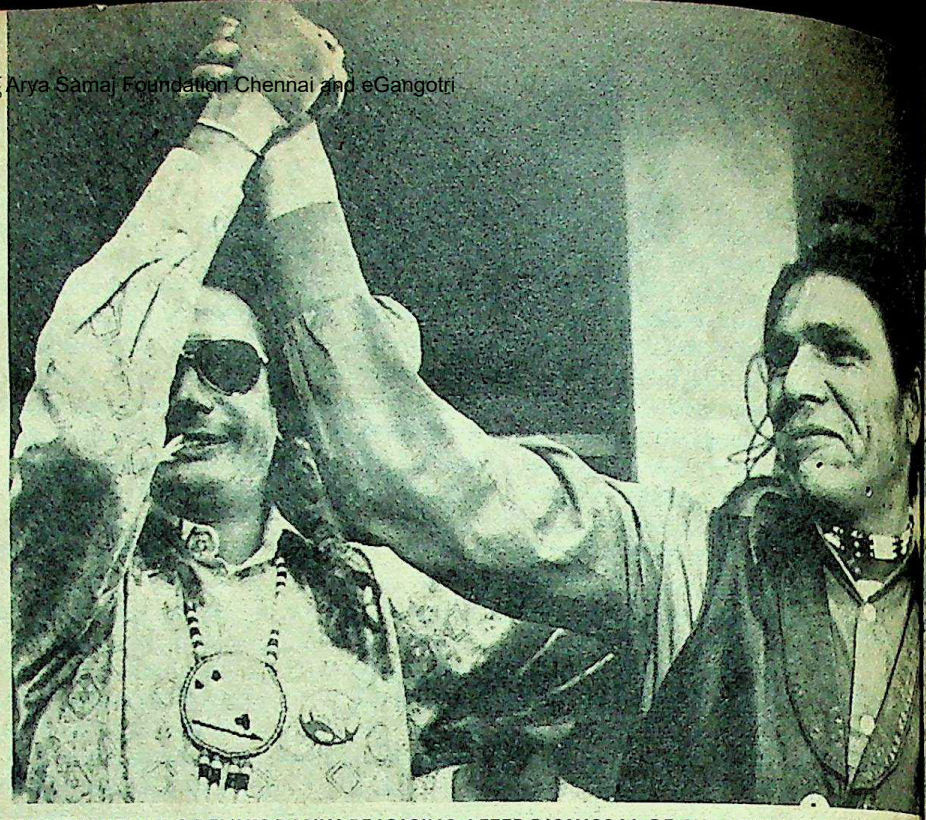
Salary Cuts. In Washington, after hearings on Nixon's financial needs, the House Appropriations Subcommittee slashed the $850,000 endorsed by President Ford for Nixon's transition funds to $398,000 *(see chart page 30)*. Instead of the $450,000 a year that is now being spent on salaries for 21 Nixon aides, the House proposes to allot him a mere $151,000. Existing legislation sets salary ceilings for such aides at $36,000; that would mean a cut for some, including Ron Ziegler, who now earns $42,500. The $622,000 for Nixon's Secret Service protection is in addition to these funds.

A House Judiciary Subcommittee will begin hearings this week on the "time, manner and circumstances" of President Ford's pardon. The subcommittee will also consider legislation authorizing Jaworski to issue a public report on Nixon's involvement in Watergate, as part of the continuing effort in the wake of Nixon's pardon to find ways of getting the full Watergate story out. Jaworski said last week that he did not think he could make such a report without an explicit congressional directive. A Roper poll to be released this week indicates that most Americans will probably welcome these moves. Of those polled, 78% believe that the charges against Nixon were serious; 82% think he was "clearly" or at least "probably" guilty, and 62% think he should have been prosecuted.

DAVID BOREN CAMPAIGNING



MEL ROOT



RUSSELL MEANS & DENNIS BANKS REJOICING AFTER DISMISSAL OF CHARGES

POLITICS

Teacher with a Broom

With a broom sticking out of the rear window of his green Ford, David L. Boren drove across Oklahoma, promising to reform the government and "sweep the Old Guard" out of office if he were elected Governor. At the start of his campaign, Boren, 33, was scarcely known outside Oklahoma Baptist University, where he teaches government, and the state capitol, where he is a four-term representative. But his message caught on, and "Boren Broom Brigades" sprang up all over the state. Last week they swept the chubby, soft-spoken Rhodes scholar to a decisive win over Congressman Clem R. McSpadden, 48, in the Democratic primary runoff.

The victory was all the more remarkable because of Boren's unorthodox campaign tactics. He made little effort to court the bloc votes of teachers, ranchers and labor that are traditionally a determining factor in Oklahoma elections, and spurned all contributions from groups and organizations. Said he: "I just want to be indebted to the individual voters." Boren's reformist rhetoric clearly appealed to Oklahoma voters, weary of scandal not only in Washington but also in Oklahoma City, where incumbent Governor David Hall (who was eliminated in the primary) faces probable indictment by a federal grand jury investigating kickbacks in the awarding of state contracts.

Boren is the favorite to win in November, when he will face Republican State Senator James Inhofe, 39, a conservative insurance executive. Before the August primary, when his close friend Boren was considered a distant dark horse, Inhofe praised him as the best Democratic candidate.

INDIANS

Over the Brink

"I guess this has been a bad ye for justice, a bad year," said U.S. Di trict Judge Fred Nichol, 62. At the ver least, it had been a bad eight months a Nichol presided in his St. Paul, Minn courtroom over the trial of Indian Lead ers Dennis Banks, 42, and Russe Means, 34, on charges stemming fro last year's 71-day armed occupation o Wounded Knee, S. Dak. After Mean called a witness a "liar," Nichol cite him for contempt; later he threw De fense Lawyers Mark Lane and William Kunstler in jail overnight for arguin with him. The prosecution annoyed th judge no less. Nichol accused the FBI o "arrogance" and "misconduct" a Chief U.S. Prosecutor R. (for Richard D. Hurd of deceiving the court.

Rather Ashamed. Last week Nichol did what he had earlier threat ened to do: he dismissed all charge (three of assault, one each of larceny a conspiracy) against the two defendants "It's only fair to say I am now over th brink," declared the exasperated judge What pushed Nichol over was Hurd' refusal to allow the case to be decide by only 11 jurors after the twelfth ha came ill. "I'm rather ashamed that th Government was not represented bet ter in this case," said Nichol in th course of an hour-long denunciation o the prosecution.

Meanwhile, Attorney General Wi liam Saxbe, who has been brooding fo some time about the Justice Depart ment's poor performance in "politica cases, appointed a task force to stud the problem. As one department aide explained: "You name it—the Bega gans, the Gainesville trial, the Cam thing—we blew all of them and m

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Can Amnesty Close the Book?

To the Editors:

America still has deep feelings about the war resisters and war makers. Granting amnesty is a device designed to set aside these feelings by proclaiming the forgetfulness of the war. Amnesty would be neither a condemnation nor commendation of America's nightmare in Indochina.

By rejecting real amnesty, President Ford has defended the war makers and penalized the war resisters. Unlike all of his predecessors, he has offered involuntary servitude to those who were once denied alternative service. He calls it amnesty, but in many cases it is not even leniency. It is a policy that, while pretending that amnesty exists, demands the submission of those who know that the Pentagon was wrong.

The absolute pardon of Mr. Nixon will not close the book on Watergate because a pardon implies forgiveness, and one cannot forgive offenses that have never been fully revealed. The offer of conditional clemency to war resisters will not close the ghastly book on Viet Nam because we realize that it is unfair to penalize those who refused to participate in conduct we now know was wrong.

President Ford's clemency plan defies the recommendation of every religious body in America, rejects the principal point of 37 previous grants of presidential amnesty. By degrading those opposed to war, it invites further wars because, as President Kennedy wrote, "War will exist until that distant day when the conscientious objector enjoys the same reputation and prestige as the warrior does today."

(The Rev.) Robert F. Drinan
Representative 4th District, Mass.
Washington, D.C.

■

What reasons can conscientious objectors, draft dodgers or deserters give for their actions? No one wants war, no one wants to die for a cause he may not believe with. However, this country is governed by the decisions of the majority, protecting the right of the minority to voice its opinions. Only through this system has our country survived.

If the sob sisters must weep, let them weep over the graves of the brave men who gave up life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness to fight for what their country (right or wrong) decided had to be defended. As for the protesters, they made their own beds. They should have been made to read the story of Philip Nolan, *The Man Without a Country*, when they were young.

William G. Getty
Blackwood, N.J.

■

For lawbreaking, obstruction of justice, violating the constitutional oath of office and tarnishing the cherished image of the presidency, President Ford granted Mr. Nixon an absolute and advance pardon. By contrast, up to 24 months of public service is suggested for the draft evaders who acted and objected conscientiously to an immoral and unconstitutional war. What an act of favoritism by "the honest man!"

Kuldip Singh
Ottawa

■



I served as a Marine infantryman in Viet Nam, where I saw one of my best friends killed and where I was severely wounded. I now realize how purposeless that war was, and I believe that the U.S. was wrong to get involved. All those who resisted serving in Viet Nam should get unconditional amnesty. They should not be punished or forced to do public service work just because they recognized the foolishness of our involvement sooner than most.

Michael Burton
Grand Rapids

■

As a gold star mother, I'd like to see a compassionate pardon for all those young men who refused service in a war fought for dubious reasons. God knows our shores were not in danger.

(Mrs.) Mary B. De La Croix
San Diego

■

Most letters to the editor favoring amnesty for draft dodgers and deserters leave the impression that all of them are men of high principle and ethics. Aren't any of them just plain goldbricks who not only considered it clever to leave the dirty detail for others but, even worse, felt that the guys who did stay and carry the load were just dopes?

Fred DiDomenico
Philadelphia

■

Is there a difference between draft dodgers and clever young men who found a safe haven in college, graduate school, the National Guard or marriage?

Neil Jussila
Billings, Mont.

■

The Pardon: Relief and Rage

I am grateful to President Ford for pardoning Nixon. He has lifted a weight from our souls. We no longer need be "the Punishers."

The Spanish inquisitors felt that they had a holy cause, but they are remembered only for their cruelty. President Ford saw to the heart of the matter, and recognized the rightness of pardon. He may have saved us all from going down in history as the generation of punishment and retribution.

Helene D. Grouse
Fridley, Minn.

■

If Americans do not assert their fundamental rights and insist on full disclosure of all material relevant to Watergate, they will have relinquished a right inherent in our concept of democracy. The principle of accountability is implicit in the public's contract with any elected or appointed official. The public's right to know cannot be abridged —but it can be given up, if that's the way people want it.

If the Watergate investigation is not allowed to continue to a final conclusion of complete disclosure, the scandal and its divisiveness will remain with us as long as we live.

Ralph B. Urmy
South Laguna, Calif.

■

We should hold a new presidential election in view of Gerald Ford's latest decision to pardon Nixon.

(Mrs.) Natalie Hobson
Albany, N.Y.

Eve, Apples and Babies

Are women who enjoy motherhood intellectual dropouts? What would have become of the human race had Eve rejected motherhood in favor of pursuing a more gratifying career in the already promising apple industry?

Ginette T. Hochman
Florence, N.J.

■

Your article on the falling birth rate [Sept. 9] stressed the selfish reasons (not wanting to give up careers, free time, money), while ignoring a very real reason that many young couples are remaining childless. They are taking a good look at parental responsibilities in terms of what type of person can be a good parent.

They are finally realizing that not everyone can be a good mother or father, that parenthood like any other career (and it is a profession) is not something that everyone can do well, and that persons who are not suited to being parents can damage or destroy a child if they go ahead and have a baby. This attitude shows self-sacrifice rather than

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selfishness. People who blithely have children and then ignore them or handle them so ineptly that the children become emotionally scarred—these are the selfish ones.

Kathleen L. Lewton
Toledo

■

Naive is TIME's assertion that if the proportion of older people in the American electorate increases from 10% to 20%, older people will become "a greater political force." How does that follow? For older people to become a greater force in electoral politics, they would have to vote as a relatively cohesive group, more responsive to common age-based interests than to other interests they have as individuals from all walks of life. But they do not vote cohesively now and are very unlikely to do so in the future.

Today's 18-year-olds, and each of the other age groups that will turn 65 between now and the year 2021, have already displayed their political diversity in elections and other forms of political behavior. The research of developmental psychologists and political scientists makes it clear that older persons of the future will be as diverse politically as those who are aged now, and probably more so.

Robert H. Binstock
Professor of Politics
Brandeis University
Waltham, Mass.

Mixed Economy, Pure Woe

President Ford's decision to keep Richard Nixon's economic advisers —the men whose mistaken policies brought us to our present intolerable economic dilemma—may well prove to be more serious than his pardoning of his predecessor.

These advisers believe that we can depend on fiscal restraint and tight money (high interest rates) to curb inflation. They think that we can rely primarily on the forces of supply and demand, operating in a free competitive market, to restrain prices. Unfortunately for their theories, and for the welfare of our country, our economy is not that competitive and not that free.

What we have is a mixed economy. Some of it is competitive; much of it is not. Some 1,000 large firms with enough monopoly power to administer prices account for almost one-half of our gross national product. Under the free-market theories of the present economic advisers, prices and profits soar ever upward, while consumers tighten their belts trying to remain solvent.

The newest member of this free-market team is Alan Greenspan, appointed by Nixon just prior to his resignation to be chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. Among Greenspan's views none is more startling than his opposition to our antitrust laws. These laws provide the only weapon to maintain and restore competition. Thus the mind boggles at trying to conceive how one can rely on competition as a regulatory force and want to do away with the legislative acts designed to maintain it.

John C. Davis
New Port Richey, Fla.

The writer, an economist, was on the staff of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Truman, from 1947 to 1953.

■

Your Sept. 16 issue mistakenly cites me as advocating a $6 billion public-service employment program paid for by increased taxes on the oil industry. I have never advocated a program of this size or this method of financing.

It is true that I have been a strong supporter of public-service jobs, but under a plan gearing the amount spent to the level of unemployment. As TIME reported, this type of proposal was recently introduced by Senator Jacob Javits and is under study by the Administration. Public-service jobs have proved to be one of the quickest and least wasteful methods for the Federal Government to tackle unemployment.

I also believe that any program we enact now must be financed through either increased tax revenue or reduced federal outlays in other areas to negate any inflationary impact. I do not think that it would be equitable or even possible, however, to finance the entire program from one source alone.

Charles H. Percy
U.S. Senator, Illinois
Washington, D.C.

Alias Selma

It was a sad spectacle to see a Massachusetts mob hurling tomatoes and savage language at Senator Ted Kennedy as he attempted to speak on integration and busing. This, in a state known for Harvard and the Boston Tea Party! I suggest that the state be renamed "Selma," a name that will live as an insult to the dignity of Martin Luther King, another man who spoke of a whole U.S., not merely a white one. Or perhaps Massachusetts would like to become part of Alabama.

Beverly Hepburn
Berkeley, Calif.

■

Tell them Yankees to get out of the schoolhouse door. The Confederate marshals are off to Boston. They ain't whistlin' *Dixie* but *The Star-Spangled Banner*. How did all them rednecks get up there?

Bill Hilton
Lockhart, Texas

Passage to India

Your special issue of Aug. 19 says that I, "like so many others in the Administration, drifted away (Moynihan went off to an ambassadorship in New Delhi after his pet programs were gutted . . .)." This makes it sound as if I took this post as a retirement job, or something such. It is not at all the case, and the statement is less than complimentary to the government to which I am accredited.

When President-elect Nixon asked me to come to work for him in December 1968, he volunteered at a press conference that I would be able to stay for two years. More than once, perhaps, I considered leaving sooner, but I stayed until December 1970, exactly as originally agreed. I had been offered the United Nations ambassadorship, but had declined. In the two years that followed I wrote two books, organized a course at Harvard, served on the U.S. delegation to the 26th General Assembly of the U.N. and stayed strictly out of politics. In December 1972, the President called to ask me to go to India as ambassador. As I had publicly disagreed with him on Bangladesh and had declined to endorse him in the 1972 campaign, I felt that his offer was a genuine reflection of his policy interests, and one I could accept as an independent person. The wisdom of having done so becomes less certain with time, but there *was* a rationale at the beginning.

Daniel P. Moynihan
U.S. Ambassador to India
New Delhi

Nuclear Club's Doors

The real threat represented by atomic weapons lies in the overcrowded arsenals of the Great Powers, not in the incipient experiments of some developing nations. The nuclear club must either have its doors closed or have them democratically opened to all. If they are closed, the doors will be blown up by intruders.

João Frederico Abbott Galvão
Brazil

Mormon Reformers

To state that Mormons believe that blacks are descendants of Ham and Cain is an insult to many intelligent, active and faithful members of the church who recognize that natural and evolutionary process rather than a "curse of God" is responsible for varying skin colorations.

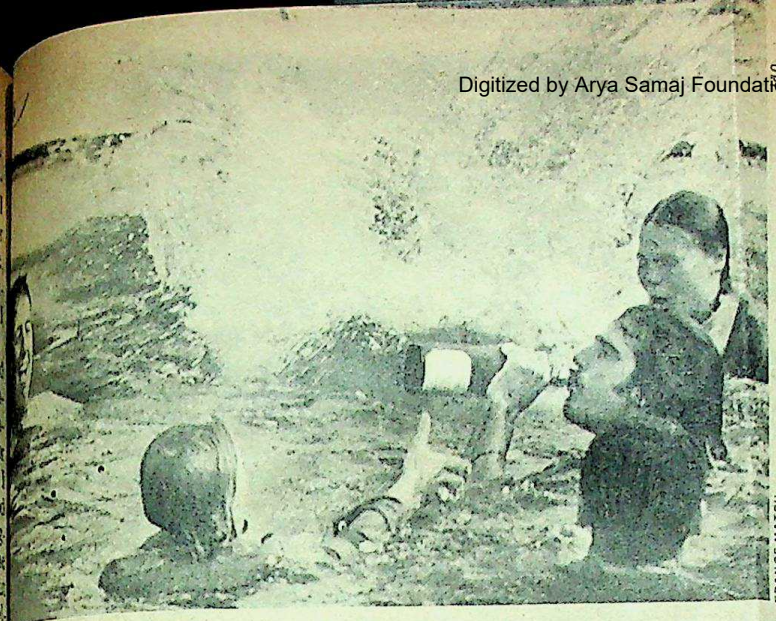
Your article [Sept. 16] implies an acceptance of present church racial discrimination by members who, in fact, believe in the principle of full equality for all. They are actively working within the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints through example, education and patience in order to change the present practice.

Christian Fonnesbeck
Salt Lake City

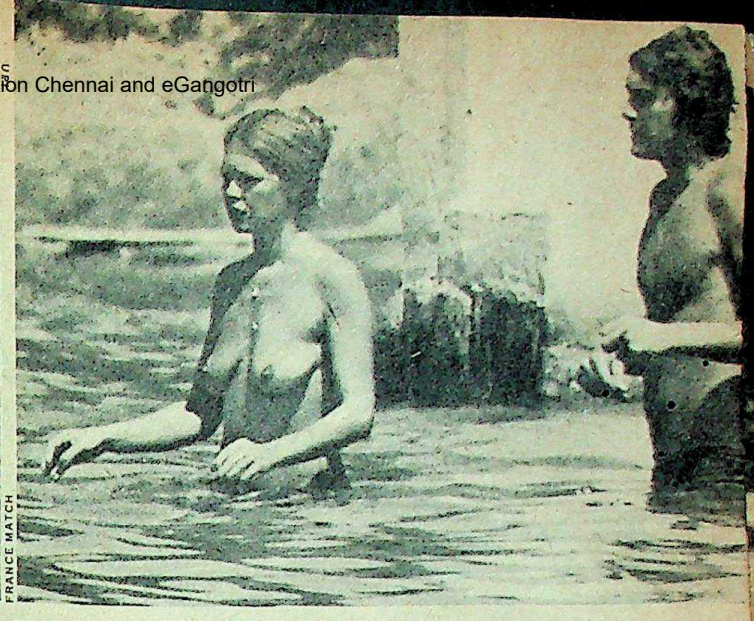
Address Letters to TIME Letters, Time & Life Building, 3-6, 2-chome Ohtemachi, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 100, Japan

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HOOD (LEFT) & *COURAGEOUS* CREW CELEBRATING IN NEWPORT



FRANCE MATCH

BARDOT & VERGEZ COOLING OFF IN ST.-TROPEZ

PEOPLE

Victory can be sweet even when it easy. Chopping effortlessly through a derate southerly breeze out in Rhode land Sound, *Courageous* won her rth straight race against Australia's *uthern Cross* by an almost embarrass- gly wide margin of 7 min. 19 sec. That ded the best-of-seven America's Cup ries and ensured that the old mug uld remain bolted to its table in the w York Yacht Club, which has held r 123 years. All that *Courageous* pper **Ted Hood** and his eleven-man w got for their troubles was a few st-race swallows of champagne and a aking in the soupy waters of New- t harbor. Undaunted, **Alan Bond,** the stralian real estate operator who had k $9 million into the disappointing *uthern Cross* challenge, promised to rn to Newport some day, but with other boat.

■

For all of her worries about her ther's health (*see* THE U.S.), **Julie on Eisenhower** managed to turn in a l, poised performance as a TV host- last week. Filling in for **Barbara Wal-** on *Not for Women Only,* a daytime show, Julie taped five programs k to back, remaining mostly unflap- e through five clothing changes and hours under hot lights. But then she plenty of support. The nine guests interviewed on the subject of "Pub- People, Private Lives" included such friends as **Mrs. Norman Vincent e, Dollie Cole** and California Con- sman **Barry Goldwater Jr.** The audi- e had its own all-in-the-family touch. ong those who came to cheer Julie on e **Josephine Abplanalp,** whose aero- millionaire husband Robert is one of ard Nixon's most loyal backers, **Mrs. Howard Ellis Cox,** Sister **Tricia's** ther-in-law.

■

Sunbathing, dancing and otherwise ling away the last days of summer, holed up in her ten-room house, La Madrague, in St.-Tropez for the past four months. She has company—her 60-year-old mother Anne-Marie and current Boy Friend **Laurent Vergez,** 29—and some more old (and young) chums will doubtless drop by when she celebrates her 40th birthday this week. As photographers who have caught her cooling off in the Mediterranean recently can attest, BB is still reasonably buoyant for a woman entering her fifth decade.

■

Willing to risk anything at his age (71), Comedian **Bob Hope** went to Manhattan's Central Park to tape a special show marking his 25th year on TV. Waving an arm at the thousands of New Yorkers who came to watch the free entertainment, he cracked: "This is the first audience that I've ever played to on grass—that I knew about." In one sketch, Hope and **Jackie Gleason** dressed up as two Central Park vice-squad members in bosomy drag. **Carol Channing,** one of the guest stars, asked Hope what would become of his talent if he decided to retire. Said Hope: "I won't let it all go to waste. I'll give acting lessons to **John Lindsay**."

■

Dressed only in baggy pants, a Nazi cap and leather gloves, British Actress **Charlotte Rampling** looks as if she cannot decide whether to espouse the SS or s-m. She flirts energetically with both in *The Night Porter,* an Italian-made sexual shocker that will open in the U.S. after setting box office records in Europe. Rampling portrays a World War II concentration camp inmate who is seduced by a sadomasochistic SS officer (played by Co-Star **Dirk Bogarde**) and resumes the affair twelve years after the war when he is a hotel clerk in Vienna. The lurid movie was banned in Rome for a while last spring. In the U.S. it has met with a curious reaction from, of all people, its American distributor

RON GALELLA



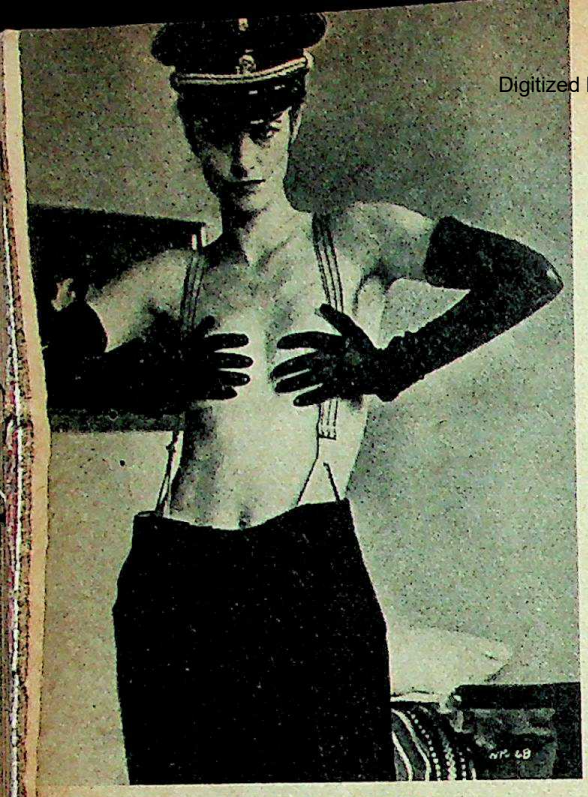
GLEASON & HOPE IN DRAG

LITTLE—CAMERA 5



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RAMPLING IN *THE NIGHT PORTER*

Producer **Joseph E. Levine.** The industry censors have assigned the film an R rating (youngsters under 17 may see it only if accompanied by an adult). But Levine, who thinks that *Porter's* subject matter is unsuitable for youth, feels that the rating ought to be X.

■

Eager to try out his new three-speed bicycle, a family present for his 67th birthday, Chief Justice **Warren Burger** pedaled out one night in the neighborhood of his Arlington, Va., home. He was crossing a heavily traveled highway when a motorist bore down on him. Pumping hard, Burger slammed into the curb on the far side of the road, and was thrown several feet into the air. He suffered a fractured rib, a dislocated finger and a cut over his left eye. Doctors hospitalized Burger, a veteran biker, for observation and tests.

■

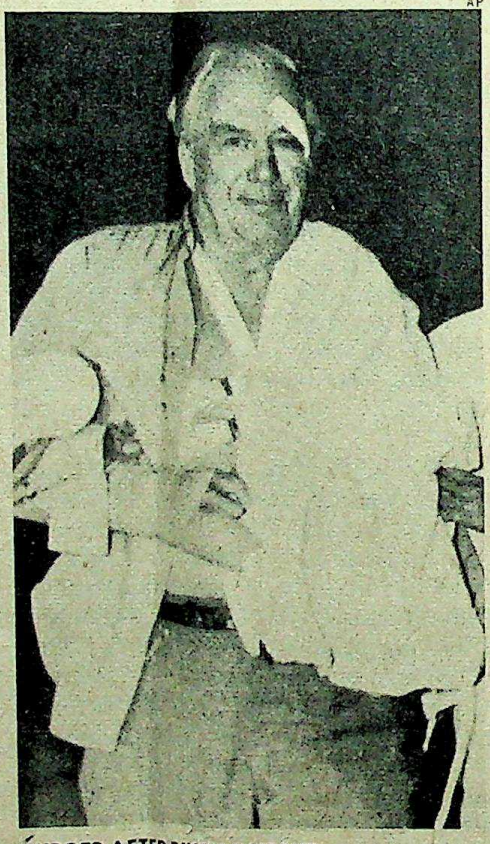
With one blow, the $10 million bout may have been kayoed altogether. Eight days before he was to meet Challenger **Muhammad Ali** in Kinshasa, World Heavyweight Champion **George Foreman** suffered an inch-long gash over his right eye during a workout with a sparring partner. The cut was deep enough to require a few weeks' healing time, raising fears that the fast-approaching Central African rainy season will turn the open-air boxing arena into a swamp before *"le super combat"* can be held. The government of Zaïre quickly set a new fight date of Oct. 23—just early enough, if all goes well, to save both the promoters and the Zaïre treasury from taking a costly soaking. But Foreman, meanwhile, announced that he alone would decide when he is well enough to defend his title.

■

Back in the 1950s, Italian Movie Belle **Gina Lollobrigida** spent idle time on the set sharpening her own photographic skills with a still camera. At 47, Lollo has parlayed her hobby into a second career. On assignment for a magazine series on "the most interesting men in the world," she has already shot Statesman **Henry Kissinger,** Astronaut **Neil Armstrong,** Artist **Salvador Dali,** Poet **Yevgeny Yevtushenko** and Shipowner **Aristotle Onassis.** Most recently she has been in Havana, cameras and notebooks at the ready, interviewing Premier **Fidel Castro.**

In the course of a ten-day whirl through Cuba, Gina not only caught the casual Castro in still photographs *(see opposite page)* but also filmed what will eventually appear on TV as an hour-long "portrait of Fidel." *El Máximo Líder* was a willing subject, to say the least. In their first meeting, he popped in on Gina unannounced as she was sunbathing *au naturel* on the patio of a borrowed villa in Havana—and stayed for two hours after she squirmed into a terry-cloth robe.

AP



BURGER AFTER BIKE ACCIDENT

Later on he took Gina for a rambling Jeep tour through the cattle and tobacco plains outside Havana. Characteristically, Fidel stopped frequently to rap with farmers, factory workers and teachers. "He has a personality that appeals to people, a magnetic power of attraction," says Gina. His addiction to games of all sorts was also very much in evidence. At one point, Fidel ebulliently challenged —and beat—two youngsters at table tennis. Then he entered a rousing basketball game that pitted a clutch of Cuba's leading athletes against a group of out-of-shape Cabinet ministers. As a man who does not like to be on the losing side of anything, Castro chose to play with the jocks and, with a lot of calculated assists, contributed 50 points toward a 99-64 victory.

Forever pointing out assorted signs of technological progress, Castro explained during a stop at a ranch that cattle breeding is accomplished by artificial insemination. "That's very sad for the cows," said Gina plaintively. Replied Fidel: "That's all right. For people we do it the old way."

Gina was surprised to find that Castro was "very gentle, very soft." She adds: "Those eyes of his! He still is a mysterious man." Gina finds that other men she interviews "try to jump on me. Not Fidel. I think he was not sophisticated. He was unsure of himself, he was afraid of me." He was, however, savvy enough to recognize that some of the bulges in Gina's clothing on one Jeep trip were created by hidden tape-recording equipment. "So how is the sound when you listen at night?" he asked her one day. No hard feelings, though. Fidel taught Gina the dizzying pleasures of smoking Havana cigars. And at the end of her stay he insisted that they exchange watches—his Japanese Seiko for her diamond-studded Swiss Piaget.

OPPOSITE, CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: CASTRO THROUGH LOLLOBRIGIDA'S LENS; TAKING BASKETBALL SHOT; COOLING OFF WITH ICE CREAM; CHATTING WITH BIKINI-CLAD GIRLS. BELOW: GINA AND FIDEL SMOKING CIGARS

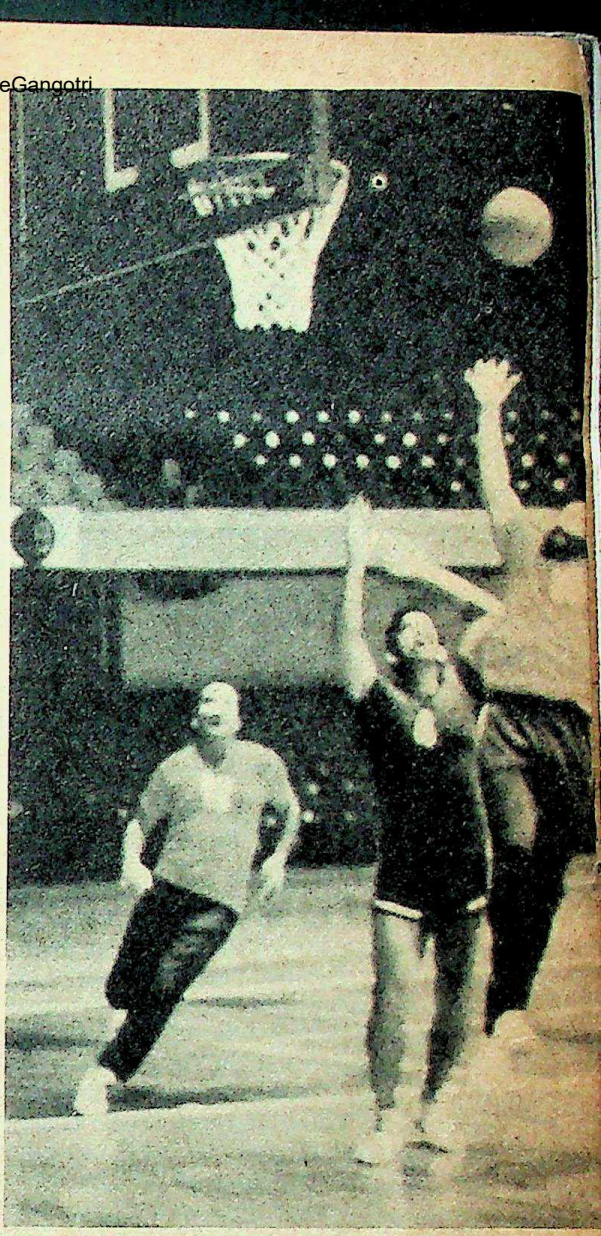




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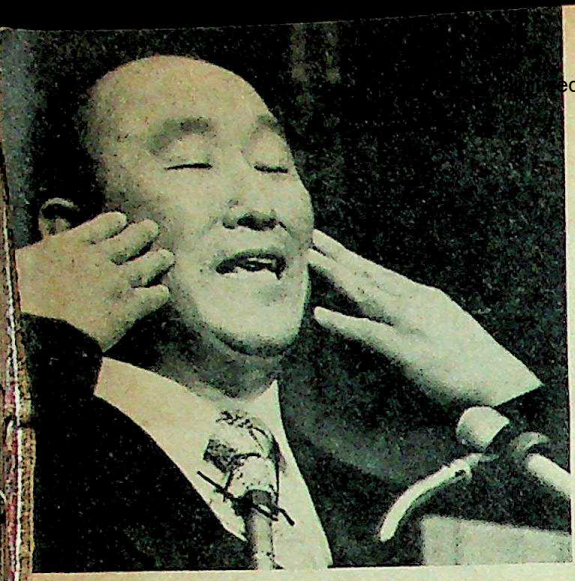






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MOON PREACHING IN MANHATTAN



MICHAEL EVANS

KOREAN FOLK BALLET IN FERVENT BUILDUP TO SECOND-COMING SERMON

Moon Landing in Manhattan

How does a preacher with murky credentials draw a crowd in jaded New York City? Simple. You field a corps of 2,000 tireless, polite young buttonholers who spend weeks offering people free tickets. Invest $300,000 on publicity for the one-night stand—far more than Billy Graham has ever spent for an eight-day crusade. Along with the radio and TV spots and full-page newspaper ads, plaster posters of the smiling preacher on all conceivable wall space.

It all worked for the Rev. Sun Myung Moon, 54, South Korea's crypto-Messiah, who packed Madison Square Garden to overflowing last week. The happening, complete with numbers by the Korean Folk Ballet, kicked off an eight-city tour that climaxes his drive to build a base in the U.S. just seven years before the Messianic Age is to begin. Moon, through an interpreter, told the Garden-goers in guttural shouts, "The time of the Second Coming of Christ is near, and America is the landing site!" Half the crowd filtered out during the 2½-hour oration, but for many of those who stayed, there was little doubt that the Messiah is Moon himself.

Since his New York appearance a year ago (TIME, Oct. 15), Moon has spoken in all 50 states, typically drawing only several hundred people. Meanwhile, his church has bought a former Catholic seminary to expand Moon's schools for training outsiders. With a previously purchased estate and the lavish mansion where Moon lives, this gives the movement $3 million worth of property in the Hudson River Valley. The Moonmen say income for U.S. operations ($7 million last year) comes mostly from street peddling of flowers, peanuts and candles—which is possible, given the fervor of his international corps of disciples. (As salesmen minus work visas, the aliens among them are now threatened with deportation.)

While Moon was on a brief trip home to Korea last November, God revealed to him that Americans "must love Richard Nixon." For weeks the well-scrubbed Moon-people demonstrated in the capital with GOD LOVES NIXON signs. Many politicians, including four Nixon loyalists on the House Judiciary Committee, endorsed the hang-in-there campaign.

Moon is a man of many faces. To some, he is a Korean exemplar of Americanism and anti-Communism who merits fond words from the superpatriotic Sons of the American Revolution. To others, he is an international educator who lures students to indoctrination seminars with guest lectures by such big-name academics as Political Scientists Roger Hilsman and Samuel P. Huntington.

Moon's public religious face is that of a brotherhood-minded Christian clergyman and founder of the "ecumenical" Unification Church. At a Waldorf banquet in his honor last week, a monsignor offered the opening prayer, and another Catholic, Seer Jeane Dixon, gushed, "Bless you, Reverend Moon, for your message."

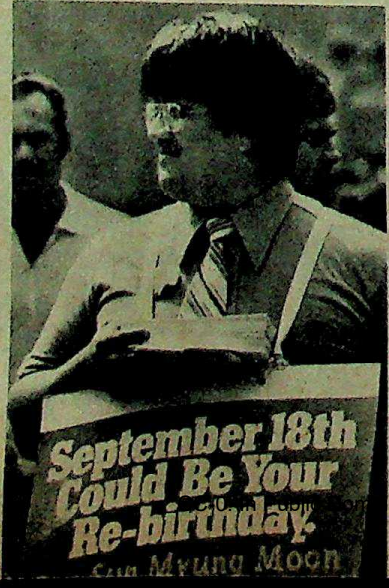
In private meetings, he is the authoritarian "Master" Moon who claims to be "greater than Jesus himself" and says, "God is now throwing Christianity away and is now establishing a new religion, and this new religion is Unification Church ... We have only one way." Other in-group speeches have proclaimed, "I am your brain" and "The whole world is in my hand, and I will conquer and subjugate the world."

That heady mission began on Easter Sunday, 1936, when, Moon reports, Jesus appeared to him and commissioned him as a latter-day prophet. Moon, an ex-Presbyterian who was born in North Pyongan province in what became North Korea, later studied engineering in Japan and, he told New Yorkers last week, also spent time talking with Jesus and other biblical luminaries in the spirit world. Thus he was able to reveal the true meaning of the Bible, which is God's "coded message" to mankind. As God's cryptographer, Moon later published the movement's scripture, called *Divine Principle*.

Staunch Denial. Only at age 26 did he start preaching, and he immediately ran afoul of the new Soviet-styled regime. He spent three years in Communist prisons and was freed by United Nations forces in late 1950. He became a harbor laborer in Pusan, then founded his church in Seoul in 1954. Soon the new faith, which developed from an earlier Korean messianic movement, was under attack by Korean Christians and awash in controversy. South Korean police arrested Moon for draft dodging, later charged him with adultery and promiscuity, after persistent reports that his church practiced ritual sex so that Moon could "share the blood." The Moon church staunchly denied the charges

MOON CHILDREN DRUMMING UP AUDIENCE





TED THAI

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vernment failed to prove them, and
oon was acquitted.
Moon began building a multi-mil-
n-dollar network of industries (phar-
ceuticals, air rifles, titanium, tea),
unched an anti-Communist organiza-
n, and gained steadily in official es-
em. Today, while the Park regime jails
merous dissident Protestants and
atholics, it bestows favors on Moon.
s movement has grown to a purport-
362,000 members in South Korea and
1,000 worldwide, with claims some-
es vaulting to 3 million.
Last week's Moon landing in Man-
ttan demonstrated not only the dog-
tic certainties but the highly disci-
ined, puritanical way of life that makes
oonism appealing to its young con-
rts. When city fathers griped about the
quitous Moon posters, the Moon chil-
en—mostly quartered at two modest
tels—worked through the night after
Garden rally to remove them.
Besides disciples and the curious, the
ings drew congeries of demonstrators.
harged Paul Moore, a Nazarene min-
er who mobilized a fervent protest by
angelicals, "Rev. Moon is a liar and
ceiver. He has belittled and negated
ery essential Christian belief, every
nciple of the Apostles' Creed, while
the same time pretending to be Chris-
n. He denies the Trinity and the in-
ration of the Scriptures."
In essence, Moon's theology makes
de use of biblical personae and events,
t is no more than nominally Chris-
n. Added ingredients are an odd mix:
ultism, electrical engineering, Taoist
alism, pop sociology and opaque
aphysical jargon. Sample: "The con-
t action of give-and-take through
stages of Origin-Division-Union
nthesis) within God and within all
ation, which thus resembles God."
New Redeemer. One unique
me runs through Moon's message:
importance of matrimony. As it hap-
s, Moon himself has been married
ce or, according to his opponents in
rea, four times. The church's best-
own practice is its arranged marriag-
preferably in massive paramilitary
emonies, after which the couple must
engage in sexual intercourse for 40
s. Moon thinks that the fall of man
ne when Satan seduced Eve. The first
essiah, Jesus Christ, had the major
d-given task of finding the right
man and founding the Perfect Fam-
Since the Jews, according to Moon's
ching, "murdered" Jesus, and thus
rted that mission, Christ's death on
cross provided only a half-salvation.
That is where the Second Coming
es in. A new Messiah, who combines
rist and other holy men, must return
ather the Perfect Family and redeem
ankind physically. And this "Lord of
Second Advent" must be born as a
nal man in Korea in this century.
ho is he? Moon himself, devotees nat-
lly assume. The Master does noth-
ing to discourage the idea.

Maya the Marvelous

Inexplicably, the authors of that arrogant non-book *The Best* missed a chance to make a snap judgment that few would challenge—namely, that Maya Plisetskaya is the finest female classical dancer in the world. Last week the reigning ballerina of Russia's Bolshoi Ballet headed a group of touring stars from the company in a week-long engagement at Manhattan's Lincoln Center. Shrewdly, the management announced in advance that she would dance at every performance; otherwise, seeing this uneven cadre of Bolshoiviks —actually, they constitute less than one-third of the entire troupe—without her would be as interesting as watching the New York Jets without Joe Namath.

First-nighters were lucky enough to see Plisetskaya display two startlingly different aspects of her phenomenal talent. She began the evening by dazzling the Metropolitan Opera House audience as Odette in the second act of *Swan Lake,* and ended it by starring in *Carmen Suite,* a ballet created especially for her (a rare tribute in the Soviet Union). In between, a dozen or so other soloists performed snippets from the stodgy Bolshoi repertory that allowed them to show off little more than their remarkable discipline.

The dual role of Odette-Odile in *Swan Lake* is one of ballet's supreme challenges, and there are many women who meet it with grace and liquid beauty. Plisetskaya, though, is unique. In the limpid forest glade scenes of Act II, most good dancers prettily suggest a girl imitating a swan. In a breathtaking act of theatrical magic, Plisetskaya somehow becomes a lovely humanoid swan giving a passable imitation of a shy maiden. This remarkable ballerina is now 48, and her short, chunky legs have clearly lost some of their spring. But Plisetskaya's legs seem almost secondary to her dancing genius; what matters more is her elegantly arched, endlessly supple torso, and above all, her arms. There are no others like them in all of dance. When she floats offstage at the end of the act in a pas de bourrée of astounding purity, her gently rippling arms seem to be without bones.

Sensual Fire. Plisetskaya's Odette is all shimmering ice; her Carmen is sensual fire. By and large, this version of the Prosper Mérimée story is downright ludicrous. Set to a percussive rehash of Bizet melodies (some from *Carmen,* some not), the choreography by Cuba's Alberto Alonso must have seemed madly daring when it was first shown in Moscow seven years ago. In fact, it is full of dated psychological posturings. Moreover, despite strong dancing by blond young (24) Aleksander Godunov, one of Plisetskaya's favorite partners, and Sergei Radchenko, the roles of Don José and the toreador remain lifeless.

But none of this really matters. From the first moment that marvelous Maya, sexily garbed in black, sashays onto a stage tricked up to evoke a bull ring, she is smolderingly present as a dangerous woman on the make. Whether stalking defiantly away from a woebegone Don José or melting luxuriously in his arms, this Carmen is a creature, almost a prisoner, of passion. All stops out, Plisetskaya swaggers through the role with a shameless, feline verve that commands the eye and utterly dominates the stage. ■ John T. Elson

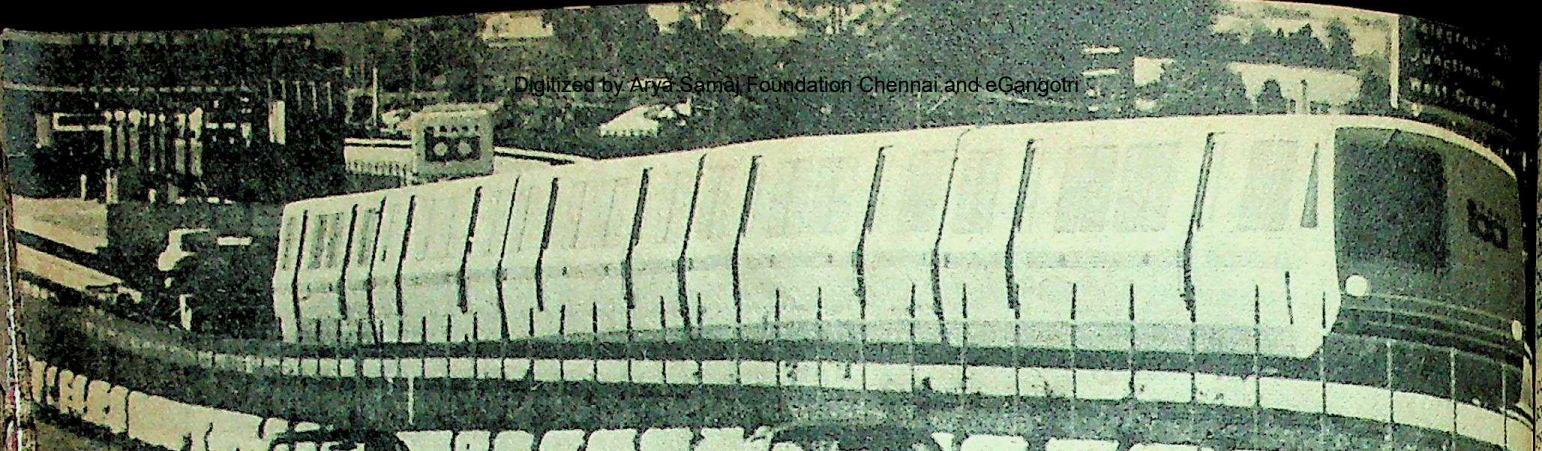
JUDY CAMERON



PLISETSKAYA AS CARMEN

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80 M.P.H. BART TRAIN HEADS EAST FROM SAN FRANCISCO ALONG ELEVATED MEDIAN OF HIGHWAY 24

BART Beleaguered

At 5:45 on the morning of Sept. 16, a sleek aluminum train glided out of Oakland, Calif., through a tube under the bay and into San Francisco. The trip formally opened the first regional urban rail-transit system to be completed in the U.S. since 1924; now the Bay Area Rapid Transit system (BART) extends to 33 stations along an X-shaped 71-mile-long route. But despite the outpouring of civic pride last week, BART looks to many planners, politicians and passengers less like an X than a giant question mark.

The system was designed as a model solution for the nation's traffic-congested cities, rolling proof that a properly designed rail system could lure commuters out of their cars. It was a severe test for mass transit; most Californians regard auto travel as a basic part of their freewheeling life-style. So BART's stations were made particularly bright and pleasant. Its trains are fast (80 m.p.h.), comfortable, clean. Its fares, which run from 30¢ to $1.25, depending on the miles traveled, are lower than those for equivalent bus trips. Everything, from ticketing to train schedules, is controlled by computer. But just about everything that could go wrong has.

Runaway inflation and construction delays drove building costs up from the $1 billion that was originally budgeted in 1962 to $1.6 billion. BART's bad luck also came in smaller forms: gophers gnawed through the plastic casements of underground cables in 1971, forcing extensive and expensive repairs.

Then, when the first part of the system, a 26-mile route from North Oakland to Fremont, finally started operations in 1972, electronic bugs attacked. A train pulling into Fremont got a wrong signal from the computer and plunged off the end of the elevated track, slightly injuring five passengers. On 19 separate occasions, the doors of speeding cars opened to other signals; no one was hurt. Perhaps most exasperating were the frequent failures of automatic controls that stalled trains and stranded passengers throughout the system.

Many would-be riders, who might have given up the door-to-door convenience of their autos, were clearly put off by the system's equipment troubles. Instead of carrying the expected 80,000 passengers a day, BART's average to last week has been only 73,000 per day; now that service to the city has opened, that figure is expected to double. Even so, fare-box receipts still will not pay BART's way. To meet construction and operating costs, a special half-cent sales tax was levied in the three counties served by the system. But California Governor Ronald Reagan is threatening to veto a bill to extend that tax for two years. If he does, BART will have to shut down on Oct. 1.

Even if Reagan signs the bill, BART must find a way to make ends meet when the tax extension runs out. No matter what solutions are devised, the basic question is still whether BART—or any other fine transit system—can convince commuters to forsake rubber for rails.

Architect for the Poor

Hassan Fathy is an Egyptian architect whose life was completely changed in one moment of revelation. It happened when he visited the unspoiled Nubian village of Gharb Aswan on the Upper Nile. What he saw there, he later wrote, was "a way of building that was a natural growth in the landscape, as much a part of it as the palm tree." Sight led to insight. Fathy recognized that traditional architecture, unlike modern industrial architecture, is compatible with "God's environment" of nature, climate and materials. He never looked back.

That was in 1941, and Fathy (pronounced Fott-hee), at 74, has only recently become a major influence on the world of architecture. Building experts from England, France, Pakistan and the United Nations now come to Cairo to consult him. In the U.S., a show of his works will soon begin a 20-city tour. Fathy's newfound fame results from his success in a field where everybody else has failed: public housing.

Terrible Responsibility. To date nobody has been able to build public housing for less than $1,200 per unit —more than most developing nations can afford. As Fathy has proved by building the village of Gourna in Upper Egypt and the town of Paris in the nation's western desert, he can bring the cost down to $500 per unit, including a kitchen and a latrine. He designs houses so that peasants can build it mostly as their fathers did in the past. No structural steel, concrete or wood is needed, just mud bricks and the native techniques that Fathy learned in Nubia. As a result, he says, he has "a billion clients" —the world's poor.

Fathy, the son of an Alexandria landowner, first became interested in these clients in 1926 when his job with a government agency took him near the family property where peasants lived in stench, filth and misery. "Because the place was owned by my father, I suddenly felt terribly responsible for it all," he says. "I decided I must do something." Using the architectural training he received at Cairo's Higher School of Engineering, he decided to design decent dwelling for peasants, using locally available bricks made of mud and straw.

"The walls were no problem, but the roof defeated me." Fathy recalls. "I used structural materials, the house became too expensive for the peasants. I tried to build a vaulted roof using only mud bricks, the whole thing collapsed. The problem was that a vault, like

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...th, has structural strength only when ...s complete, and the peasants lacked ...ood to support the arch while it was ...eing built. Still, Fathy remembered that ...e ancient Egyptians had somehow ...built sturdy houses of the same mate... ...ial. But, he says, "I feared that the se... ...ret had been lost."

It was in Nubia that Fathy redis... ...overed the technique. Native brick ma... ...ters could create a clean vault of bricks ...y first building the back wall of the ...ouse higher than the intended roof lev... ...l. Then they built the arched roof, in... ...ining it slightly against the wall, which ...rovided support until the arch was ...ompleted. The roofs would not fall in ...arthquakes, and the technique was so ...imple that it could be used anywhere ...n the world.

By 1942, Fathy had built two hand... ...me prototype houses that proved to ...m that mud was the right material for ...Egypt—or any other arid North Afri... ...an or Middle Eastern nation. The mud ...ricks last virtually forever, provided ...at they do not get wet through. More... ...er, the houses kept temperature and ...umidity within the comfort zone throughout the scaling days and cool nights. In modern, prefabricated concrete houses, by contrast, the temperature varies by as much as 68° F.

Egyptian authorities were not impressed; they regarded the building of mud houses as a backward step, especially because Fathy's housing for peasants was built to last even after the nation modernized. The building industry scorned the idea of native architecture because it offered few new jobs and only a small market for materials. While Fathy's philosophy was largely ignored, other architects in the region were becoming increasingly enthralled by the efficient Western ways of building. As a result, from Baghdad to Benghazi, lookalike blocks of dreary high-rise buildings rose along drab, dusty boulevards.

Blazing Sun. Fathy was forced merely to preach what he longed to practice. As a teacher at Cairo's fine arts school, he told young architects that they should perceive the reason behind indigenous forms. Old Islamic houses have filigreed windows and central courts, for example, to admit light without glare, coolness without air conditioning. The same principles could easily be incorporated even into high-rise buildings.

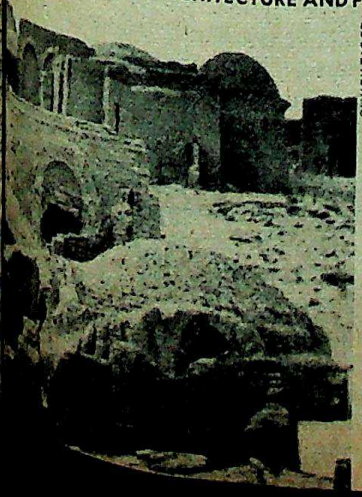
Similarly, Fathy taught that the layouts of old Arab towns, rabbit warrens of narrow, tortuous streets, have a powerful rationale. "In desert climates," he explains, "there is always a drop in temperature at night so that a mass of cold air is 'stored' near the ground. In a typical Arab town, the coolness lingers through most of the day. But if you break open the old cities and build broad, straight boulevards, the wind blows the coolness away, and you're left at the mercy of the blazing sun."

Such precepts first won wide recognition only last year, after Fathy lectured at the Adlai Stevenson Institute in Chicago and had his book, *Architecture for the Poor*, published in the U.S. and France. International honors—and actual projects—followed. Fathy senses in the surge of interest in his ideas a return to the logic of traditional architecture. "To me," he says, "it's a sin to put a Swiss chalet beside palm groves." Or a bleak glass and steel tower in a sun-scorched Moslem nation.

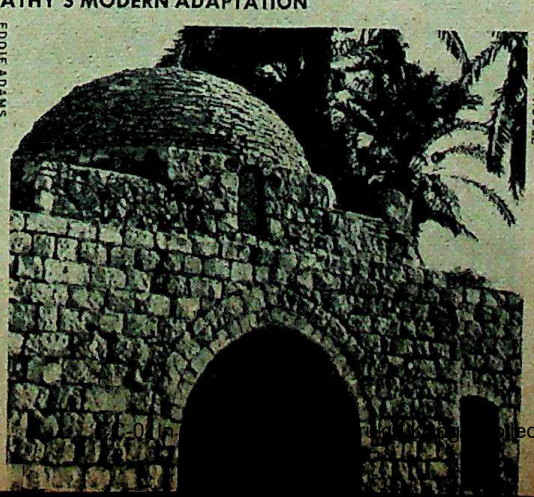
...SSAN FATHY IN CAIRO HOME



...DITIONAL EGYPTIAN ARCHITECTURE AND FATHY'S MODERN ADAPTATION



EDDIE ADAMS



JOHN O. RIDDLE

Married. Liza Minnelli, 28, exuberant entertainer; and Jack Haley Jr., 40, film producer; she for the second time, he for the first; in Montecito, Calif.

■

Died. Lawrence V. Kelly, 46, prescient, uncompromising director and founder of the Dallas Civic Opera; of cancer; in Kansas City, Mo. One of the most influential and highly respected figures in American regional opera, Kelly, who also co-founded and directed the Lyric Theater of Chicago and the Performing Arts Foundation in Kansas City, shaped his companies to perform a repertory of unusual, rarely done works and to showcase fresh imported talent. Outrunning the Met, the quick impresario arranged the U.S. debuts of Joan Sutherland, Montserrat Caballé, Jon Vickers and Teresa Berganza, and in 1954 brought Manhattan-born Maria Callas back to America. Four years later, in Dallas, she presented him with the definitive Medea.

■

Died. Edna Best, 74, popular British-born stage, film and television actress perhaps best known for her deft portrayal of British comedic heroines, but equally at ease in dramatic roles; in Geneva, Switzerland.

■

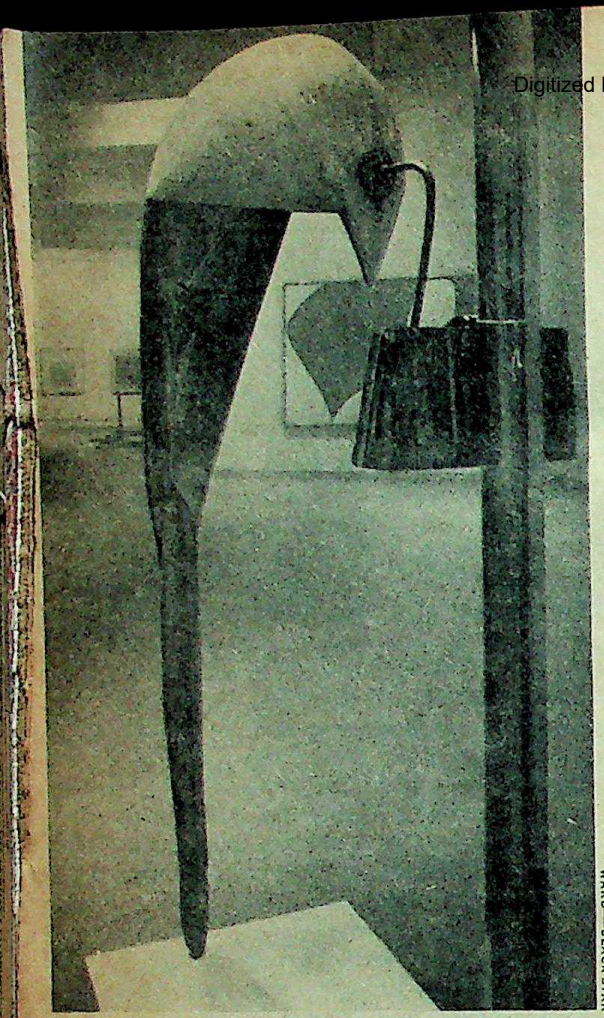
Died. Dr. Forrest C. ("Phog") Allen, 88, outspoken master basketball coach whose foghorn voice won him his nickname, and whose dedication to the sport won him the honorary title of Mr. Basketball; in Lawrence, Kans. Allen's basketball career began while he was an undergraduate at the U. of Kansas, where he played for the inventor of the game, Dr. James Naismith. After medical school (osteopathy) and several years of coaching other Midwestern teams, Allen returned to Kansas and guided the Jayhawks to 24 conference championships. He retired in 1956, leaving a record (771 games won, 233 lost for a .768 percentage over his 46-year career) that stood until 1968—the year one of Allen's own students, Adolph Rupp, broke it. Allen's proudest achievement came in 1936, when, as a result of his one-man crusade, basketball became an Olympic sport.

■

Died. André Dunoyer de Segonzac, 90, well-known French painter and printmaker; of bronchitis; in Paris. Inspired by Corot and Courbet, the young aristocrat shunned the early 1900s revolutionary experiments of his Fauvist and Cubist Parisian friends and bought a house in the south of France, where he painted gentle, Cézannesque still lifes and landscapes glimmering with the unique southern light. Retaining and refining his style throughout his lifetime, Segonzac won and kept the respect of artists, critics and collectors.

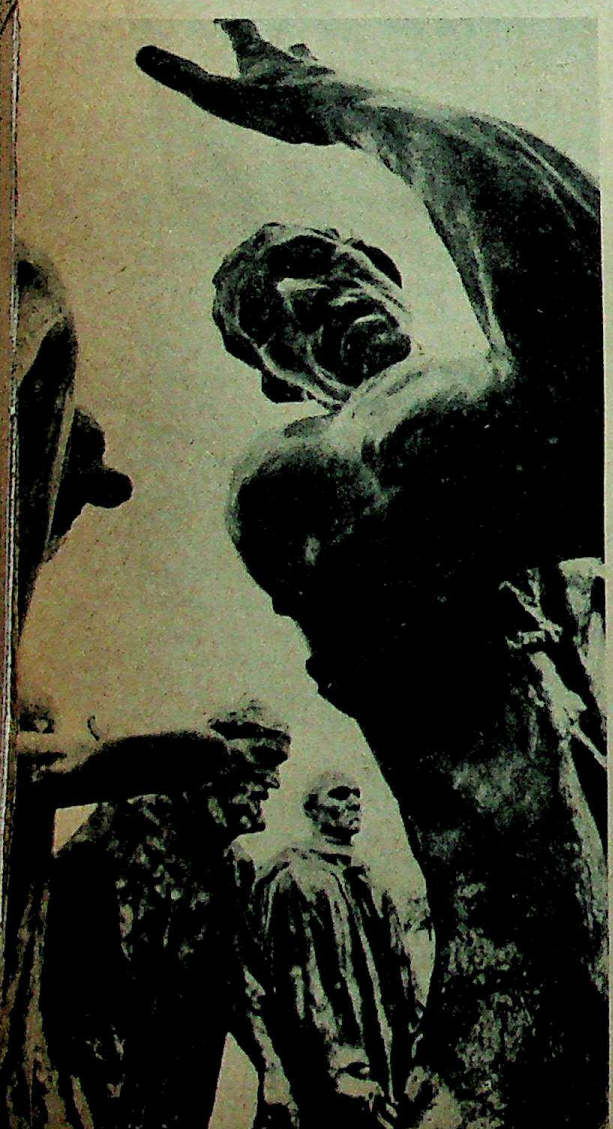
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WARD—BLACK STAR

DAVID VON SCHLEGELL'S *LEDA*, 1963



DETAIL OF RODIN'S *BURGHERS OF CALAIS*

The Avid Eclectic

From the street, the effect is disorienting; someone has deposited the set from *The Guns of Navarone* on the Washington Mall. It is a squat cylinder four stories high and 231 ft. across, sheathed in granite aggregate the color of flushed elephant skin. The outside wall is blank except for an embrasure; one looks (in vain) for the muzzle of a 16-in. gun peeping from the slit. Such, on first glimpse, is the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, built to house the enormous collection of 4,000 paintings and 2,000 sculptures that Joseph Hirshhorn, 75, the feisty, thrusting and by no means universally loved uranium mogul, presented to the nation in 1966.

Private Fief. The Hirshhorn collection is by far the largest public bequest of art ever made by a single American. It opens next week, after three nights of inaugural ceremonies punctuated by a "recording of opening fanfare played over sound system at intervals in the lobby." From the turning of the sod to the tootling of the brass, the building has cost $16 million and provoked steady criticism from those who see it as a feat of egotism. (Not even Andrew Mellon, critics complain, insisted that his name should stay in the title of "his" nearby National Gallery.) The Hirshhorn Museum is a branch of the Smithsonian Institution. But for the moment it is saddled with the reputation of a private fief built with public money, so far containing nothing but Hirshhorn art and directed by the man Hirshhorn had previously employed as his private curator.

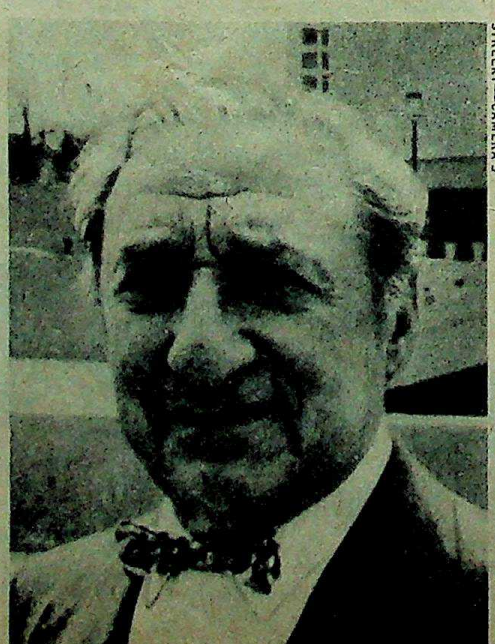
The Hirshhorn collection has always been controversial, partly because nobody except Abram Lerner, its director, and Hirshhorn has seen everything in it. Hirshhorn has been collecting longer than the Museum of Modern Art and with hardly less money at his disposal. The tone has been one of impetuous enthusiasms and voracity, rather than the historically balanced connoisseurship a great museum needs. The Hirshhorn's enthusiasm for De Kooning has resulted in a superb group of early De Koonings, whereas some other key abstract expressionists, notably Pollock, are represented by weak or indifferent works. So although the works on view are obviously picked with care, they contain many *longueurs*—especially post-European painting of the '50s and '60s for which Hirshhorn seems to have had a predilection.

Hirshhorn's instinct for painting seems to have been weaker than for sculpture. There, nobody could cavil at the major works he has supplied Washington—the Giacomettis, the Daumiers, at least some of the 15 Moores, Rodin's *Burghers of Calais* and stupendous *Balzac,* Picasso's *Baby Carriage,* and the great series of Matisse's *Backs of Woman,* to name only a few.

In general, the avid eclecticism that marked Hirshhorn's collecting habits comes as a relief, despite the amount of rubbish. Too many museums collect in terms of a rigid historical theory; by reminding us of the innumerable and quirkish side channels away from the so-called "mainstream" of modern art, Hirshhorn has done the state a service. But this will only remain a virtue if the museum has generous funds to fill in the gaps; it would be fatal to treat it as a static monument to one man's taste.

Blandly Totalitarian. Much less can be said for the building. The *Leader's* Vivien Raynor cautiously averred that it was not "the worst building in Washington; it probably would make even the top ten in that category." Perhaps not, but it is certainly in addition to the dressing of sub-Beaux Arts modernism that gives official Washington architecture its blandly totalitarian look. The architect of the museum, Gordon Bunshaft of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, is the man who gave us the Lyndon Johnson Library in Austin, Texas. Both exemplify Bunshaft's talent for lumpengrandiosity. The building would make even Benito Mussolini flinch. Most buildings, whether good or bad, have iconographies; they transmit meanings and attitudes. What Bunshaft's design seems to be talking about is fortress security—art as bullion.

Perhaps in a decade when anyone can walk into the Vatican and smash Michelangelo with his hammer, the fate of all public art is to become more and more an object of paranoia. Without meaning to, the Hirshhorn Museum vividly expresses this paranoia. The tragic, particularly since an imagina-



STREEKY—CAMERA 5

ART COLLECTOR JOSEPH HIRSHHORN

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chitect like the late Louis Kahn could ve given the Smithsonian a design th the dignity the Mall demands, as ell as the flexibility and humane scale at Hirshhorn's collection deserves. But ly the rhetoricians seem to make it Washington. ■ Robert Hughes

Arrogant Intrusion

No doubt there have been some art ics who wished, in self-indulgent mo- nents, that art history were neater than is, that the work fitted the pet theory ore smoothly. The sight of a critic ysically altering an artist's work to form to his own ideas about it is, mer- ully, almost unknown. But it hap- ed recently—to David Smith, who d in 1965 and is probably the great- sculptor in U.S. history. Readers of s month's *Art in America* were elec- fied to learn from an article by Art storian Rosalind Krauss that since ith's death seven of his late sculptures arge constructions of welded steel, ished with a white coat of primer, pre- ratory to painting—have been ground ck to bare metal, while other finished lychrome works were simply left in e open fields outside his studio at Bol- n's Landing, N.Y., until their surfac- osted into disintegration.

The man who authorized this bizarre cy of revision and neglect was one the three executors of Smith's estate, t Critic Clement Greenberg. About sculptures underwent change at eenberg's whim, some irrevocably. at paint can be resprayed, but some Smith's polychrome works were ted in a splashy, brushy manner—a dwriting that can no more be re- stored than the excited scribbles he made with a grinder on the skin of his stainless-steel pieces.

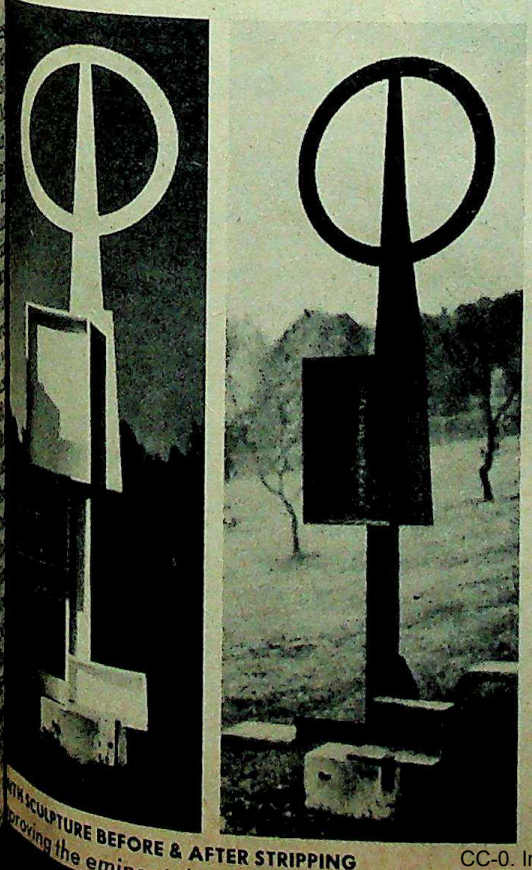
The other executors—Artist Robert Motherwell and Washington Attorney Ira Lowe—maintain Greenberg never told them what he was doing. "I was stupefied when I heard about it," said Motherwell last week, adding that Greenberg had given the impression that nothing beyond "some restoration work" had been done.

The changes seem to have been made because Greenberg thought Smith's use of color in his late sculptures unsuccessful, and preferred plain steel to the white primer coats. "Clem never made any secret of his dislike of Smith's painted work," recalls former Guggenheim Museum Curator Edward Fry, who organized a major Smith retrospective in 1969.

Narrow Imperatives. Smith, naturally, felt otherwise, and nothing in his work or writings indicates that the sculptures he started to paint but left unfinished at his death would have been closer to his intentions if cut back to raw steel. If he had wanted them raw, he would not have *begun* to paint them. Indeed, the vitality and open-endedness of his work largely stemmed from his refusal to entertain the kind of narrow imperatives about painting as painting and sculpture as sculpture that Greenberg, in the days when he was writing criticism, proposed.

The counterpoint between steel and paint did not always come off, but Smith's effort to make it work was an integral part of American art history. Greenberg's decision to posthumously destroy the evidence of what he considered Smith's "failure" was, one must in charity assume, directed by sincere aesthetic motives—just as John Ruskin's posthumous burning of "pornographic" watercolors by J.M.W. Turner in the 19th century was sincerely meant to protect Turner's moral reputation.

Greenberg sticks by his guns. "I can answer to my conscience," he declares. "Were I to have known that this fuss would come up I would still have done the same thing, and I'm only sorry I didn't do it earlier." But conscience is not the point. The point is that altering the work of a dead artist—especially one of Smith's eminence—is an arrogant intrusion that borders on vandalism. We are entitled to the work as it left Smith's hand, warts and all. Perhaps the best thing to be said for Greenberg's action is that, aberrantly, he has given the art world a disturbing lesson in the limits of criticism. ■ R.H.



TH SCULPTURE BEFORE & AFTER STRIPPING
roving the eminent dead?

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Who Owns the Tapes?

Do former Presidents and other federal officials own the records they generated during their tours of public service? The answer is yes if tradition is the sole arbiter. Ever since George Washington carted home to Mount Vernon trunkloads of presidential papers, his successors and their executors have tightly controlled White House documents. The controversial agreement between representatives of Gerald Ford and Richard Nixon, giving Nixon shared control over his material and allowing him to destroy the records after five years, reaffirms past practice.

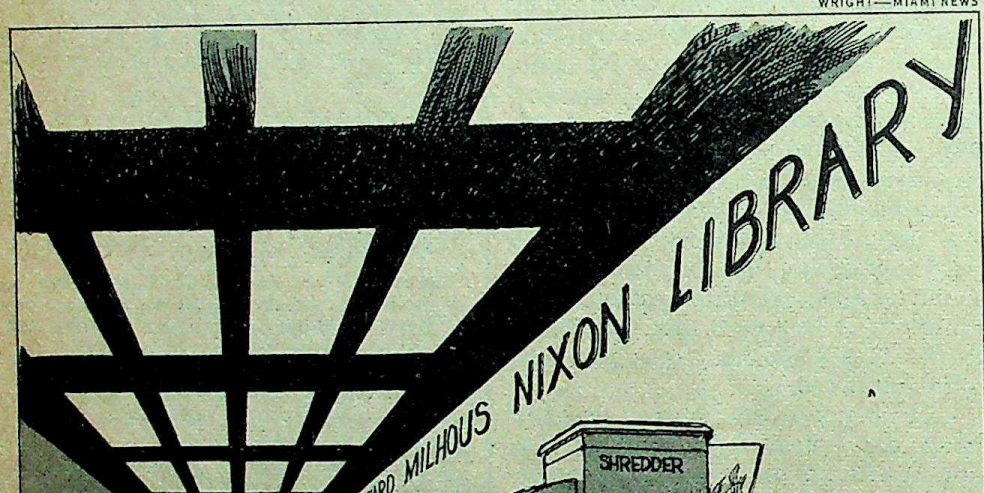
The Nixon case has raised the argument over that traditional practice in its most extreme form, since some of the Nixon material is relevant to ongoing criminal proceedings and perhaps to public inquiries and other lawsuits. If Nixon were to die, the papers and tape recordings not under subpoena could be destroyed immediately according to terms of the agreement. Therefore the ownership tradition—never settled either in Congress or the courts—is now under its most serious challenge yet.

Remarkable Inconsistency. This week the Senate Government Operations Committee is expected to approve a bill introduced by Senator Birch Bayh that would give all federal officials—including Nixon—180 days after they leave office to turn over to the General Services Administration any documents and tapes produced in Government service. The GSA would deposit the materials in the National Archives. As in the case of the Pentagon Papers, the documents would belong to the Government.

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark has another approach. He proposed last week that the Government exercise its power of eminent domain and immediately take possession of Nixon's tapes and papers. The procedure would be similar to the taking of property for construction of a road. Therefore Nixon would have to receive fair compensation if the papers were considered his personal property.

Lack of a firm policy until now has led to remarkable inconsistency. In some cases, material was selectively destroyed. When Zachary Taylor died in 1850, his family shipped his papers home to the Taylor plantation in Louisiana, where they were later burned by Union soldiers. Lincoln's papers were turned over to the Government by his son with the stipulation that the letters would not be accessible to the public until 1947. Warren G. Harding's papers disappeared after his sudden death following the Teapot Dome affair, then turned up mysteriously years later in his home town of Marion, Ohio. Though 25 Presidents or their families handed over their documents to the Library of Congress free of charge, Congress paid at least $190,000 for the documents of some of the early Presidents. Chief Executives from Herbert Hoover on arranged to have their papers collected and controlled by elaborate libraries set up in their own names.

WRIGHT—MIAMI NEWS



None of these actions were based on statute. In fact, there seem to be only two laws directly relevant to presidential papers. The Presidential Libraries Act of 1955 authorized the GSA to accept for deposit historical materials of any Chief Executive. The 1969 Tax Reform Act outlawed deductions for any official's papers donated to a library or archive.

The Constitution authorizes Congress to make rules and regulations about disposition of property belonging to the U.S. Though there has never been a court ruling putting presidential papers in that category, a 1959 case involving Vice Admiral Hyman Rickover may be relevant. Rickover sought to bar M.B. Schnapper, a historian and editor of the Public Affairs Press in Washington, from publishing speeches Rickover had made. In effect, he was asserting a property right. The court of appeals ruled that any speeches related to Rickover's work as a Government official belonged to the public domain. Thus Schnapper won the right to print them.

Growing Consensus. The Supreme Court could yet rule on the question of ownership. Leon Friedman, professor of criminal law at Hofstra University, points out that if Congress were to direct a GSA custodian to take possession of the papers and tapes and Nixon challenged the move, the question would then go to the courts. No matter who is given title, there may still be disputes over access to the material. If the Government is declared the owner, Ford could prevent the release of any materials not subpoenaed. Should Nixon be granted ownership, he could try to deny access by claiming Executive privilege, though Ford might claim that only he as President has that privilege.

Whatever the procedure, there is a growing consensus that official papers concerning public affairs and prepared at public expense indeed belong to the people. The fact that Presidents historically have disposed of material as they wished is not binding. As the Supreme Court noted in the 1969 case of *Powell* v. *McCormack*: "An unconstitutional action . . . taken before surely does not render that same action any less unconstitutional at a later date."

Cut-Rate Counsel

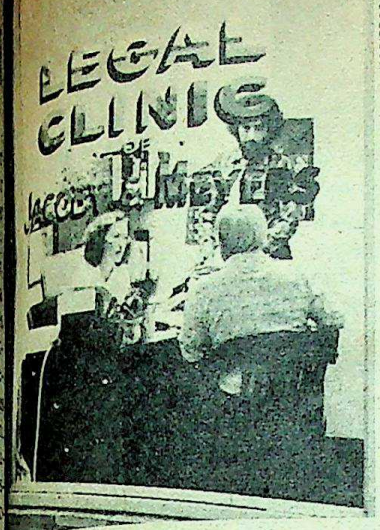
Many of the well-heeled lawyers who lounged in the sun and relaxed in posh hotel bars last month at the American Bar Association's annual convention in Honolulu were not sorry to miss their new president's opening speech. Proclaimed James D. Fellers of Oklahoma City: "I view the rendering of legal services to the almost totally neglected middle-class Americans to be the largest and most important task of the immediate future."

Few lawyers enjoy being told what to serve, especially when they already have a clientele that can afford their $40-to-$50 hourly fees. The middle-class Americans who worried Fellers are more accurately described as middle-income earners; they are ineligible for help from Government-supported legal services for the indigent, and only rarely are they in serious trouble are they able to shell out high legal fees. They constitute a group that by and large tries to get along without lawyers.

Now a small but growing crop of public-minded lawyers are trying

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JIM COLLISON

AL ADVICE FOR SALE IN VAN NUYS, CALIF.
those who have had to do without.

age all that. Perhaps their most im-tant innovation is prepaid legal in-ance along the lines of Blue Shield. eady, some 2,500 organizations nd the country are experimenting h group plans. Students at the Uni-sity of Massachusetts, for example, an annual fee and are now eligible legal help in handling problems ging from marijuana busts to land-d-and-tenant quarrels. In Columbus, o, members of Local 423 of the La-ers' International Union can get ev-hing from divorces and wills to real te closings paid for by union legal in-ance. Shoppers at a large food co-rative in Berkeley, Calif., can put n a $25 annual premium and receive mited number of cut-rate consulta-s with lawyers at the co-op's affil-Consumers' Group Legal Services.

Collective Bargaining. Until last r, the Taft-Hartley Act prevented rate companies from joining with la-unions to offer legal insurance. Con-ss has now amended the law so that or and management can both con-ute to legal-insurance funds, as they long been permitted to do with pen-and health plans. As a result, Hugh y, former chief counsel of the House cial Subcommittee on Labor, pre-s: "Prepaid legal services will now n the mainstream of collective bar-ning." Some legal experts estimate in the next few years, 70% of all ericans and 50% of all lawyers will volved in group-insurance plans.

Though they vary widely, most plans into one of two categories. So-called en" plans permit a member to choose lawyer and be reimbursed up to set ts. Members of the Laborers' Inter-nal local in Shreveport, La., for ex-ple, pay a family premium of $40 an-ly and are entitled each year to $100 h of legal consultation, $250 for of-work and research and $325 for rt cases. Policyholders use the plan st often for auto claims and for di-ce and child-custody contests. Under second or "closed" type of plan, mbers consult lawyers who are under contract to their employer or union.

Another alternative for the middle-income consumer is the cut-rate "legal clinic." One, located amidst a tangle of shops in Van Nuys, Calif., is a storefront law office run by Leonard Jacoby and Stephen Meyers, both 32-year-old lawyers. They sprinkle their office with brochures listing prices and accept credit cards. Most important, they charge fees that families earning $8,000 to $18,000 a year can afford. At the clinic, an uncontested divorce goes for $100 instead of the $350 charged by the average law firm; a typical bankruptcy case brings $225 instead of $350 to $500; a will generally costs $35 instead of $75.

In the two years that the Jacoby-Meyers operation has been in business, some 3,500 consumers have taken advantage of its budget prices. The staff manages to hold costs down and make a slight profit by relying heavily on nonlawyers. Clients pay an initial $15 fee, then are interviewed by paralegal workers who take down the facts and fill out routine forms for uncontested divorces and other straightforward cases. Later, the client confers with a staff lawyer or an outside specialist, who will wind up the case and, if necessary, take it to court.

In Phoenix, the Bates and O'Steen clinic has been in business since last March with a similar procedure and fee schedule. One of the few nonprofit organizations, the District of Columbia–based Law Offices of Washington, charges a flat $25 per hour for a lawyer's time and relies on law students for initial client interviewing.

Clinical Mavericks. Resistance to the new approaches is widespread. Though lawyers across the nation concede that open legal-insurance plans might well bring in more clients, most want no part of the closed plan. This, they say, will siphon clients from regular law firms, especially in small towns where one major employer might control most of the area's law business under its group insurance. Clinics, too, have come under attack because they frequently ignore professional bans against advertising. In Los Angeles, the California Bar Association this week begins disciplinary proceedings against Jacoby and Meyers. The charge is that the attorneys solicited clients by discussing their organization on TV and in the press, thus violating the codes against advertising. The clinical mavericks reply that prohibiting solicitation is an infringement upon the freedoms of speech and the press. Moreover, they claim the right to announce their services because clients have a right to know.

Former U.S. Attorney Cecil Poole of San Francisco says: "It's not too important how you get the message out as long as you don't make the practice of law look like a garage sale." Whether or not his colleagues accept that argument, the bar will have to learn to live with some form of legal clinic.

MEDICINE

Premature Indictment?

It is one of the mottoes of a scientist that if something seems too good to be true, there is a high probability that it is not true. Few scientists appreciate the aptness of this more than Dr. Albert Sabin, 68, developer of the live-virus polio vaccine. Eighteen months ago, Sabin declared triumphantly that he and a colleague had found convincing evidence that the ubiquitous herpes simplex viruses, which cause cold sores and genital infections, also cause human cancers. Since then, Sabin has been unable to reproduce the earlier laboratory findings. As a result, he is publishing in the *Proceedings* of the National Academy of Sciences a paper retracting his claims against the herpes viruses.

Sabin based his original indictment on research that he and Dr. Giulio Tarro, 36, of the University of Naples had conducted between 1967 and 1973. The study, signed jointly by Sabin and Tarro, found antibodies produced in the body in reaction to the presence of the herpes simplex Type I and Type II viruses in patients with cancers of the lip, mouth, nose and throat, kidney, bladder, prostate, cervix and vulva. It turned up no trace of the viruses in patients with 28 other malignancies, or in patients without cancer.

Sabin's claims created an immediate controversy. But it was not until Sabin decided to recheck their experiments himself that he realized why. He was unable to duplicate the earlier results. His failure, he says, left him no other choice than to publish a retraction. "I've been a scientist too long not to do it," he said. "If I find something that a colleague and I have reported that I cannot confirm, it's my duty to report it."

Circumstantial Evidence. Sabin's retraction comes as something of a shock to Tarro, who is now in Italy continuing his work. Tarro insists that others —including several U.S. researchers —have duplicated his results and says that he plans to present proof of their validity at international meetings in Germany and Italy next month.

Sabin's dilemma is no surprise to some U.S. virologists. Dr. Andre Nahmias of Atlanta's Emory University, a leading authority on herpes viruses, feels that Sabin went far beyond his data in claiming that herpes viruses account for 25% of human tumors. Dr. Bernard Roizman, professor of microbiology at the University of Chicago, believes that some of the experiments were oversimplified and lacked controls. But none of the researchers is willing to dismiss the indictment against herpes. All have found circumstantial evidence linking the viruses to certain human cancers. But all feel that they need better proof before they can find herpes guilty.

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MONEY

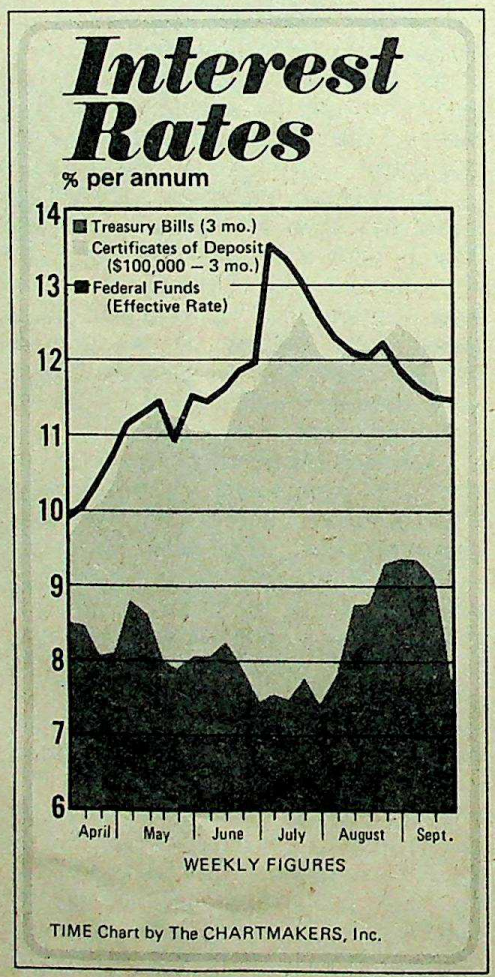
An Easing by the Fed

For months, as soaring interest rates drove the cost of borrowing to record peaks, businessmen, labor leaders and economists voiced one plaint: excessively tight credit threatened to push the nation into deep and long recession. For some industries and for millions of individuals the recession has already struck. The dream of buying the single-family house has evaporated along with the drying up of mortgage money; housing starts in August fell 45% from the year-earlier rate.

Now at long last, there are hopeful signs that the Federal Reserve Board is making more money available for credit. Fed Chairman Arthur Burns last week told a conference of financial men in Washington, D.C.: "There will be no credit crunch in our country . . . It would be undesirable to further intensify monetary restraint." Though he did not specifically say that there would be an easing, the money markets early in the week flashed a signal that it was already going on. The Fed allowed federal funds —uncommitted reserves that banks lend to each other—to trade in the 11% to 11½% range, *v.* the previous 12% or more. The change indicated that slightly more money was available for lending, and that the Fed was endorsing it.

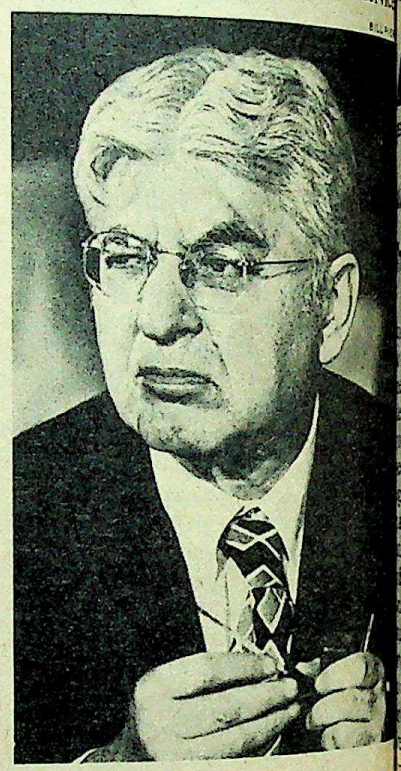
Boomlet of Optimism. The shift was what money-market watchers had been waiting for, and it triggered a boomlet of optimism. Treasury Secretary William Simon foresaw a "further decline" in short-term interest rates; since early September three-month Treasury bills have dropped from 9.3% to 7.6%, and there have been other declines as well *(see chart)*. Chase Manhattan Chairman David Rockefeller and other bankers predicted that if this trend continues, the prime rate—the one charged to banks' most creditworthy customers—may well drop from 12% now to 10% by year's end.

The biggest reaction came in the stock market, which has been grasping all summer for firm signs of abatement in interest rates and inflation. The Dow Jones industrial average, which only two weeks ago plunged to a twelve-year low, soared most of last week, gaining 47 points until it cooled off and lost 3 points on Friday, closing at 671.



The Fed is clearly moving toward a somewhat less restrictive money policy than before. But these moves appear to be more corrective than indicative of any major monetary shift. Since May, the growth of the nation's money supply has been at or near zero. Not even the Fed had intended it to fall so far, and the recent easing is mainly a counterbalancing measure to lift money growth back toward the 5% to 6% range that the Fed is believed to want. The buildup is expected to be slow, with no explosive growth allowed in the several months, to counter the growth of the past four months. B stressed last week that "a policy of m erate monetary restraint remains appr priate." Indeed, a 5% to 6% rate growth would be fairly restrictive anti-inflationary at the present time.

The battle against inflation, took renewed magnitude last week when t Labor Department reported that t consumer price index, paced by rises food, clothing and medical servic

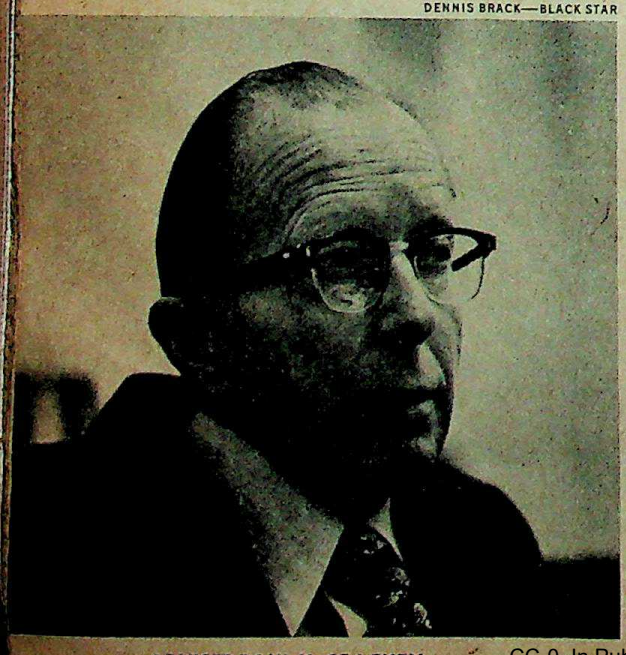


CHAIRMAN ARTHUR BURNS
"No credit crunch."

jumped in August by 1.3%, equal compound annual rate of 16.8%. It the biggest inflationary surge in a and it cut factory workers' real home pay by .9%, down to a level below a year ago. At the moment, sumer prices are more than 50% hig than in 1967.

The Administration had its wor out for its summit on the economy week. To help distill into policy ever comes from that meeting, Pres Ford recalled an old inflation fig He is Paul McCracken, 58, who President Nixon's chairman of Council of Economic Advisers 1969 to 1971. A conservative, McCr en generally opposes controls and f balanced budgets. He is an old frie Ford's and teaches at the Univers Michigan. McCracken says that he pects to stay in Washington only enough to "sort out ideas" from the mit and draft policy suggestions. B brief service, coming as it will d and after the grand meeting, is ex ed to substantially shape the Ford ministration's economic policy.

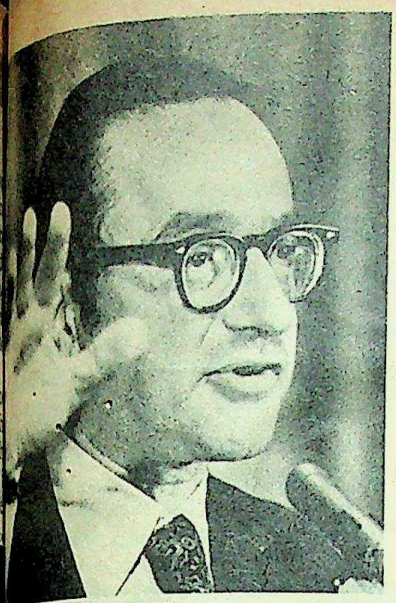
DENNIS BRACK—BLACK STAR



ADVISER PAUL McCRACKEN
Recalled to the battle.

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ENSPAN AT LAST WEEK'S MEETING

MMITS

ose Poor Brokers

In its trek from one minisummit to other, the Ford Administration has ar come upon some gales of disagree- ent and clouds of anger, but few fresh as on how to deal with the nation's ubled economy. The series of eleven etings with representatives of various gments of the economy will culminate a two-day National Conference on In- on in Washington, D.C., at week's Chances of achieving a broad-based sensus for action are dim. The con- ing gulf between White House con- atives and their critics (who do not e many imaginative ideas either) was ly narrowed last week when Alan enspan, chairman of the Council of nomic Advisers, drew boos and hiss- after telling a gathering of union lead- and representatives of black, poor, ed and handicapped people that "per- age-wise," Wall Street brokers were biggest losers of income in the pres- economic decline.

The chance remark came in answer criticism of the Administration's re- tive economic policies during a minisummit on social services held at Department of Health, Education Welfare. Arguing against cuts in so- services, Jerry Wurf, fiery president e State, County and Municipal Em- ees Union, charged that Govern- t policies aim to shunt most of the den of fighting inflation on the poor. ying that everyone is hurt by in- n, Greenspan said: "If you really ed to examine, percentage-wise, is hurt most in their incomes, it is Wall Street brokers."

Hardly Placid. Greenspan had ening of a point. The stock mar- y slump has dried up commissions d devastated the brokerage business. t year the number of registered rep- tatives shrank from 40,000 to 000 and layoffs have accelerated ively since then. Many salesmen are forced to take part-time jobs as bar- tenders, models and retail clerks. Yet understandably, Greenspan's remark touched sensitive nerves.

The other highlight of the meeting was a set of proposals for Government action to rein in runaway health-care costs. The proposals, by Wilber J. Cohen, a former Secretary of HEW, included: 1) setting fixed rates for doctors' charges for specific services, and 2) forcing public disclosure of the money that a doctor collects from federal and state medical-aid programs if the total exceeds $50,000. Finally, 16 major labor and civic groups resolved that, "Under no circumstances should funds for human social services be reduced."

While less volatile, the other minisummits have thus far been hardly placid. Each economic group has concentrated almost exclusively on its own interests. Businessmen asked for more generous depreciation allowances, fewer environmental controls and an easing of federal safety rules on the job. Many farmers demanded a return to subsidies. Builders wanted lower interest rates and more mortgage money. Union leaders called for higher wages and more federal spending to generate jobs. "I've heard a great deal about belt tightening, but the trouble is, everybody wants to tighten someone else's belt," cracks Congressman Thomas S. Foley, a Democrat from Washington State.

PERSONALITY

The Chairman's Favorite Author

At one of the preliminary conferences leading to this week's summit on inflation, John Kenneth Galbraith looked over the 28 other economists who had gathered in the White House and quipped that the remedies for inflation would be about the same for "Bolsheviks and the devoted supporters of Ayn Rand, if there are any present." Then Alan Greenspan smiled and spoke up: "There's at least one."

So there was. The new chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers is a longtime friend and disciple of Ayn Rand, the Russian-born author whose novels of rebellious achiever-heroes (*We the Living, The Fountainhead, Atlas Shrugged*) and nonfiction books have sold at least 12 million copies in 38 years. Greenspan, who is 48, makes no secret of his admiration for Rand, who is now a vigorous 69. His admiration extends to Rand's work and her philosophy of Objectivism, which she describes as advocating "reason, individualism and capitalism." It rejects altruism and embraces, says Rand, "rational selfishness." As John Galt, the hero of *Atlas Shrugged*, puts it at the climax of the 57-page Speech that explains Objectivism: "I swear—by my life and my love of it—that I will never live for the sake of another man, nor ask another man to live for mine." Indeed, the title of one of Rand's nonfiction books is *The Virtue of Selfishness*. Rand does not like to be compared with earlier thinkers of any stripe, but her beliefs are not too far from the 18th century philosophers who held that if every man were out for himself, society would ultimately benefit. She has long been indignant over the consistent fire she has drawn from hostile critics, who view her as an impractical, closed-minded ideologue rather than a serious philosopher.

No Taxes. Ayn (as in "mine") Rand is openly pleased over her real-life achiever-hero's rise to the White House. She traveled from her midtown Manhattan apartment to Washington, D.C., this month to watch Greenspan's swearing-in, then was introduced to President Ford. "I'm very proud of Alan," she says. "His is a heroic undertaking."

Greenspan is the first known follower of Objectivism to be tapped for a major Government policymaking position. When the appointment was announced, critics wondered only half jokingly if Greenspan's rise would lead to Rand's becoming the Administration's primary behind-the-scenes economics adviser. That sort of speculation is dismissed by both Rand and Greenspan. He says he has little contact with Rand now, and even before the CEA job came, meetings were limited to dinners every month or so with her and her husband of 45 years, Artist Frank O'Connor. On these occasions, Greenspan adds, conversation is just "what old friends talk about." Suspending a policy of shunning press interviews, Rand told TIME's Sarah Button: "I am a philosopher, not an economist. Alan doesn't seek my advice on these matters. He can tell me more

DONALD FITCH



OBJECTIVIST AYN RAND
"Rational selfishness."

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than I can tell him, and knows more about the day-to-day events."

Still, the two are very much in agreement on economic principles. Both view capitalism as a system that functions best without any Government regulation —a recurring theme in Rand's writings. During the Arab oil boycott late last year, Rand quoted Greenspan in her biweekly *Ayn Rand Letter* (circ. 15,000) as saying jokingly, "We would have oil spurting from under our feet" if the Government relieved the oil industry of all taxes and controls and promised to impose no new ones for a decade. As for inflation, Rand agrees with Greenspan's remedies: balanced budgets, reduced Government spending, tight money. Three years ago, she said in her letter that wage-price controls would lead to runaway inflation.

Though both Rand and Greenspan admire risk-taking entrepreneurs, Rand generally has little regard for U.S. businessmen. "They are appeasers, compromisers and pragmatists," she declares in her heavily accented, carefully spoken English. "They do not have one long-range idea." Oilmen? Rand says, "They claim that their sole purpose is to serve the public, which is a vicious statement of altruism and collectivism. What they should say is that they're working for their own profit. And that incidentally, as a consequence, they are serving the public."

More Recognition. Greenspan and Rand have known each other since the early 1950s, when they were introduced by Greenspan's former wife. "He impressed me as very intelligent, brilliant and unhappy," recalls Rand. "He was groping for a frame of reference. He had no fundamental view of life." But that began to take shape in the course of long, late-night talks with her, and in reading the manuscript of *Atlas Shrugged* before it was published, to mostly unfavorable reviews, in 1957. The book describes what happens when men of ability go on strike: the U.S. is destroyed. "By the time he was reading it, he was sold on the philosophy, but only in a general way," says Rand. "*Atlas Shrugged* finished the job."

In the early 1960s, Rand edited *Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal,* an anthology of essays. Greenspan's contribution championed a return to the gold standard and abolition of antitrust laws —views he still generally holds but does not expect to effect in the light of political realities. At that time, Greenspan was a part-time economics lecturer at the Nathaniel Branden Institute in New York City, a forum for Rand and her followers that was disbanded in 1968.

Rand does not like Richard Nixon, who named Greenspan to the CEA job. The former President, she says as she puffs on a Tareyton through an ever-present blue-and-silver cigarette holder, is "a grotesque example of pragmatism." But she heartily approves of Gerald Ford, whom she regards as "marvelous casting in appearance alone."

Now Rand is busy planning her fifth novel and writing more articles. She is pleased that a younger generation is gradually being exposed to her ideas, which are not always predictable. For instance, although she fled Soviet totalitarianism in 1926, at age 21, Rand is "almost in sympathy" with the Kremlin's expulsion of Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Reason: "He's against growth and technology, and for replacing Communism with the theocracy of the Russian Orthodox Church, a dreadful religion." And she is receiving somewhat more recognition, too, from academia. Earlier this year at West Point, Rand delivered a lecture on the importance of philosophy. It has since been made a part of the academy's curriculum.



NEARLY EMPTY PAN AM TERMINAL AT NEW YORK'S J.F.K. AIRPORT AT 6 P.M.

AIRLINES

Clipping Pan Am's Wings

With losses deepening, fuel costs climbing and credit lines drying up, Pan American World Airways sent out a Mayday call of distress to the U.S. Government, pleading for emergency subsidies of $10.1 million a month. Last week Transportation Secretary Claude S. Brinegar said that "President Ford has concluded that it is not now fair to the nation's taxpayers to ask them to support our U.S. international flag carriers with direct cash subsidy payments." With that, the fate of the nation's senior overseas airline fell into the hands of the banks and insurance companies, to which it owes almost $700 million.

The Administration did agree to some measures by which Pan Am and its creditors can now feel encouraged. Most important, the Government will use its considerable power to discourage foreign and U.S. airlines from flying the same international routes at the same time, and both the State Department and the Civil Aeronautics Board will investigate whether foreign lines are flying more flights to and from the U.S. than permitted in international agreements. Ford will also consider raising the international airmail fees paid to U.S. carriers. (Currently, foreign carriers demand and get as much as five times what U.S. airlines collect for carrying U.S. overseas mail.) Further, the Commerce Department will promote a "Fly U.S. Flag Airlines" campaign.

Better Risk. Pan Am Chairman William T. Seawell, who is still hoping for Government help, said that he was "heartened" by the measures. While the benefits from the plan would be long range at best for cash-strapped Pan Am, the package might do just enough to keep the line from going broke in the coming months. Reason: a consortium of 36 banks, led by New York's First National City, is sitting on $205 million in credit that the bankers are ready to release to the company if it looks worthy. They have said that they would advance no credit if Pan Am's assets drop beneath $300 million, and with the company dipping into cash reserves to meet operating costs, it is almost certain to fall beneath that line soon. But the Administration steps make Pan Am look like a better risk.

Moreover, despite Ford's rejection, the CAB said last week that it is studying whether the company should get a permanent subsidy. If Pan Am undertakes painful cost-cutting steps, particularly by eliminating some lightly traveled routes to Latin America, Africa and Asia, its creditors may be disposed to reduce the $300 million asset limit at which credit would halt. Accordingly,

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egar, the Administration will ask creditors to be lenient with Pan Am. Even short-term credit and the long- policy shift, however, may not be ugh to save Pan Am. World air fares e gone up 13% to 19% since January, d will probably rise another 10% to fore the year is out. The higher fares, the fewer the passengers; Pan 's transatlantic passenger volume is n 23% this year. Meanwhile, more just fuel costs have been spiraling. ta Airlines recently agreed to boost average annual salaries of its pilots $48,000 by mid-1976, *v.* $42,000 now; top of the union scale provides a rly inflationary $100,000 a year in es and benefits for Delta's 747 pilots. se raises have caused consternation ng executives of other airlines, h expect similar demands from pilots. In such an atmosphere, only strongest airlines may survive.

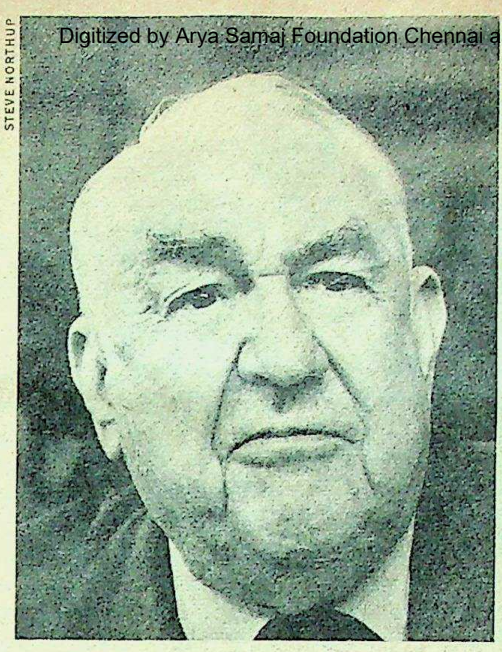
Old Proposal. Said a White House last week: "There is too much at e, not only for the airline but also for country's national interest, to let Am go down the tubes." To save it, Washington officials have revived standing proposal for Pan Am to ge with Trans World Airlines. But her company is enthusiastic, and e is some question whether two ily indebted lines could combine. In case, the eventual prospect is for a ically altered Pan Am, either gh merger or considerable reduc- of its far-flung routes—or both.

NSUMERS

se to Cloture

For only the third time in the past century, the Senate last week went fourth cloture vote to break a filibus- the two-month-long rearguard ac- to keep a bill creating a consumer tection agency from coming to a final on the Senate floor. The cloture 64 to 34, was two short of the 66 ed to end the filibuster, but propo- s of the bill refused to let it die. Con- ed that they could muster two addi- al votes, they asked Senate Majority der Mike Mansfield for an unprece- ed fifth try. If they can prove they the votes, he is likely to agree.

The controversial measure would e an independent federal agency would review consumers' com- nts and represent their interests be- federal courts and regulatory agen- but have no regulatory power of its It would in effect institutionalize sumer advocacy and provide an cy that Ralph Nader believes would a hair shirt" for other federal depart- s. That proposition has been des- ately fought by lobbyists of the mber of Commerce, the National ociation of Manufacturers and other ness groups, who feel that it will g harassment by yet another bureau-



STEVE NORTHUP

NORTH CAROLINA'S SAM ERVIN
One last filibuster.

cracy. They have stalled passage of similar legislation for five years, although the number of companies supporting the bill is gradually increasing.

If the bill does not reach the floor this session—a fifth unsuccessful cloture vote would certainly kill it—its proponents feel that it will easily pass early next year, probably in an even stronger form. Five or six opponents of the measure are retiring, including Sam Ervin of North Carolina, who helped lead the filibuster, arguing that the bill "is repugnant to the free-enterprise system." As chairman of the Government Operations Committee, which is responsible for such legislation, Ervin delayed the bill's entry onto the Senate floor. No problem is anticipated with his probable replacement: Connecticut Senator Abraham Ribicoff, one of the bill's chief sponsors.

ENERGY

Fattening Gas Prices

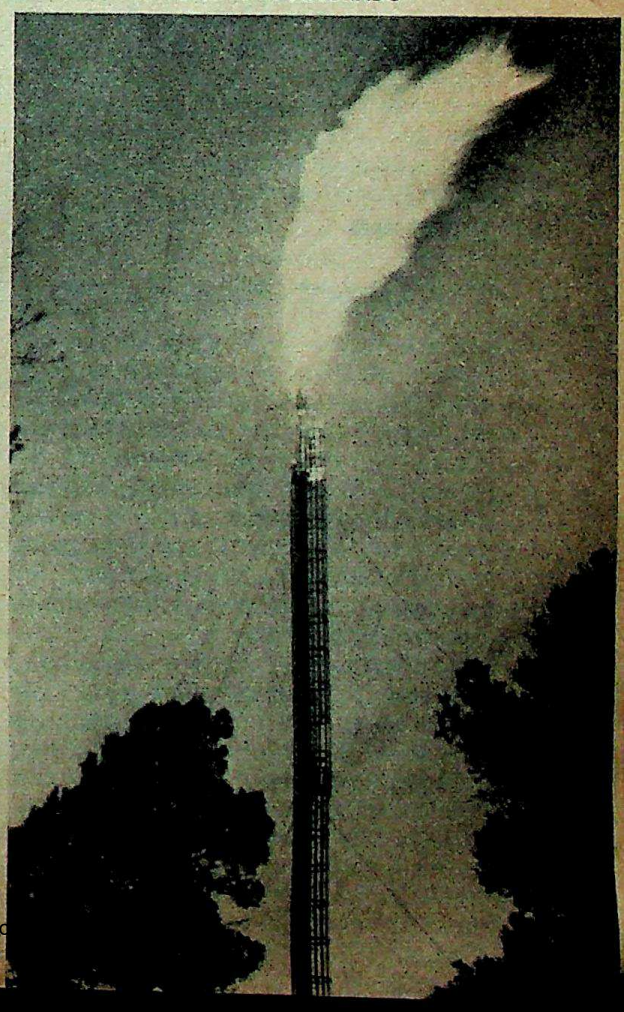
As fuel prices flamed up during the energy crisis, Government officials repeatedly denied allegations that part of the increase was due to overcharging by some oil and gas companies. Those denials are no longer being made so vehemently. In recent months, legal action has been taken against several major oil firms in New York, Indiana and elsewhere, charging them with illegally restraining competition for profit—an accusation that the companies deny. Also, the Federal Energy Administration conceded that between January and May it failed to plug a loophole in its oil-allocation program, enabling some petroleum companies to increase their bills by up to $300 million. Now the Federal Power Commission, which regulates natural-gas prices, has been charged with improperly granting increases. Worse, the authorizations were made while the top FPC officials held securities in companies that the agency supervises.

These charges against the FPC —characterized by Democratic Congressman John Moss of California as "one of the most powerful indictments of a federal regulatory agency within memory"—were contained in a study released last week by the General Accounting Office, the congressional watchdog agency. GAO investigators concentrated their fire on the manner in which the FPC acted under a regulation in effect since 1970. It is designed to increase supplies by permitting producers to sell gas at higher than regulated rates for 60 days. Allowing firms to go on selling high-priced gas beyond the 60-day period would require a change in the regulation. Yet the FPC, without making such a revision, granted 96 extensions through the end of last year. Some of them allowed unregulated prices for as long as 300 days, enabling one unnamed producer to add more than $800,000 to his profits in a six-month period.

Many extensions were granted in closed executive sessions of the agency's five commissioners, all of whom are on record as favoring at least some deregulation of natural gas. Furthermore, the GAO notes, during one full year no minutes at all were made of FPC meetings.

FPC Chairman John Nassikas has been called to answer the GAO charges before a meeting this week of the House Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. Nassikas argues that, faced with the possibility of gas shortages, his agen-

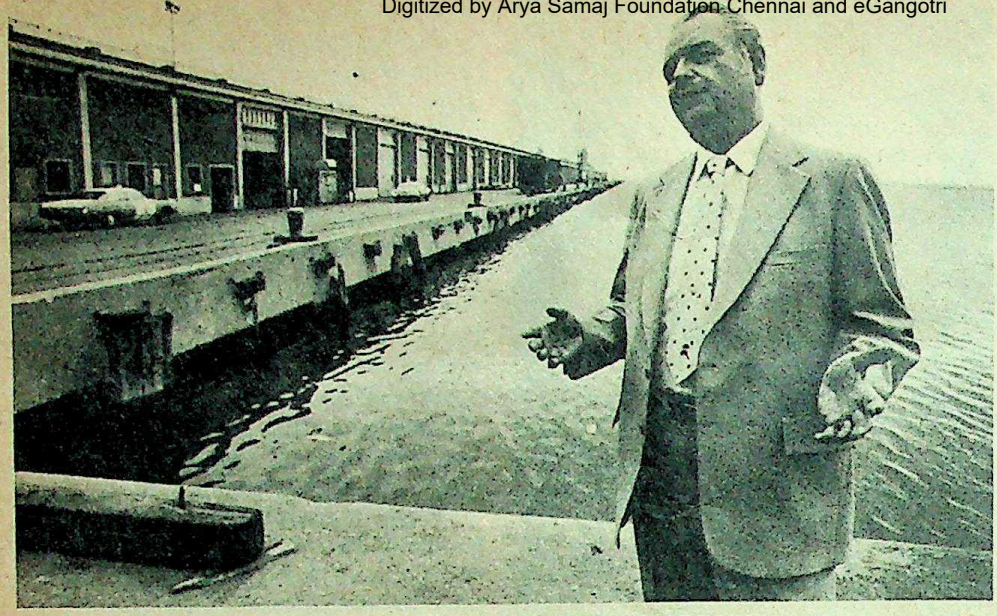
NATURAL GAS FLARING IN COLORADO



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RICH FAVERTY



TERMINAL EXECUTIVE P. GEORGE BECHTOLD BEFORE VACANT CHICAGO PIER

cy had the right to waive some requirements as an emergency measure. The GAO insists that accepting that argument would "make a sham" of the regulatory process. Moreover, the GAO estimates that of the $3.3 billion in increases that were collected, only one-third went to producers to increase gas supplies, which was the purpose of the move. The rest went to pipeline companies.

FPC officials admit that the agency was remiss in not having all its high officials make full financial disclosures. That step, the GAO says, would have revealed that 19 of the agency's 125 top employees held stock in gas-producing firms under FPC jurisdiction, including Exxon, Texaco and Tenneco. Moreover, seven of these officials were administrative-law judges who preside over cases that come before the FPC, and in at least one case, a judge apparently presided over a hearing involving a company in which he held stock.

SHIPPING

The Great Lakes Slump

When the St. Lawrence Seaway opened in 1959, Midwesterners envisioned the shores of the Great Lakes becoming "America's fourth seacoast." Today that dream has all but sunk out of sight. Despite the seaway's direct route to the bustling ports of Europe and the Middle East, the Great Lakes ports from Duluth to Rochester are suffering through a depression that looks almost impossible to reverse.

International cargo trade moving in and out of the ports is averaging only half as much as last year, and two-thirds less than the record 8.6 million tons moved in 1971. Patrick J. Sullivan, secretary-treasurer of the Great Lakes district of the International Longshoremen's Association, asserts that less than one-third of the 7,000 longshoremen working lake docks have been close to adequately employed this year. "Last year," says P. George Bechtold, a Chicago terminal company official, "we had 53 vessels dock at our facility at Lake Calumet. You know how many we have had there this year? Zilch."

Worse, there are signs that the downward spiral is reinforcing itself. As fewer sailings are scheduled, shippers turn to other means—truck or rail—to move cargoes, and sailings decline even more. What happened? Like the rest of the economy, Great Lakes shipping is suffering from inflation, especially in the cost of fuel to power ships. Bad labor relations also have plagued Chicago docks. "The I.L.A.," fumes Bechtold, "will not work in the rain. If they look at a puddle and see a bubble, they will walk off the ship."

But longshoremen cannot be blamed for any of the worst problems, which are long-term and seem almost insoluble. The St. Lawrence Seaway has become virtually obsolete. Its locks are too small to let through the "super" ships (27-ft. draft or more) that move cargo most efficiently these days.

About the only hope for the Great Lakes is that long-divided dock workers, terminal operators and port authorities have formed an alliance to remedy some problems that are not rooted in the very nature of the seaway. They are asking the U.S. Maritime Administration for the same subsidies that are collected by the coastal shipping interests that compete with them. They also want moderation of the "Ship American" policy, which is mandated by the Merchant Marine Act of 1970.

This policy requires shippers to use U.S.-flag vessels to move varying percentages of certain cargoes—half of all goods shipped to the Soviet Union, for instance. But not a single U.S.-flag ship is left that is efficient enough for transocean commerce and small enough to fit through the seaway locks—so the law in effect forbids many U.S. shippers to use the Great Lakes at all.

MARKET WEEK

On a volume of 77,100,010 shares, the New York Stock Exchange Composite closed at 36.74, up 2.63 for the week ending Sept. 20. The Dow Jones 30 stock industrial average was 670.76, up 43.0. Standard & Poor's 500 stock index was 70.14, up 4.94. Among significant N.Y.S.E. stocks:

Stock	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Allied Chem..	30⅜	28⅛	29⅝	-⅛
Alum Co Am..	45	40	44¾	-¼
Amer Airlines.	7⅛	5⅝	7	-⅛
Am Brands...	29½	27¾	28⅛	-⅛
Am Can.....	25¼	22⅞	25¼	+⅛
Am Motors...	5⅜	4¾	5¼	+⅛
AT&T.....	42½	39⅝	42	-⅛
Anac Cop....	17⅝	16½	16⅞	-⅛
Avon Prod...	23⅛	19½	22	-⅛
Beth Steel....	28⅞	26⅛	28⅞	+⅛
Boeing.....	18⅜	16⅛	18¼	-⅛
Burling Ind...	18⅝	17¼	18½	-⅛
Burroughs....	78¾	71¾	78⅝	-⅛
Cater Trac...	46¾	43¾	46¼	-⅛
Champ Intl...	13	10⅝	12⅞	-⅛
Chrysler.....	13⅝	12	13⅝	-⅛
Clark Equip...	26	24¼	25⅞	-⅛
Control Data..	16¾	13⅜	16¾	-⅛
Corn GI Wks.	40⅞	37¼	39⅝	-⅛
Dow Chem...	59¼	58¾	58½	-⅛
DuPont.....	122½	108⅛	119¼	+1
Eastern Air...	4¾	4	4⅛	-⅛
East Kodak...	76⅜	69½	75⅛	-⅛
El Paso N G..	10⅞	9⅛	10¾	+⅛
Exxon.....	68	64⅛	65¼	-⅛
Ford Motor...	40⅛	37	40	-⅛
Gen Dynam..	17⅝	13½	17⅜	-⅛
Gen Elec.....	38⅝	30	38	-⅛
Gen Foods...	17½	16	17	-⅛
Gen Motors..	40¼	36⅛	40	-⅛
Gen Tel & El..	18⅝	17⅜	18⅛	-⅛
Ga Pac.....	26⅜	24¼	26	-⅛
Goodyear...	14⅞	13⅜	14¾	-⅛
Great A & P..	9	8⅜	8¾	-⅛
Greyhound...	11¼	9¾	11⅛	-⅛
Gult Oil.....	17⅞	16⅞	17⅛	-⅛
IBM.....	173¾	150½	171½	+1
Int Harv.....	19⅝	16¾	19	-⅛
Int Nickel....	25	23¼	24½	-⅛
Int Paper....	43¼	40¼	41	-⅛
Int Tel & Tel..	16¾	15½	16½	-⅛
Johns Man...	14⅞	14⅜	14⅜	-⅛
Kraftco.....	30½	26⅞	30	-⅛
Kresge SS....	24¾	22½	23½	-⅛
Litton Ind.....	4¾	4¼	4¾	-⅛
Lockheed....	3⅞	3½	3¾	-⅛
LTV Corp....	9	8⅜	8¼	-⅛
McD Doug...	10⅛	9⅛	10	-⅛
Merck Co....	59⅜	49	57⅜	-⅛
3M.....	55¾	51½	55½	-⅛
Mobil Oil....	36½	34⅝	35⅛	-⅛
NCR.....	22⅜	18½	22¼	-⅛
Occid Pet....	8⅜	7⅜	8	-⅛
Owens Ill....	31⅞	28⅝	31¼	-⅛
Pac Gas & El.	18½	17⅜	18½	-⅛
Pan Am.....	2¼	2	2⅛	-⅛
Penn Cen....	1¾	1½	1¾	-⅛
Penney J.C....	49½	45¾	48¾	-⅛
Philip Morris..	42½	38⅛	41	-⅛
Polaroid.....	20⅜	16⅞	18¼	-⅛
Proc Gam....	81⅞	73¼	80¼	-⅛
RCA.....	11½	10⅝	10⅞	-⅛
Reyn Ind.....	42¾	39¾	42	-⅛
Rockwell Intl..	22⅞	21⅝	22	-⅛
Sears Roe....	61½	54⅛	60⅜	-⅛
Shell Oil.....	37⅛	35½	36¼	-⅛
Sou Cal Ed...	17⅛	14⅝	17⅛	-⅛
Std Oil Cal...	24⅜	22½	23½	-⅛
Tenneco.....	18⅜	17½	18⅛	-⅛
Texaco Inc....	23½	21¾	22⅜	-⅛
Textron.....	13⅛	11⅜	12¾	-⅛
Time Inc.....	33¾	31⅜	33¾	-⅛
TWA.....	6⅜	5½	6¼	-⅛
UAL Inc.....	17¼	15	16⅜	-⅛
Union Car....	39¾	35⅜	39⅜	-⅛
Utd Aircraft..	26⅞	24½	26¼	-⅛
US Steel.....	43⅜	40⅝	43½	-⅛
Westinghouse.	10⅝	8⅜	10⅜	-⅛
Woolworth...	11¾	10⅜	11⅜	-⅛
Xerox.....	80	72½	80	-⅛

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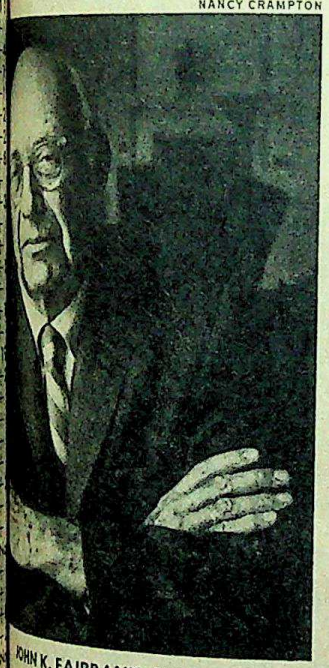
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The Confucian Factor

CHINA PERCEIVED: IMAGES AND POLICIES IN CHINESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS
by JOHN K. FAIRBANK
245 pages. Alfred A. Knopf. $7.95.

Nobody in the West has done more to clear up the mystery of China than John K. Fairbank, professor of Chinese history at Harvard. His latest book, a collection of 17 essays written between 1946 and 1974, continues a lifetime of combat against what he calls "the original sin of ignorance" about East Asia. It is a sin, Fairbank feels, that can be resisted only with the help of a great deal more historical knowledge than most Americans now possess. The various pieces in the book are unified by the author's persistent attempt to show that the present behavior of both China and the West are largely determined by historical-cultural traditions that nobody, not even Chairman Mao or Henry Kissinger, can escape.

NANCY CRAMPTON



JOHN K. FAIRBANK, 1974
A scholar's wit.

Fairbank begins with a stunningly impressive analysis, written in 1946, on the prospects for democracy in China at that time. They were nil, he concluded, not only because the Communists were more vigorous and popular than the American-backed Kuomintang, but also because "the inertia of tradition" did not permit Western-style solutions in China. Fairbank was of course right, and since that essay—as textbook writer, as target of the McCarthy campaign, as a mover and shaker in the field of Asian studies in the U.S.—he has stuck to his main theme. The great Confucian system of government that evolved by [illegible] has resulted in a yawning cultural gap between East and West that is still responsible for much of the tension between them.

Confucianism consisted of rule by a scholar elite steeped in the great ethical classics of Chinese antiquity. By the 8th century a complex system of civil service examinations, based on literary and ethical knowledge, had become the principal route to bureaucratic advancement. The scholarly ruling class jealously guarded its monopoly on correct ideas and prevented anybody else, merchants or soldiers, for example, from gaining power. It stressed tranquillity and order, not struggle and change, as the primary goals of society.

Fairbank argues that China has not freed itself from this Confucian past, despite Mao Tse-tung's revolution. Like the China of old, the People's Republic is still "massive, profoundly collectivist, and professedly anti-individualist." Important habits of the Confucian tradition have been modified: rule by an imperial figure still persists, for example, and so does adherence to ideological orthodoxy, whether Confucian or Communist. Ironically, the methods used to overthrow the old system are reminiscent of past methods. The Red Guards of the Cultural Revolution had their prototypes in the antiforeign Boxers of the 19th century. In Confucian times, too, crowds of villagers used to gather to hear mandatory lectures on ethics.

BROWN BROTHERS



CONFUCIUS (CIRCA 551-479 B.C.)
A scholarly bureaucracy.

The highly bureaucratic, anticommercial, inward-looking and extremely self-satisfied culture of China was and is the virtual opposite of the dynamic, restless, expansive, entrepreneurial West. Since the mid-19th century, the U.S. has been part of a gigantic "conflict of civilizations" brought about by the Western invasion of the East Asian cultural sphere. To Fairbank, America's painful expansion into Viet Nam was only a final burst of gunboat diplomacy as invented by the British against the recalcitrant isolationism of 19th century China. In an ominous foreshadowing of Viet Nam, in 1856 a British consul in Canton "had the Royal Navy bombard the Canton viceroy's yamen [headquarters] with one gun at ten-minute intervals" in order to exact trade privileges for Britain.

Recent U.S. aims in China—and Viet Nam—had little to do with trade advantages. But from Fairbank's historical perspective, even Western attempts at benevolent reform—like the U.S. effort to induce Chiang Kai-shek, and later Ngo Dinh Diem, to permit a loyal opposition, thereby broadening political participation—are exercises in delusion and sentimentality. And while that view may by now have become part of the conventional wisdom, the author laments the fact that few Americans today seem anxious to discover what it was about Viet Nam or China that made them so resilient to heavy doses of American good will. "The United States got into Viet Nam partly out of sheer ignorance," writes Fairbank, "and now we want to get out and remain ignorant. Neither move does us much credit."

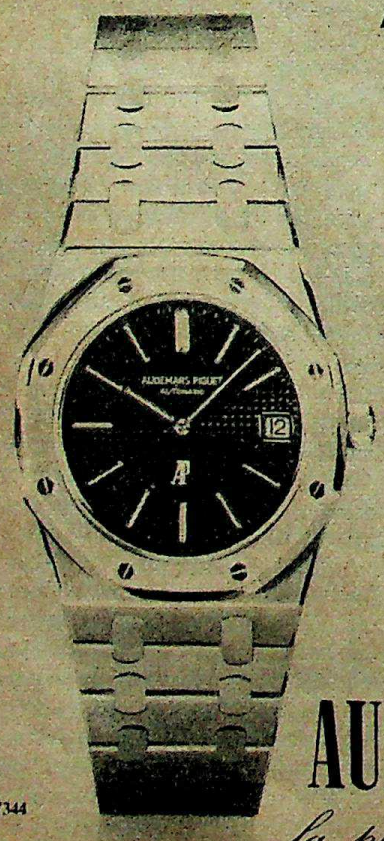
Faded Bloom. Though Fairbank agrees that a new era in East-West relations may now be dawning, his essays contain an implicit warning: there will probably be less true change than the proponents of détente believe. Indeed, once the bloom of new acquaintanceship has faded, both Americans and Chinese will still face many of the same old problems: the Taiwan question, the clash of American individualism with Chinese collectivism, the arrogance of China's "implacable self-esteem." Most important, as Americans we must give up the enduring historical hope that "bringing China into the world" will somehow make the Chinese more like us.

There is perhaps too much fatalism in Fairbank's philosophy. Much of *China Perceived* was written at the height of the Cultural Revolution's xenophobia. Though Fairbank repeats his basic message too often, he does so readably, with dashes of wit and grace and a lack of scholarly ponderousness. The book, in any case, is a useful antidote to the current euphoric tendency to assume that fusty yesterday has little bearing on the shape of a bright tomorrow. "With no past," says a Chinese proverb, "the present is formless." ■ Richard Bern[illegible]

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Geriatricks

ENDING UP
by KINGSLEY AMIS
176 pages. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. $6.95.

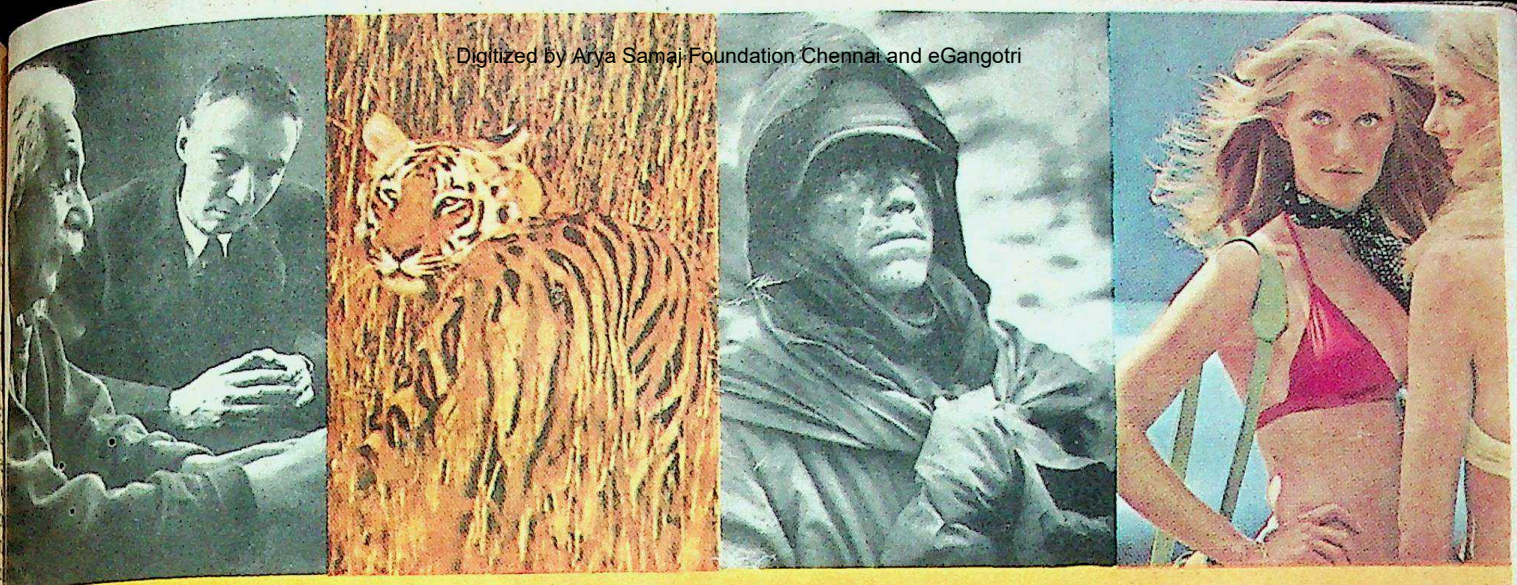
Lucky Jim was a likable chap indeed. But since his appearance in 19[illegible] critics and readers have remarked on spreading "swinishness" of Kingsley Amis characters—as well as the distaste the author seems to feel for his own creations. It has always been noted in extenuation that literary satire thrives on vile bodies and that swinishness justifies a measure of pique. But now Amis stands revealed as a misanthrope sans *merci*. From *Ending Up* it is clear that if anyone asked him the old vaudeville question "Would you hit a lady with a baby?" Amis might gleefully reply: "No, I'd hit her with a brick." And mean it.

Amis is 52. The subjects of his unkind attentions this time are the genteel aged, people approaching second childhood through their half-past 70s —in short, a group about whom society feels notably ineffectual and guilty.

The denizens of Tuppenny-hapenny Cottage for a while seem to be little more than the kind of dotty *ménage à cinq* that Wodehouse might assemble on a bilious day: Adela Bastable, a large, [illegible] goodhearted spinster; her brother Bernard, a retired brigadier with a bad leg; Shorty, once a quartermaster sergeant, now a friend and factotum; George Zeyer, a bedridden history professor (Bernard's brother-in-law); and Marigold Pyke, a faded beauty who cutely refers to drinks as "drinkle-pinkles" and English pounds as "poundies," thus driving Bernard round the bend. Amis is also clearly at work on a mean microcosm for the sunset of Little England. Bernard, it appears, had to retire from the regiment 35 years ago after a homosexual episode with—yes—Shorty. What bothers Marigold about Shorty, however, is not this scandal, but the fact that, though he contributes much of the money and housework and good sense that keep Tuppenny-hapenny Cottage shuffling along, he is not upper class.

Doddering Prey. With extraordinary skill, Amis manages to have fun with such things as Marigold's fear of losing her memory, Zeyer's stroke-induced nominal aphasia. (Nouns escape him and periphrasis ensues. "It's a passport, for example, becoming the thing you have to show when you leave a country.") Even Shorty's interminable dialogues with his own bowels are put to comic use, along with the fact that old people are often mean and silly, and put down easily. Amis pursues his doddering prey with tiny twists of plot: through the use of stink bombs, squirt guns and even a heated orange-juice can of urine, Bernard tries to turn the group against Zeyer's dreadful, sad old dog, Mr. Pye, and to convince Shorty that his best

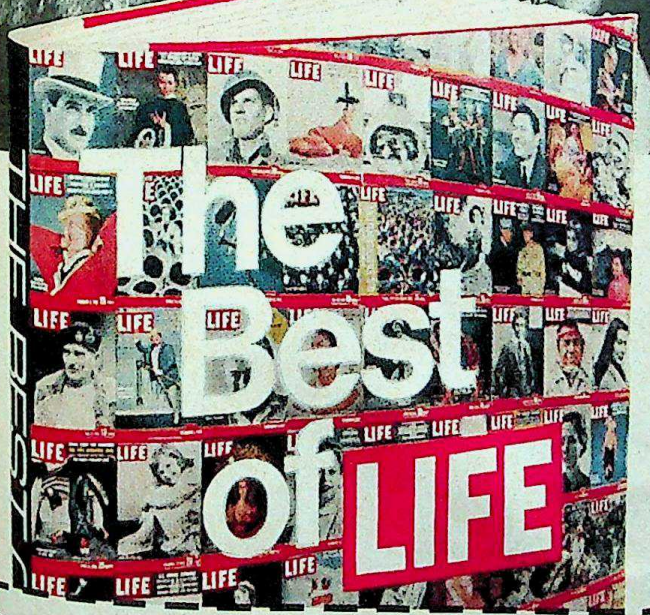
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TIME LIFE

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Visions of warmth and laughter

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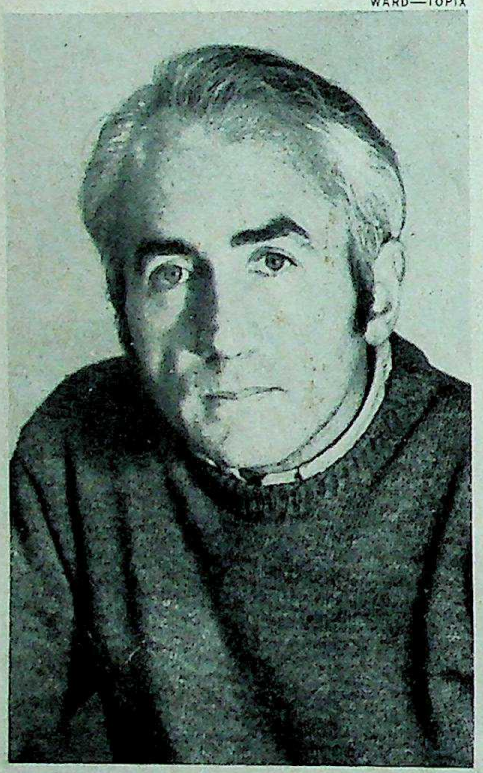
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with bored and horrified youngsters by its generations present, is a comic masterpiece in which petty ferocity, mostly masked in genteel dialogue, shatters attempts at kindness and good cheer.

Motiveless malignancy, as represented by Bernard, surely exists in the world. Old age is no guarantee of wisdom or largeness of spirit. But somewhere before a surprise ending with more deaths than Act V of *Hamlet*, it becomes evident that Author Amis is enjoying his caricatured geriatricks in some way that might be appropriate to Goneril and Regan in *King Lear* but is simply hateful in Tuppenny-hapenny Cottage. Graham Greene once wrote that when trying to refine the pangs and foibles of men and women into fiction, a novelist must have a sliver of ice in his heart. A sliver of ice, yes. A lump of black bile, no. ■ Timothy Foote

WARD—TOPIX



J.G. FARRELL

Picnics and Panics

THE SIEGE OF KRISHNAPUR
by J.G. FARRELL
344 pages. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. $7.95.

When an American novelist wants to demonstrate the naiveté of Americans, he packs his characters off to Europe. This is known as the Henry James gambit. When a British novelist wishes to display the naiveté of Englishmen, he ships his characters out to India. This is known as the E.M. Forster ploy, and nobody has worked it more pointedly than J.G. Farrell, 39, a native of Liverpool and an expatriate himself in such exotic places as Morocco, Mexico and the Canadian Arctic—not to mention India.

The year for Farrell's melodrama of shattered innocence is 1857. Queen Victoria is on her throne and all is well with the empire, or so it seems to the colonials being ever so English-underglass in their frontier enclave at Krishnapur. Generals saunter about with cricket bats in their hands. Officers' ladies recite delicately palpitating verses about nature to the poetry society. What picnics one attends! York hams, Cheddar cheese, oysters, spice nuts, candied fruits. Did one ever leave home? And everywhere there are the invisible, obeisant Indians, fanning the Englishman when he is hot, serving him when he is hungry or thirsty—insulating him not only from the squalor, the hardship and the needs of the world outside but also from the slightest threat to his Roman sense of self-esteem.

Pariah Dogs. Then suddenly, inconceivably, mutiny sweeps India, as indeed the Sepoy Rebellion did in 1857, and Novelist Farrell takes his Englishmen out of a quaint hunting print and frames them in a painting by Hieronymus Bosch. The once happy few, besieged in the compound at Krishnapur for three months, come to resemble the natives they had so exquisitely ignored. Clothes shred, ribs show, sores pustulate, armpits stink. The survivors take on the look (and sometimes the character) of the pariah dogs that clean the corpses to the bone almost before the body stiffens. As the days and weeks pass, it is the Indians' turn to holiday on the hillsides with picnic hampers and opera glasses and watch the new spectator sport: kill the English.

While Indian bullets and swords tear into English flesh, Farrell takes his own aim at the English soul in the person of the Collector, the ranking India Company officer in Krishnapur. The father of seven, an imposing man with side whiskers like the ruff of a cat, he is every inch a hostile cartoonist's Victorian. Before his Indian service he was a leader among the best London charities for the relief of beggars and the redemption of prostitutes. The Collector believes devoutly in the superiority of England and the 19th century. His religion is progress: the faith Farrell puts to trial-by-ordeal at Krishnapur.

Farrell can write with a fury to match his theme. As spectacle, *The Siege of Krishnapur* has the blaze and the agony of a scenario for hell. But as moral commentary, it is overcalculated—and its ironies unsuitably neat. When the desperate defenders load their cannon with makeshift shrapnel, including silverware and prayer beads, the volley becomes too pat a way of saying: Bang goes civilization!

As always in these contests of tea, cucumber sandwiches and fair play *v.* the dark demons of the blood, nice guys finish last, or else they turn out to be not so nice after all. Something like this is what Farrell seems to be preaching over his deflowered English Eden. But it is a measure of his fairness—or perhaps our lowering standard of innocence—that the end of the novel remains open to interpretation. As the rescue force marches in at last, what Farrell notices is that the Collector has lost his faith. What a reader of the besieged '70s notices is that the Collector has survived. ■ Melvin Maddocks

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Pilgrim's Regress

ALINSKY'S DIAMOND
by TOM McHALE
335 pages. Lippincott. $8.95.

Perhaps every good young w[riter] should be allowed a book like this [one]. Still it is a notable disappointm[ent]. Three years ago, McHale published [two] exhilarating novels in quick succes[sion]: *Principato* and *Farragan's Retreat*, [in] both he revealed wild comic gusto, [a] youthful, vengeful rage at certain [sto]ries of the Roman Catholic Church, [and] a visceral knowledge of middle-[class] Irish and Italians around Philadel[phia] and the Jersey shore. McHale was [nev]er a stylist; he made up in energy [what] he lacked in elegance.

In *Alinsky's Diamond* he quits [his] miliar landscape and sets out on a [lit]erary crusade nearly as unfortunate [as] the one he describes in this novel. [At] the beginning, Francis X. Murphy, [of] Aruba, Ohio, is rotting away in a Fr[ench] château. He has married a [for]daughter and ruined her family—[and] the whole village of Vardille-sur-[Rhône] —by being caught doctoring the [local] wine. As penance, Murphy resolves [to] drink himself to death by swallowing [the] 12,000 unsalable bottles.

At this stage, Murphy becomes a likely victim for some charlatans who want to start a "pilgrimage" to Jesus, covered by French television and ostensibly aimed at inspiriting religion generally and raising the nation's spiritual tone. Of course its organizers have other, quite different plans. So, as it happens, does the author. By the middle of the book, the crusade is all but forgotten, and the reader has become entangled in the travails of a fabulously rich Israeli named Meyer Alinsky who, it turns out, has all along had his own special uses for poor Murphy. *Alinsky's Diamond* is not so much a cat's cradle of overcomplicated plot, in fact, as a whole flea market full of story lines.

Though at first McHale's [great] problem seems to be the exhaustion of narrative, the real dilemma is that for the first time he is writing about people he does not know. The crusaders, the [rich], the conmen in these pages are strangers to the author. McHale has [always] shown that he can be a dazzling contemporizer, but he badly needs familiar roots. The very restlessness [that] onstrated in *Alinsky's Diamond* may contribute to something enduring in the future. For now, though, McHale's imagination can do without the [kind] of exotic melodrama

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Left: solid gold case, crocodile strap.
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Right: case and bracelet in velvet-textured

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